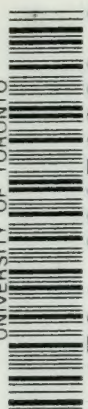
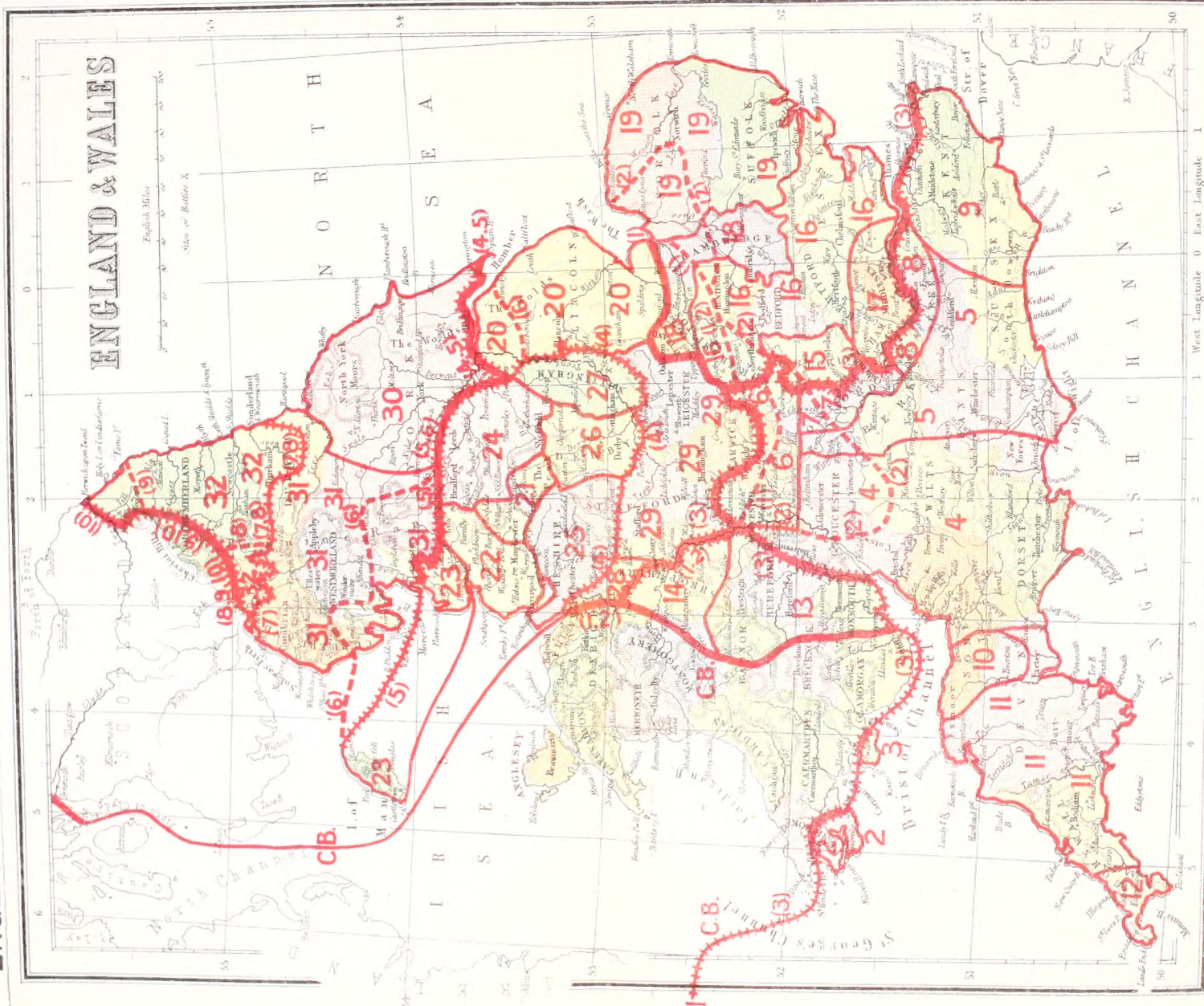


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



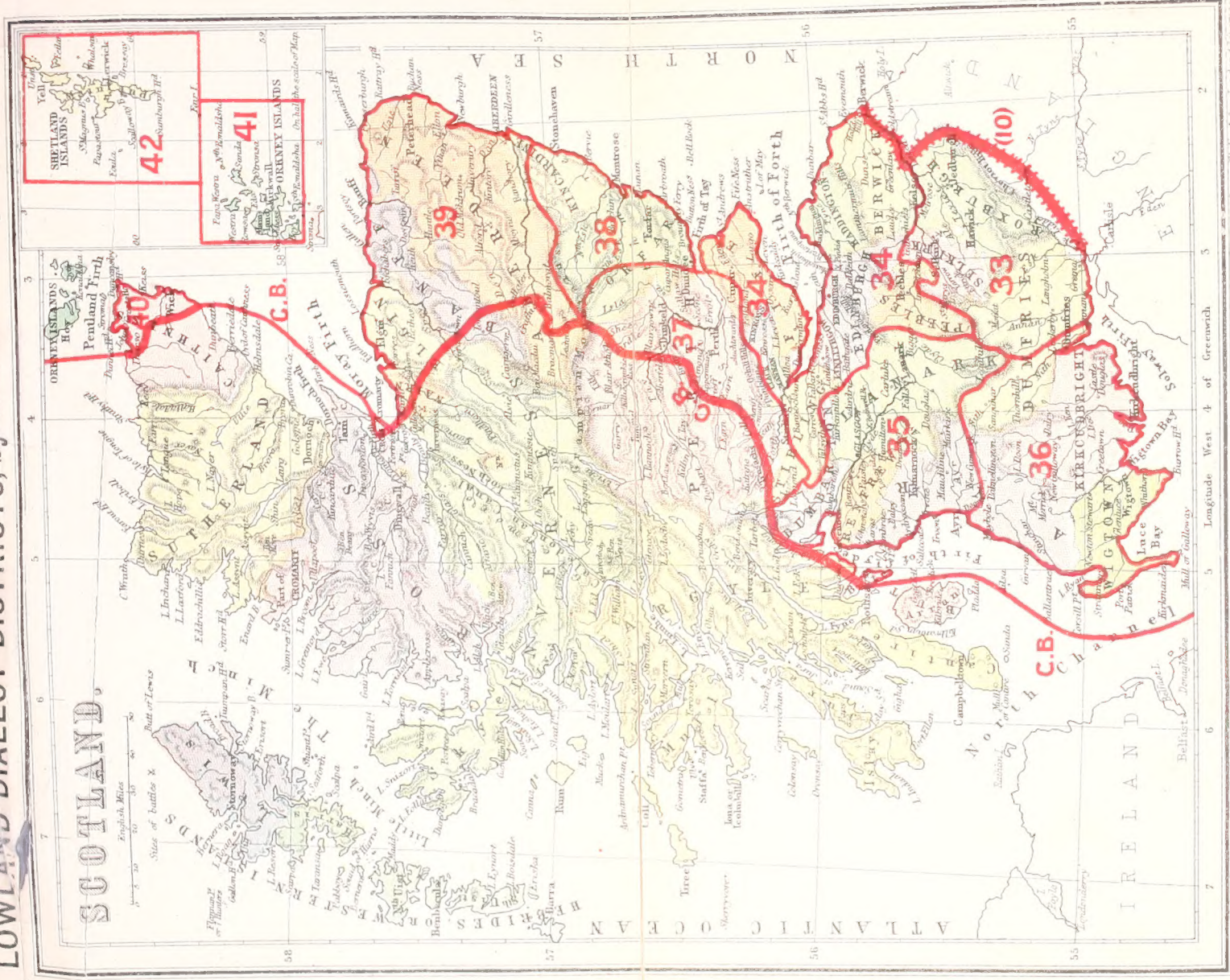
3 1761 00050290 6

UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY

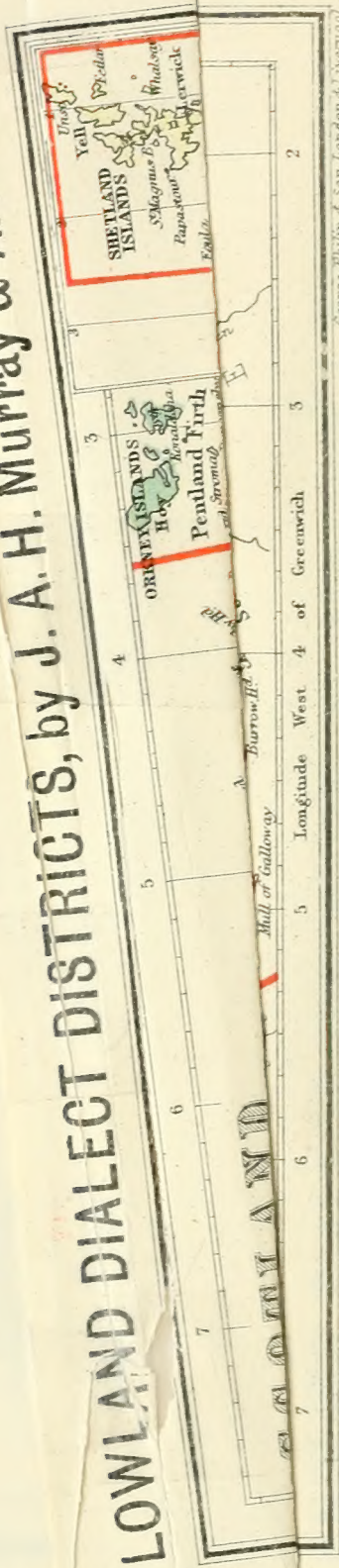


To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS,"
and "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES"

LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, by J. A. H. Murray & A. J. Ellis.



LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, by J. A. H. Murray & A. J. Ellis.



George Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

To illustrate Alex. J. Ellis's "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS,"
and "ENGLISH DIALECTS—THEIR SOUNDS AND HOMES."

ON
EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO

SHAKSPERE AND CHAUCER,

CONTAINING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
WRITING WITH SPEECH IN ENGLAND, FROM THE ANGLOSAXON
PERIOD TO THE EXISTING RECEIVED AND DIALECTAL FORMS,
WITH A SYSTEMATIC NOTATION OF SPOKEN SOUNDS BY
MEANS OF THE ORDINARY PRINTING TYPES.

INCLUDING

A RE-ARRANGEMENT OF PROF. F. J. CHILD'S MEMOIRS ON THE LANGUAGE OF
CHAUCER AND GOWER, REPRINTS OF THE RARE TRACTS BY SALESBURY ON
ENGLISH, 1547, AND WELSH, 1567, AND BY BARCLEY ON FRENCH, 1521,
ABSTRACTS OF SCHMELLER'S TREATISE ON BAVARIAN DIALECTS, AND
WINKLER'S LOW GERMAN AND FRIESIAN DIALECTICON, AND
PRINCE L. L. BONAPARTE'S VOWEL AND CONSONANT LISTS.

BY

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

F.R.S., F.S.A., F.C.P.S., F.C.P.,

VICE-PRESIDENT, TWICE PRESIDENT, OF THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
MEMBER OF THE MATHEMATICAL SOCIETY, FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE, B.A., 1837.

PART V.

[pp. 1*-88*, 1433-2267.]

EXISTING DIALECTAL AS COMPARED WITH WEST SAXON
PRONUNCIATION.

With two Maps of the Dialect Districts.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY, AND THE CHAUCER SOCIETY. BY
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 AND 59, LUDGATE HILL.

1889.

41015
98



PR
1901
A3
ser. 2
no. 25

THE
EXISTING PHONOLOGY
OF
ENGLISH DIALECTS

COMPARED WITH THAT OF WEST SAXON SPEECH.

FORMING PART V. OF "EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION."

E R R A T A .

- p. 20, l. 20, *read* or *t'*.
- p. 32, l. 5, *read* La (*u*_o).
- „ dt. par. 1, *read* eba'ut dat.
- p. 37, l. 19 from bottom, under *Do.*, *for* *Blandford *read* *Cranborne.
- p. 45, par. 6, last word, *read* æks)æR.
- p. 47, note 6, first line, *read* the (d).
- p. 57, line 3 from bottom, No. 904, *read* vāylæt.
- p. 58, line 3, *read* 923*.
- p. 65, par. 0, l. 8, *for* Potter *read* Trotter.
- „ par. 10, l. 3, *read* but (win'iken).
- p. 66, l. 1 and 2, *for* Potter, *read* Trotter.
- p. 80, East Dorset cwl., l. 2, *read* Cranborne, and l. 5 *dele* and.
- p. 85, joke on (æt) last line, *read* ɛd)ɛ)a'd.
- p. 94, l. 10, *read* — L (mu_oni).
- p. 109, l. 6, *read* Miss M. A. Firth.
- p. 111. *Authorities*, *Np.* *add* †Daventry, †Farthinghoe, †Helmdon, †Long Buckley, †Silverstone, †Slapton, †Syersham, †Towcester, †Wattford, †Weedon, †Wood Burcote, †Woodford.
- p. 113, paragraph B, line 1, *read* a nonagenarian widow about 94; line M, *read* Malvern Wells.
- p. 114, l. 30, *read* CLAVERDON, WA. (5 w. Warwick).
- p. 129, l. 15 from bottom, *read* may have possibly.
- p. 131, l. 4, *read* Pasingworth.
- „ l. 6, *read* °Shadoxhurst.
- p. 133, dt. par. 3, *read* ɛ)de Ræq.
- p. 136, last line but one, *read* Rev. J. W. Rumny.
- p. 140, No. 422, *read* 'vomited.'
- p. 157, l. 9, *read* Mr. Shelly's
- p. 162, No. 646, *read* bæ'y₁⁵.
- p. 163, l. 2, *read* mæe'k)'n.
- p. 175, *Area*, l. 2, *after* Br., *add* outlying parts of Wo.
- p. 183, l. 2 from bottom, *read* drə'undid.
- p. 186, No. 702, *read* uth.
- p. 194, line B, *read* Chackmore, and line T, *read* Tyrringham.
- p. 199, line S, *read* n-by-w.
- p. 201, *for* 125 oni, *read* 194 oni.
- p. 217, l. 23, *read* H. F. Tollemache.
- p. 222, l. 31, *read* degradation.
- p. 225, l. 6, *read* de'^un.
- p. 235, l. 3, *read* Henley-on-Thames in *Ox.* and l. 4, *read* Penn, *But* (3 e-by-n. High Wycombe).

- p. 248, note, col. 2, lines 1 and 2, *read* plêis, *meed*.
 p. 249, l. 10, *read* 10 s.
 p. 253, note, col. 2, l. 1, *read* of which Li. has (*u*₁) and Nf. (*u*_o).
 p. 255, l. 4, *read* — Pt.; *notes*, col. 2, l. 1, *read* was also.
 p. 278, l. 1, *read* s.Nf.
 p. 279, l. 3, *read* Tuddenham.
 p. 315. *Boundaries*, l. 5, *read* Featherbed; l. 7, *read* Mam Tor, *and Authorities*, Ch. l. 2, *read* Tintwistle; *La.* l. 2, *read* Royton.
 p. 332, under *Leyland*, for 1887 *read* 1877.
 p. 345, under *Chorley*, *read* 10 nw.Bolton.
 p. 347, No. 222, *add at end*, or from old Fr. *hure*, head of a man or an animal, especially a shaggy boar's head.
 p. 352, l. 11 from bottom, and *Authorities*, *La.* l. 2, *read* Goosnargh.
 p. 354, col. 2, l. 9 from bottom, *read* dier)e.
 pp. 360, 361, 362, and 363, *read* Lezayre.
 p. 362, notes to Lezayre dt., par. 1, *read* or (ɛbɑ'ut).
 p. 363, l. 3 from bottom, *read* — P perikət.
 p. 375, l. 10 from bottom, 13. vii, *read* noon, *corrected* on p. 405, notes, par. 13.
 p. 387, l. 12, last word, *read* Bradley.
 p. 409, l. *Authorities*, St., l. 2, *after* Longport *insert* †Longton.
 p. 421, West and South Cheshire cwl., l. 1, *dele* Churton.
 p. 425, l. 8 from bottom, *read* Db.
 p. 435, l. 4, *add* ,, *under* t', and in lines 12 and 13 from bottom, that is, in Nos. 4 and 5, *transpose* A *and the* ,, *above it*.
 p. 436, par. 15, Nos. 1 and 3, *read* tɛ'ud, fa'ul.
 p. 442, No. 39, *read* kjɑ'um.
 p. 443, par. I-, l. 1, *read* — B gji.
 p. 445, l. B, *for* 3 e. *read* 6 e.
 p. 447, last line, *read* reen.
 p. 449, l. 2, *for* 71, *read* 76.
 p. 472, l. 8, *after* Coalbrookdale *for* St. *read* Sh.
 p. 524, No. 331, *read* final (t).
 p. 529, l. 2, *insert* J. *after* Rev.
 p. 567, l. 4 from bottom, *read* varɛ.
 p. 572, l. 4, *read* itsɛl'.
 p. 606, l. 7 from bottom to No. 49, *add* —.
 p. 607, in par. xl, l. 7, second No. 0, *add* —
 p. 718, under U: *for* sneb *read* sneb.
 p. 738, note 46, last number, *read* 153.
 p. 747, line 1, *read* 12 sw.
 p. 748, in title, and l. 1 of poem, *for* GREY *read* GRAY.
 p. 755, l. 5 from bottom, *read* Kc.
 p. 824, last line but one of small print, *read* of I, Y,

In the CONSONANTAL INDEX there are a few evident displacements, and the following misprints, *read* under G- 13 gnagan, under SC- 220 scaphirðe, under -T- cetel, under -W 371 streáw. Omit 90 bláwan under -Ð.

There are possibly many other slight errors which have escaped observation. For the comparative correctness of a text of such great complexity as the present, I am much indebted to the vigilance of the printer's reader, Mr. Wood, who also read the four preceding Parts, and, in many districts, the scrupulous care of Mr. T. Hallam.

A. J. E.

CONTENTS.

ERRATA, v, vi.

CONTENTS, vii to xvi.

NOTICE, xvii to xx.

PRELIMINARY MATTER, 1*-88*.

I. *Note on the Relation of this Treatise to preceding Chapters*, 2*.

II. *Key to the Maps of the English and Lowland Dialect Districts, and List of the Principal Abbreviations used*, 3* to 6*.

Introductory Remarks 3*, Abbreviations of positional words, and two-letter abbreviations of the Names of Counties 4*, List of Divisions, Districts, and Varieties 4* and 5*. Other abbreviations frequent in use 6*.

III. *Comparative Specimen* (cs.) in received orthography 7*.

IV. *Dialect Test* (dt.) in received orthography 8*, notes on every word 8* to 16*.

V. *Classified Word List* (cwl.) 16*. I. Wessex and Norse 16* to 22*. II. English 22*. III. Romance 23* and 24*. Notes on Constructions and Intonation appended to the original word list 25*. Index to the English words in the cwl. referring each its number 25*—29*. Consonantal Index to the Wessex and Norse Division of the cwl. 30*, 31*.

VI. *Alphabetical County List* 32* to 67*. *Introd.* 32*. England 32* to 63*. Isle of Man 63*. Wales 63* to 64*. Scotland 64* to 67*. Ireland 67*.

VII. *Alphabetical Informants List, and Index of all the Names mentioned in this Treatise* 67* to 76*.

VIII. *Table of Dialectal Palaeotype* 76* to 88*.

TEXT, 1-835.

INTRODUCTION, 1-9.

Problem of this treatise 1. Method of solution 1-4. Chief Helpers, Principal, Staff and Students of Whitelands Training College, C. C. Robinson, J. G. Goodechild, Thomas Hallam, Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, 4-5. Palaeotype, 5. Geographical Districts in place of Dialects, 5-8. Plan of the Work, 8-9.

The Celtic Border, 9-15.

Ancient, about A.D. 577, according to J. R. Green, 9. His location of the Saxon settlements, 11. After Treaty of Wedmore, A.D. 878, p. 11. His location of the Ealdormanries, 12.—*Modern*, at the present day through Ireland, England and Wales, and Scotland, 12-15.

The Ten Transverse Lines, 15-22.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. The n. <i>sum</i> , 15. | 6. The s. <i>hoose</i> , 19. |
| 2. The s. <i>sööm</i> , 16. | 7. The n. <i>tee</i> , 20. |
| 3. The reverted <i>ur</i> , 17. | 8. The s. <i>sum</i> , 21. |
| 4. The s. <i>teeth</i> , 18. | 9. The n. <i>sööm</i> , 21. |
| 5. The n. <i>theeth</i> , 18. | 10. The L. line 21. |

The Roman Wall, 22.

I. THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, 23-187.

INTRODUCTION, 23.

D 1, 2, 3=CS. or Celtic Southern, 24-36.

D 1=w.CS.=west Celtic Southern, 25-31.

Introd. 25. Vallancey's *Yola Zong*, 26. Casteale Cudde's Lamentation, 28-29. Forth and Bargo cwl. 30.

D 2=m.CS.=mid Celtic Southern, 31-35.

Introd. 31. Two Interlinear Pm. dt. 32; Swansea Example, 33; Pm. cwl. 34.

D 3=e.CS.=eastern Celtic Southern, 35-36.

Introd. 35. Gowerland cwl. 35. Collins's Gower words, 35-36.

D 4 and 5=MS.=The Mid Southern, 36-110.

D 4=w.MS.=western Mid Southern, 37-91.

Introd. 37-38. Table of initial and final *f* or *v*, *s* or *z*, *sh* or *zh*, 38-41. The reverted (R) and (r, d, n, l), 41-42. Vowels and grammatical construction and Varieties, 43.

Var. i. Middle or Typical Form in Wl. 44-60.

Phase I. Christian Malford cs. 44. Phrases and sentences, 48; cwl. 49.

Phase II. Chippenham, Akerman's "The Hornet and the Bittle," 51-54, cwl. 54-58.

Phase III. Tilshead, 58, anecdote and dt. 58, cwl. 59.

Var. ii. Northern or Gl. Form, 60-68. Three Interlinear cs. for Vale of Gloucester, Tetbury, and Forest of Dean, 60-65. Forest of Dean and Aylburton sentences [for *Potter* read *Trotter*], 66. Gloucester Town pron. 64, note. Gloucester cwl. 66.Var. iii. The North Western or e.He. Form, 68-75. Ross, 68. Three Interlinear cs. from Ledbury, Much Cowarne, and Eggleton, 69-73. Miss Piper's *Eggleton specimens*, 74.

Var. iv. The South Eastern or Do. Form, 75-84. Hanford dt. 76. Two Interlinear cs. from Cranborne and Winterborne Came, 76-80. East Do. cwl. 80-83. Western Do. cwl. 83.

Var. v. The Land of *Utch* (pronoun for *I*), 84-86. Joke on Utch, 85. Montacute dt. 85, cwl. 86.

Var. vi. The South Western or Sm. Form, 87-91. The Axe-Yarty district, 87, and cwl. 88. Wedmore sentences, 89. Worle cwl. 90.

D 5=e.MS.=eastern Mid Southern, 91-110.

Introduction, 91-92.

Var. i. Ox. Form, 92-94. Witney dt. 92. w.Ox. cwl. from Ducklington, Leafield, Witney, 93.

Var. ii. The Be. Form, 94-96. Steventon dt. 94. Hampstead Norris, part of cs. 95. Wantage cwl. 96.

Var. iii. Ha. and Wi. Form, 96-108. West Stratton, East Stratton, and Burningham's words, 96. Southampton to Winchester cs., 97. Andover, 98-107, with two pronunciations of a farmer's letter in Punch, 100. Colloquial sentences, 104, and cwl., 104. Isle of Wight, with cwl., 107.

Var. iv. Sr. and Ss. Form, 108, with cwl., 109.

D 6, 7, 8=BS. or border of South as against Midland and East, 110.

D 6=n.BS.=northern Border Southern, 111-121.

Intro. 111.

Var. i. Wo. Form, with Worcester dt. and Hanbury dt. 112. s.Wo. cwl. from Abberley, Bewdley, Bengeworth, Buckland, Droitwich, Eldersfield, Saleway, Worcester, etc. 113.

Var. ii. s.Wa. Form, Claverdon dt. 114. s.Wa. cwl. from Butler's Marston, Kineton, Pillerton Priors, Stratford-on-Avon, and Tysoe, 115.

Var. iii. Banbury Form, with cs. 116. Shenington dt. 117. Banbury cwl. 118.

Var. iv. sw.Np. Form from Ashby St. Legers, Badby, Byfield, Towcester. Watford cwl. 120.

D 7=m.BS.=mid Border Southern, 121-128.

Intro. 121. Handborough *a.* cs. 123; *b.* dt. 124; *c.* Phrases, 125; *d.* cwl., 127.

D 8=s.BS.=southern Border Southern, 128-130.

Intro. 128. Information from Wargrave, Hurley, Hurst, 129, and from Chobham, Chertsey, Leatherhead, Croydon, 130.

D 9=ES.=East Southern, 130-145.

Intro. 130.

Var. i. East Sussex Form, 132. Two East Sussex Interlinear dt. from Markly and Selmeston, 133. East Sussex cwl. from Cuckfield, Eastbourne, Leasam, Markly, and Parish's Glossary, 134.

Var. ii. North Kent Form, 136. Intro. 136. Faversham cs. 137. Faversham Phrases, 139. Faversham cwl. 139.

Var. iii. East Kent Form, Intro. 141. Wingham dt. 142. Folkestone Fishermen, Intro. 142, dt. 143. East Kent cwl. from Folkestone, Margate, Thanet, Wingham, 144.

D 10, 11, 12=WS. or West Southern Group, 145.

D 10=n.WS.=northern West Southern, 145-155.

Intro. 145-147. West Somerset cs. 148. Examples *Lord Popham*, 151. *The Devil and the Coffin*, 152. *Why a Washerwoman Married*, 153. West Somerset cwl. 153-155. Phonetic Version of *Ruth*, chap. i. 698, No. 5.

D 11=s.WS.=southern West Southern, 156-170.

Intro. 156.

Var. i. North Devon, 157. Iddesleigh cs. and notes, 157-159. North Molton dt. and Phrases, 160. North Devon cwl. from Iddesleigh and North Molton, 161.

Var. ii. South Devon, 162. Dartmoor cs. 162. South-West Devon cwl. 164. Devonport dt. 166. Millbrook, Co. *Dialogue*, 167.

Var. iii. Camelford, Co. dt. 168. Cardynham, Co. dt. 169. St. Colomb Major dt. 169.

D 12=w.WS.=western West Southern, 171-174.

Intro. 171. Marazion, *Jacky Tresise*, 172. West Cornish cwl. 173. Scilly Isles, 174.

II. THE WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, 175-187.

Intro. 175.

D 13=SW.=South Western, 175-180.

Intro. 175. Lower Bache Farm dt. 176. *Docklow specimen*, 177. Mr. Stead's w.He. and e.Br. notes, 178. Rd. 179. Mo. 179. n.He. cwl. from Lower Bache Farm, Docklow, Hereford, Leominster, and Ludlow, Sh. 180.

D 14=NW.=North Western, 181-187.

Intro. 181. Illustrations, Pulverbach, Miss Jackson's *Betty Andrews*, 183-184. *Eve's Scork*, 184. m.Sh. cwl. rearranged from TH.'s account of Sh. pron. in Miss Jackson's Word Book, 184.

III. THE EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, 188-289.

Intro. 188.

D 15=WE.=West Eastern, 189-195.

Intro. 189. Aylesbury *Dialogue*, 190. Chackmore dt. 191. s.Bu. Aylesbury and Wendover cwl. 192. n.Bu. Buckingham, Chackmore [misprinted Clackmore], Hanslope, and Tyrringham [misprinted Tyrrinham] cwl. 194.

D 16=ME.=Mid Eastern, 195-225.

Intro. 195.

Var. i. Hertfordshire, 197. Ware cs. 197. se.Ht. cwl. from Ware, Hertford, and Stapleford, 199. Ardeley or Yardley dt. 200. Ardeley Wood End cwl. 201. Welwyn dt. 202. Hitchin dt. 203. Harpenden cwl. 203. Hatfield cwl. 203.

Var. ii. Bedfordshire, 204. Intro. 204. Batchelor's Bd. rules and sentences, 204-206. Ridgmont dt. 206. Mid Bd. cs. 206. Mr. Wyatt's sentences, 208. Bd. cwl. from Batchelor, Dunstable, Ridgmont, and Bedford, 209.

Var. iii. Huntingdonshire, 211. Intro. 211. Gt. Stukeley dt. and cwl. 211. Sawtry and Holme notes, 212.

Var. iv. Mid Northamptonshire, 213. Intro. 213. East Haddon cs. 213, and phrases, 214. East Haddon cwl. 215. Hannington dt. 216. Harrington dt. 217, and cwl. 217. Lower Benefield dt. 218. Mid Np. cwl. from Islip, Northampton, and Yelvertoft neighbourhoods, 219.

Var. v. Essex, 221. Intro. 221. Gt. Dunmow abridged cs. 222. Maldon dt. 223. Essex cwl. from various unnamed places, 224.

D 17=SE.=South Eastern, 225-248.

Intro. 225.

1. Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey on London Town Speech, 226.
2. Walker (1792-1807) and Smart (1836) on London Speech, 227.
3. Errors in London Speech in 1817, 227.
4. Dickens's London Speech, 1837, 228.
5. Thackeray's London Footman's Speech, 1845-6, 229.
6. Tuer's Cockney Almanac, 229.
7. Baumann's Londonisms, 230.
8. TH.'s London Observations, 231.
9. JGG.'s East London Pronunciation, 233.
10. Rural Speech from Bu. Ht. Mi. 234-236.

Australasian South Eastern, 236-248. Intro. 236. Mr. McBurney's article in the *Lyttelton Times*, New Zealand, 237. Mr. McBurney's Table of Australasian Pronunciation, 239-248.

D 18=NE.=North Eastern, so-called in opposition to D 17=SE.
248-259.

Intro. 248.

- Var. i. Mid Cb. dt. 249. Sawston, Cb., dt. 250. Wood Ditton, Cb., dt. 250. March dt. 251. Wisbech cwl. 252.
- Var. ii. North-eastern Northamptonshire cwl. from Peterborough, Ailesworth, Castor, Eye, Peakirk, Rockingham, Stamford, Li.; Wakerley, Werrington, Wryde, Cb. 254.
- Var. iii. Rutland. Cottesmore dt. 255. Oakham dt. 256. Rutland cwl. from Cottesmore, Oakham, and Stretton, 256-259.

D 19=EE.=East Eastern, 259-289.

Intro. 259.

- Var. i. nw.Nf. Form, 262-263. nw.Nf. cwl. from King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Hunstanton neighbourhoods, 262. Narborough dt. 263.
- Var. ii. ne.Nf. Form, 263-272. Stanhoe dt. 264. Stanhoe cwl. 264-268. Notes from Rev. P. Hoste, with Words and Phrases noted, 268-269. Examination of Forby's pron. 269. Notes and sentences by TH. 272. North Walsham dt. 272.
- Var. iii. s.Nf. Form, 273-279. Mattishall, Kimberley, and East Dereham cs. 273-275. Kirkby-Bedon cwl. 275. Examples from neighbourhood of Norwich, I. from Dr. Lomb; II. from Mrs. Luscombe; III. *Farmer's Dialogue*, from anonymous passenger; IV. from Rev. T. Burningham; V. from AJE.; VI. from TH., m. and s. Norfolk [misprinted Norwich], 276-278. Gt. Yarmouth dt. 278. s.Nf. cwl. from Buxton, Diss, East Dereham, North Tuddenham, Norwich, Thetford, Wymondham, 279.
- Var. iv. e.Sf. Form, 279-287. Framlingham, Woodbridge, and Stowmarket cs. 279-281. Southwold cwl. and sentences, 281-285. Orford dt. 285. e.Sf. cwl. from Moor's *Suffolk Words*, 286.
- Var. v. w.Sf. Form, 287-289. Pakenham cs. 287. Differences of w. and e. Sf. 288.

IV. THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS,
290-493.

Intro. 290-296. Boundaries, 290. Area, 290. Sections, 290. Districts and Groups, 290. Character, 290-296. Vowel Forms, 290-293. (*u*, *u*_i, *u*), 290. (*æ*'*u*), 292. (*i**i*, *a*'*i*, *a*'*u*), 293. Consonant Forms, 293-295. (*ɾ*), 293. (*h*), 295. Constructional Forms [*the*, *-en*, *I am*], 295-296. Peculiar Words [*hoo*, *shoo*], 296. Negative Character, 296.

D 20=BM.=Border Midland, 296-315.

Intro., Boundaries, Area, Character, 296-298.

- Var. i. South Li. Form, 298-302. Friskney sentences, 298. Billingborough examples, 299. South Li. cwl. 299-302.
- Var. ii. Mid Li. Form, 302-310. Lord Tennyson's poems, vv. examination, 302-306. Northern Farmer Old Style, 303. Northern Farmer New Style, 304. Halton Hologate dt. 306. Test sentences, 307. Fragments of Spilsby Talk, from Mrs. Douglas Arden's note book, 308. Mid Li. cwl. 309.
- Var. iii. North Li. Form, 310-315. Intro. 310. Treatment of *ou* in Mr. Peacock's Glossary, first edition, 311. n.Li. dt. 312. Winterton cs. 312. n.Li. cwl. 313.

D 21=s.NM.=southern North Midland, 315-329.

Introd. 315-317. TH.'s peculiarities of notation, 316. Three Interlinear cs. for Stalybridge, Glossop, and Chapel-en-le-Frith 317-321. Chapel-en-le-Frith dt. 322. se.La. and nw.Db. cwl. from Rochdale, Oldham (:a'udem) Patricroft, Hope Woodlands, Edale, Peak Forest, and Stalybridge, 322. Chapel-en-le-Frith cwl. 323-329. Principal Variants for Combs Valley, 329.

D 22=w.NM.=western North Midland, 329-351.

Introd. 329-331. Four Interlinear cs. for Var. i. Skelmersdale; Var. ii. Westhoughton; Var. iii. Leyland, and Var. v. Burnley, 332-339; Var. iv. Two Interlinear dt. for Blackburn and Huddlesden, 339; Var. vi. Old Colne Valley, recent changes, 340, dt. 341.

Var. i. Ormskirk and neighbourhood cwl. 342.

Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan cwl. 343.

Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland cwl. 345.

Var. iv. Blackburn cwl. 346-350.

Var. v. Burnley cwl. 350.

D 23=n.NM.=northern North Midland, 351-363.

Var. i. The Fylde, 352. Introd. 352. Two cs. in parallel columns for Poulton and Goosnargh, 354. Poulton Phrases, 357. Wyersdale dt. 358. The Fylde cwl. 358-360.

Var. ii. The Isle of Man, Introd. 360. Three Interlinear dt. for Lezayre, Peel, and Rushen, 361. Isle of Man cwl. 363.

D 24=e.NM.=eastern North Midland, 364-408.

Introd. 364-366. Eight Interlinear cs. from Huddersfield (notes 378), Halifax (notes 384), Keighley (notes 386), Bradford (notes 390), Leeds (notes 396), Dewsbury (notes 404), Rotherham (notes 404), Sheffield, 367-377.

Var. i. Huddersfield and neighbourhood, 377-382. Introd. 377. Notes to Huddersfield cs. 378. Marsden dt. 379. Upper Cumberworth dt. 380. Huddersfield and neighbourhood cwl. 380.

Var. ii. Halifax and neighbourhood, 382-384. Introd. 382. Halifax cwl. from Crabtree, 383. Elland dt. 384. Notes to Halifax cs. 384.

Var. iii. Keighley, 384-388. Introd. 384. Extracts from cs. by TH. and CCR. compared, 385. Notes to cs. 386. Keighley cwl. 387.

Var. iv. Bradford, 388-394. Introd. 388. Windhill dt. 389. Calverley dt. 390. Notes to Bradford cs. 390. Bradford and Windhill cwl. 391.

Var. v. Leeds and its neighbourhood, 394-402. Introd. 394. Comparison of Bradford and Leeds, 395. Leeds refined form, 396. Notes to Leeds cs. 396. Leeds and neighbourhood cwl. 397-400. Notes to Leeds cwl. 400. Wakefield cwl. 401. Wakefield printer's orthography, 403.

Var. vi. Dewsbury, 402. Barnsley dt. 403. Notes to Dewsbury cs. 404.

Var. vii. Rotherham and surrounding villages, 404. Notes to Rotherham cs. 404

Var. viii. Sheffield and neighbourhood, 405.

Var. ix. Doncaster, 405. Doncaster cwl. 406-408.

D 25=w.MM.=western Mid Midland, 408-424.

Introd. 408. Four Interlinear dt. from Bickley, Sandbach, Leek, and Combs, 411. Notes to these dt. 412. Four Interlinear cs. and with variants in a fifth, from Tarporley, Middlewich, Shrigley, Goyt (variants), and Burslem, 413-420. Notes to these cs. 420. West and South Cheshire cwl. 421. North Staffordshire cwl. 422. South Cheshire or Bickley, cwl. 422-424.

Phonetic Version of Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 4.

D 26=e.MM.=eastern Mid Midland, 424-447.

Introd. 424. Eight Interlinear Derbyshire cs. from 1 Bradwell, 2 Taddington, 3 Ashford, 4 Winstar, 5 and 6 Ashbourne (two), 7 Brampton, 8 Repton, 426-438. Seven Interlinear Derbyshire and east Staffordshire dt. from 1 Eckington, 2 Barlborough, 3 Bolsover, 4 South Wingfield, 5 West Hallam, 6 Brailsford, 7 Flash, St., 438-441. Further Examples, all observed by TH. from 1. Middleton-by-Wirksworth, 2. Wirksworth, 3. Idridgehay, 4. Flash, 5. Alstonefield, 6. Hartington, 7. Bolsover, 441-442.

Var. i. Northern South Peak cwl. 442.

Var. ii. Western Derbyshire and East Staffordshire cwl. 444.

Var. iii. Eastern Derbyshire cwl. 445.

Var. iv. Southern Derbyshire cwl. 446.

D 27=EM.=East Midland, 447-451.

Introd. 447. Nottinghamshire dt. 448. Other Examples dictated to TH. at Bingham and Mansfield, 449. Fragments of two Bingham cs. 449. Nt. cwl. 450.

D 28=w.SM.=western South Midland, 451-459.

Introd. 451. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Ellesmere, 2. Whixall, 3. Hanmer, 4. Farndon, 452-454.

Var. i. North Shropshire cwl. 455.

Var. ii. Detached Flint cwl. 456.

Var. iii. South Cheshire cwl. 457.

Var. iv. Welsh Flint and Denbigh cwl. 458.

D 29=e.SM.=eastern South Midland, 459-493.

Introd. 459-463. Forms of negatives, 461. Table of varieties, 462. Five Interlinear cs. from 1. Cannock Chase, 2. Dudley, 3. Atherstone, 4. Waltham, 5. Enderby variants, 463-471. Eight Interlinear dt. from 1. Edgmond, Sh., 2. Eccleshall, St., 3. Burton-on-Trent, St., 4. Lichfield, St., 5. Wellington, Sh., 6. Coalbrookdale, Sh., 7. Darlaston, St., 8. Belgrave, Le., 471-476. Additional Illustrations from Market Drayton, Sh., Edgmond, Sh., Eccleshall, St., Haughton, St., Burton-on-Trent, St., Barton-under-Needwood, St., Darlaston, St., Walsall, St., 476-478.

Var. ia. North-east Shropshire and North-west Staffordshire cwl. 478. —Var. ib. West Mid Shropshire cwl. 480.—Var. ic. East Mid Staffordshire cwl. 482.

Var. iia. Mid East and South East Shropshire cwl. 483.—Var. iib. South Staffordshire cwl. 484.—Var. iic. North Worcestershire cwl. 485.

Var. iiia. East Warwickshire cwl. 487.—Var. iiib. West Warwickshire cwl. 488.

Var. iva. Leicester cwl. 489-493.

V. THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS,
494-680.

Introd. 494.

D 30=EN.=East Northern, 495-537.

Introd. 495. Variations described, 497. Market Weighton and Marshland contrasted, 497. Ten Interlinear cs. from 1. Mid Yo., 2. South Ainsty, 3. North Mid Yo., 4. New Malton, 5. Lower Nidderdale, 6. Washburn River, 7. South Cleveland, 8. North-East Coast, 9. Market Weighton, 10. Holderness. Introd. 499-502. Text, 502-513. Notes, 513-519. Four Interlinear dt. from 1. Danby, 2. Skelton, 3. Whitby, 4. The Moors,

with notes, 519–521. Three Interlinear dt. for South-East Yorkshire, viz. 1 East Holderness, 2 Sutton, 3 Goole, 522.

Var. i. Mid Yorkshire cwl. 523–526.

Var. ii. North-East Yorkshire cwl. 527–528.

Var. iii*a*. Market Weighton cwl. 529–532.

Var. iii*b*. Holderness and Var. iv. Snaith cwl. 532–537.

D 31=WN.=West Northern, 537–637.

Introd. 537. The Edenside Speech-sounds, 539–543. Varieties, 543.

Var. i. Craven, etc. 544–549. Introd. 544. Comparison of CCR. and JGG.'s versions, 544–547. Chaucer's "Strothir," 547. Three Interlinear dt. for 1. Hurst, 2. Giggleswick, and 3. Skipton, 548.

Var. ii. Lonsdale. Introd. *to* and *at* before infinitive, 549. Peacock's and Stockdale's Song of Solomon, chap. ii. Interlinear, 550–553. Broughton-in-Furness dt. and Phrases, 553. The transition from (*u*_o) to (*u*), 554.

Var. iii. Westmorland s. of the Watershed, 555.

Var. iv. Edenside, 555.

Var. v. West Cumberland, 556.

Var. vi. South Durham, 556.

Twenty-Two Interlinear cs.; from D 30, 1 Mid Yorkshire; from D 31, Var. i. 2 Muker, Yo.; 3 Hawes, Yo.; from Var. ii. 4 Cartmel, La.; 5 Coniston, La.; from Var. iii. 6 Casterton, We.; 7 Dent, Yo.; 8 Sedberg, Yo.; 9 Kendal, We.; 10 Long Sleddale, We.; 11 Orton, We.; from Var. iv. 12 Kirkby Stephen, We.; 13 Crosby Ravensworth, We.; 14 Temple Sowerby, We.; 15 Milburn, We.; 16 Langwathby, Cu.; 17 Ellonby, Cu.; from Var. v. 18 Keswick, Cu.; 19 Clifton, Cu.; 20 Abbey Holme, Cu.; from D 32, Var. i. 21 Carlisle, Cu.; 22 Knaresdale, Nb. Introd. 557–563. Text, 563–594. Notes, 595–602. Traditional Names of Places in Edenside, 602–607. *Seward's Dialogue* for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo., Introd. 608. Text, 608–615. Notes, 615. Weardale and Teesdale, namely, Stanhope dt. and variants, 617–619.

Var. i. Form *a*. North Craven cwl. from Burton-in-Lonsdale, Chapel-le-Dale, Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale, with Muker for comparison, 619 to 623.—Form *b*. North-West Horn of Yo. 624.

Var. ii*a*. North La. cwl. Lonsdale south of the Sands, 626.

Var. ii*b*. Furness and Cartmel, Lonsdale north of the Sands, 627–629.

Var. iii. Dent and Howgill cwl. 630–633.

Var. iv. Edenside cwl. 633.

Var. v. West Cumberland cwl. 634.

Var. vi. Weardale and Teesdale cwl. 634–637.

D 32=NN.=North Northern, 637–680.

Introd. 637. Varieties, 640. The Burr, 641 to 644. Three Interlinear cs. for 1 South Shields, 2 Newcastle-on-Tyne, and 3 Berwick-upon-Tweed, 645 to 652. Twenty-Two Interlinear dt.; for Var. ii. 1 Edmondbyers; 2 Lanchester; 3 Annfield Plain; 4 Bishop Middleham; 5 Kelloe; 6 Sunderland; for Var. iii. 7 and 8 Hexham (two); 9 Haltwhistle; for Var. iv. 10 Stamfordham; 11 Whalton; 12 Newcastle; 13 North Shields; for Var. v. 14 Rothbury; 15 Snitter; 16 Harbottle; 17 Warkworth; 18 Aluwick; 19 Whittingham; 20 and 21 Embleton (two); for Var. vi. 22 Wooler, 653 to 669. The Notes to No. 17, Warkworth, include *Ned White*, a yarn, 666.

Var. i. Brampton, Cu., cwl. 669–672.

Var. ii. South Shields, Du., cwl. 672–674.

Var. iii. and iv. contrasted in s.Nb. cwl. 674–677.

Var. v. Warkworth Nb. cwl. 678–680.

VI. THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND, 681-820.

Intro. 681-709. Eight Interlinear cs. for 1 Bewcastle, Cu.; 2 Hawick, Rx.; 3 Edinburgh, Ed.; 4 Stranraer, Wg.; 5 Arbroath, Fo.; 6 Keith, Ba.; 7 Wick, Cs.; 8 Dunrossness, Sd., 682-697. Five Interlinear versions of Ruth, chap. i., for 1 Teviotdale; 2 Ayr; 3 Buchan; 4 s.Cheshire; 5 w.Somerset, 698-709.

D 33 = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*, 709-723.

Intro. 709. Phonetics, 710-712. Unaccented syllables, 712. Bewcastle cs. 682, 684. Hawick cs. 682, 684. Teviotdale Ruth, chap. i. 698. Melville Bell's Teviotdale sentences, 714. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, 715. Hawick cwl. 716-721. Liddesdale Head cwl. 721-723.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife*, 723-728.

Intro. 723. Melville Bell's Lothian sentences, 724; his Fife sentences, 725; and Lothian and Fife numerals, 726. Chirnside dt. 726. Mid Lothian cwl. 726.

D 35 = w.ML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Clydesdale*, 728-747.

Intro. 728. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences, 730. Kyle, Ay., dt. 731. *Tam o' Shanter*, edited from photolithographed facsimile of MS., phonetically transcribed and annotated, 731-741. Western Mid Lowland cwl. 742-746. Loch'winnoch notes, 747.

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Galloway and Carrick*, 747-751.

Intro. 747. Phonetic transcription of Burns's *Duncan Grey*, 748. Southern Mid Lowland cwl. 749.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border*, 751-755.

Intro. 751. North-West Fifeshire dt. 752. Neighbourhood of Perth dt. 753; ditto cwl. including words from *Enga*, 753.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland = Dr. Murray's *North Eastern Group*, 755.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Angus*, 755-763.

Intro. 755. Arbroath cs. 684. Two Interlinear dt. from 1 Dundee, and 2 Glenfarquhar, 758. Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases, 759. Notes to Glenfarquhar dt. 759; ditto to Dundee dt. 760. Glenfarquhar cwl. 760-763.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen*, 763-785.

Intro. 763. Peculiar use of (ái, á'i, é'i), 766.

Pronunciation in Cromár, 766-768. On (*i*₁₁), 767. Cromár Examples by Mr. Innes, 1. *The Meeting*, 769; 2. *Yule-tide*, 770; 3. *The Fight*, 773. Notes to 2 and 3, 775.

Melville Bell's sentences, 777. Rev. W. Gregor's Notes and Phrases, 777. Mid North Lowland cwl. 779-785.

D 40=n.NL.=northern North Lowland=Dr. Murray's *Caitliness*,
786-788.

Introd. 786. Wick es. 683, No. 7. Wick cwl. 787.

D 41 and 42=IL.=Insular Lowland, 788-790.

Introd. 788. Representation of (th, dh), 789.

D 41=s.IL.=southern Insular Lowland, 790-814.

Introd. 790. Mr. Dennison's PAETY TORAL's TRAVELLYE pal. and translated, 791-798; annotated, 798-802. JOHN GILPIN translated into the oldest existing form of Orkney by Mr. Dennison, 802-809; annotated, 810. Orkney cwl. 812-814.

D 42=n.IL.=northern Insular Lowland, 814-820.

Introd. 814. PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON translated by Mr. Laurenson, 816. PARABLE OF THE SOWER translated by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 817. Shetland cwl. 818-820.

A FEW RESULTS, 821-835.

Local varieties of speech, 821. Dialect as here understood, 822. Probable value of West Saxon or Wessex letters, 823. Treatment of short vowels, 823. Examination of the words tabulated in Part I. 291, with supposed long *i* pron. as (ii), 825. Double treatment of long vowels by shortening and fracturing, 826. Ws. diphthongs, 829; consonants, 830. The letter R, 830. Initial S, F, TH, CN, 832. Dialect groups, 834. Peculiar constructions, 834. Peculiar words, 835.

NOTICE.

After fourteen years' delay I am at last able to produce Part V. of my *Early English Pronunciation*, containing the relation of the present to the past pronunciation of our language as exhibited in "The Existing Phonology of the English Dialects." A glance at the Table of Contents, the Alphabetical County List, p. 32*, and the Alphabetical List of Informants, p. 67*, will I trust sufficiently explain the cause of the delay. The work I found myself involved in was far greater than I had contemplated, and the difficulty of obtaining intelligible information on which reliance could be placed far exceeded my anticipations. The list of Informants will shew how large a number of persons came forward to help me. It will also shew that I am more especially indebted to a very few of these, whom I have mentioned on pp. 4 and 5, and far the foremost among them as regards the number of places from which information was obtained (over 500), accuracy of report in the system of notation here adopted, trustworthiness of detail and length of time during which he worked, was Mr. Thomas Hallam, of Manchester. Without his unflagging diligence, and his many excursions to gain phonetic knowledge during nearly twenty years, the account I have been able to give of the Midland Division and its adjacent regions would have been very deficient, instead of presenting remarkable fullness of detail. Next in order, and though far inferior in the number of places, in no respect inferior in the importance of his contributions, and in correctness of detail obtained by extraordinary diligence, was Mr. J. G. Goodchild, whose work in D 31, comprising Cumberland, Westmorland, and North-west of Yorkshire, leaves scarcely anything to be desired in minute accuracy and repeated careful verification.

I have endeavoured in the lists of 1145 places from which, and 811 persons from whom, I obtained information and assistance, to specify every case, but I cannot hope to have been perfectly successful. To every one, however, named and unnamed, and especially to the natives themselves, from whom the information was ultimately obtained, but whose names are only occasionally mentioned, I tender my grateful thanks. To them is

due the value of the present volume as an authentic document, for future philologists to consult.

Finally I have sincerely to thank the three Societies—the Philological Society, the Early English Text Society, and the Chaucer Society—and in connection with them Dr. F. J. Furnivall, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the first and Director of the other two, and of other literary societies, who is so well known by his labours in Early English, for enabling me to print and publish these researches. The extent and the consequent expense of my work have greatly exceeded my anticipations. I have in every instance studied brevity and compression, and I believe the results could not have been legibly printed in smaller space, while it seemed important in the interests of philology generally, and English philology in particular, to secure the information obtained, which is becoming rapidly irreplaceable. It might perhaps have been possible with a few years more work to reduce the bulk of this volume, but considering that I was 75 on 14 June, 1889, I did not think it safe to delay. If however health and strength allow, there will be a brief Part VI. containing a summary of the whole work, a consideration of the observations of other scholars, and an index of such matters as have not been otherwise indexed.

In conclusion, I add some dates concerning my *Early English Pronunciation*, of which the present investigation forms a part, as I wish to preserve them in connection with an undertaking that has occupied me for so many years.

1848, June, first attempt at writing dialectal pronunciation from dictation, being *Duncan Gray*, p. 748.

1859, Feb. 14, on this (Valentine's) day I discovered in the British Museum Salesbury's "Dictionary in Englyſhe and Welfſh—wherevnto is prefixed a little treatyſe of the englyſhe pronunziacion of the letters," 1547, which was the origin of my paper in 1867, and hence of the whole of my work on *Early English Pronunciation* (E. E. P.) and the present inquiry into dialectal phonology. See III. 743-794.

1866, Dec. Paper on "Palaeotype, or the representation of Spoken Sounds for philological purposes by means of the Ancient Types," to the Philological Society (Ph. S.). This was the alphabet which made my E. E. P. and investigations of Dialectal Phonology possible, as no new types were required.

1867, Feb. Paper to Ph. S. on the

Pronunciation of English in the xvth century, the foundation of my E. E. P.—Oct. Began the MS. of E. E. P.

1868, Aug. First dialectal information for this book written from dictation at Norwich, pp. 275-7.

1869, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part I. For dialectal collections, see I. 277 and 291.—Aug. Publication of E. E. P., Part II.

1870, April. Paper on Glossic to the Ph. S., printed entirely in Glossic in the Transactions, with Key to Universal Glossic. This is the Alphabet in my *English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes*, for the English Dialect Society, and it has been used in many of that Society's publications.

1871, Feb. Publication of E. E. P., Part III., with a *Notice* starting my systematic enquiry into the Pronunciation of English Dialects, and giving a table of "presumed Varieties of English pronunciation." In a reprint of

- this, widely circulated, containing a Key to Glossic, and called "Varieties of English Pronunciation," I suggested the formation of an *English Dialect Society*, which has subsequently done good work.
- 1872, April and May. Papers on Diphthongs to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1873, Feb. Paper on Accent and Emphasis to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—May, Paper on Final E to the Ph. S., to form part of E. E. P., Part VI.—Sept. First edition of the Comparative Specimen (cs.), p. 7*, used for collecting information on dialectal pronunciation. Of this I have printed below 104 translations.
- 1874, Jan. Paper on Physical Theory of Aspiration to the Ph. S., incorporated in E. E. P., Part IV.—March. Paper on Vowel Changes in English Dialects to the Ph. S.—Dec. Publication of E. E. P., Part IV.
- 1875, March. Paper on the classification of the English Dialects to the Ph. S.—June, second edition of cs.
- 1876, March. Lecture on Dialects to the London Institution, when my first large Dialectal Map was drawn and shewn, leaving a blank from the Wash to Sussex.—July to Sept. Going over the whole of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's Dialect Library, and making extracts for this work.—Dec. The London Institution Lecture repeated at Norwood. These lectures were most important preliminary work for the investigation.
- 1877, Mar. Paper on Dialectal Phonology to the Ph. S.—Oct. Issue of my original Word-Lists (wl.) suggested by the last paper. Of this I have printed below 112 rearrangements as a cwl. or classified word list.—Nov. and Dec. Obtaining dialectal information at Whitelands Training College.
- 1879, Jan. Two lectures on Dialects at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with the large map reconstituted and gaps filled in, whence I got much information for N. div.—Feb. Issue of my Dialect Test. Of this I have printed below 116 translations.—April and May. Two reports to the Ph. S. on the state of my investigations.
- 1880, Oct. Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to Working Men's College.
- 1880, Dec. Paper on Dialects of South of England to Ph. S.
- 1881, June. Obtaining supplementary dialectal information from Whitelands Training College.
- 1882, April. Paper on the Dialects of Midland and Eastern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Paper on the "Delimitation of English and Welsh" (that is, the present Celtic Border, p. 12) to the Cymrodorion Society.
- 1883, March. Paper on the Dialects of the Northern Counties to the Ph. S.—May. Repeat Lecture on "English Dialects—their Sounds and Homes," to the College for Men and Women.—Nov. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Mainland) to the Ph. S.
- 1884, April. Paper on the Dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland (Insular) and of the Isle of Man to the Ph. S.
- 1885, May. A Report to the Ph. S. on the Dialectal Work I had done since 19 Nov. 1883.
- 1886, May. First (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.
- 1887, May. Second (published) Report on Dialectal Work to the Ph. S.—Nov. First proofs of this Part V. received, the first draft having been completed.
- 1888, May. Short report to the Ph. S. on the state of the work.
- 1889, May. Final report to the Ph. S. announcing the practical completion of Part V. at press.—June. Last proof of Part V. received.

To account for some of the delays and gaps I may mention that in 1874, April, I wrote my treatise on *Algebra identified with Geometry*, and in June, my treatise on the *Quantitative Pronunciation of Latin*, and that in 1875, June, I published the first edition of my translation of Helmholtz on the *Sensations of Tone*; in 1876 my tract on the *English, Dionysian and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*, and in 1881

two papers on the *Computation of Logarithms* for the Royal Society (Proceedings, vol. 31, pp. 381-413); in 1880, Mar., my laborious *History of Musical Pitch* for the Society of Arts; in 1885, April, my account of the *Musical Scales of Various Nations*, also for the Society of Arts, and in July the second edition of my translation of Helmholtz, all works re-

quiring much preparation and often lengthy investigations, and hence greatly interfering with other work. I had also five Presidential Addresses to prepare for the Ph. S. and deliver in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1881, and 1882, each of them occupying much time, and three of them involving considerable correspondence.

ALEXANDER J. ELLIS,

25, ARGYLL ROAD, KENSINGTON, LONDON, W.

15 June, 1889.

PRELIMINARY MATTER.

- I. THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.
- II. KEY TO THE MAPS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.
- III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN (cs.).
- IV. DIALECT TEST (dt.) AND NOTES.
- V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST (cwl.). WITH INDEX.
- VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.
- VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST, AND INDEX TO ALL THE NAMES OF PERSONS MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.
- VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

I. NOTE ON THE RELATION OF THIS TREATISE TO PRECEDING CHAPTERS.

EARLY ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION, Part V, Chapter XI. continued. § 3. *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects.*

The above gives the true relation of the present investigation, forming Part V. of my 'Early English Pronunciation,' to the four preceding parts.

In 1874, when the portion of Chapter XI. § 2, *Natural English Pronunciation*, contained in Part IV. pp. 1243-1432, was printed, it was intended to include in it the present § 3. But my subsequent labours have resulted in such a development of the whole subject that what was originally meant to be merely a brief illustration, occupying only 30 pages of manuscript in the original draft of my Early English Pronunciation, made in 1867, before any part was printed, has become a substantive and unexpectedly complete treatise, which must therefore bear a separate title.

This again has conditioned many changes. In Part IV. § 2, No. 3, p. 1248, I gave a sketch of the proposed arrangement of § 2, which in 1874 had already much increased in extent and character from the jejune table of contents of Chapter XI. prefixed to Part I. This whole arrangement, and hence also the allusions to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's versions of the Song of Solomon, p. 1246 c, and p. 1374 a, must be considered as cancelled. The versions of the Song of Solomon published by the Prince, and written by the best authorities he could procure, were admirable when made, as opening out the whole question of English Dialects in a comparative form; but when I endeavoured to utilise them for the present investigation, I found it impossible to determine the pronunciation from the orthography with any approach to the necessary accuracy, and hence I have been reluctantly compelled to pass them by altogether.

The Dialectal Alphabet, § 2, No. 3, Part IV. pp. 1252-1265, was also premature. This section is practically superseded 1) by the new table of Dialectal Palaeotype, that is, the modification of palaeotype which the experience of dialectal work has shewn to be necessary, with little or no reference to foreign languages, which will be given at the end of this preliminary matter, and 2) by the table of Approximative Glossic prefixed to my abridgment of this treatise, made for the English Dialect Society, and called *English Dialects,—their Sounds and Homes*; in which Glossic is used as an approximate representation of dialectal sounds sufficient for readers, who, not having made a study of phonetics, are contented with general conceptions, instead of the scientific accuracy aimed at in palaeotype.

Even the section on Vowel Fractures and Junctures, Part IV., pp. 1307-1317, although mostly sound, requires slight modification after my subsequent far wider experience, as will appear in detail hereafter.

Hence I erect Part V. into an independent treatise, under its own separate title, "EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS."

II. KEY TO THE MAPS OF THE ENGLISH AND LOWLAND DIALECT DISTRICTS, AND LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

The MAPS themselves are loose, and kept in pockets in the cover, for greater ease of reference.

The BOUNDING LINES OF THE DISTRICTS are drawn in red over Philip & Son's convenient little maps, but on account of the smallness of the scales (that of England being about 57 miles to the inch, and that of Scotland about 42 miles to the inch), the boundaries could be only roughly laid down. They had been, however, all previously traced out on maps of 4 miles to the inch, and will hereafter be indicated in words as accurately as the information hitherto obtained allows.

The COUNTRY CONSIDERED lies east and south of the CELTIC BORDER marked CB, commencing in Ireland, and passing through Wales and Scotland.

The six principal DIVISIONS, Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern and Lowland, are bounded by thick lines, and, being sufficiently indicated by these positional names, are, to prevent overloading the maps, not further marked.

The forty-two DISTRICTS, in each of which a sensible similarity of pronunciation prevails, are bounded by continuous lines, numbered with bold figures, in the order in which they will be treated, and are named positionally in the following list.

VARIETIES, or parts of Districts separately considered, are not entered on the map, but are numbered with small Roman numerals, named and roughly located on the next two pages.

The CHARACTERS, principally phonetic, by which Districts and Varieties are distinguished, are fully detailed and illustrated in the following pages.

The TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, passing from sea to sea, and limiting certain dialectal usages, are represented on the map by broken lines, which, when the Transverse Lines coincide during any part of their length with the boundaries of Divisions or Districts, are expressed by small cross-lines. The Transverse Lines are numbered with small figures in (), and when two or more of them are partially coincident with one another, all the corresponding numbers are annexed as (1. 2), (4. 5), (8. 9. 10).

The names of these ten lines are as follows :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) the north <i>sum</i> . | (6) the south <i>hoose</i> . |
| (2) the south <i>sööm</i> . | (7) the north <i>tee</i> . |
| (3) the reverted <i>ur</i> . | (8) the south <i>sum</i> . |
| (4) the south <i>teeth</i> . | (9) the north <i>sööm</i> . |
| (5) the north <i>theeth</i> . | (10) the south Lowland. |

The meaning of these names is fully explained in a special section below.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOLLOWING LIST.

B, b. Border.	E, e. East-ern.	N, n. North-ern.
C Celtic.	I Insular.	S, s. South-ern.
D District.	L Lowland (Scotch).	V Variety.
Div. Division.	M, m. Mid, Midland.	W, w. West-ern.

TWO-LETTER ABBREVIATIONS OF NAMES OF COUNTIES CONSIDERED.

Ab. Aberdeenshire.	Fi. Fife.	Nt. Nottingham.
Ar. Argyll.	Fl. Flint.	Or. Orkney Isles.
Ay. Ayr.	Fo. Forfar.	Ox. Oxford.
Ba. Banff.	Gl. Gloucester.	Pb. Peebles.
Bd. Bedford.	Gm. Glamorgan.	Pm. Pembroke.
Be. Berks.	Ha. Hampshire.	Pr. Perth.
Br. Brecknock.	Hd. Haddingtonshire.	Rd. Radnor.
Bt. Bute.	He. Hereford.	Rf. Renfrew.
Bu. Bucks.	Ht. Hertford.	Rt. Rutland.
Bw. Berwickshire.	Hu. Huntingdon.	Rx. Roxburghshire.
Cb. Cambridge.	Kb. Kircudbright.	Sc. Scilly Isles.
Cc. Clackmannan.	Kc. Kincardine.	Sd. Shetland Isles.
Cd. Cardigan.	Ke. Kent.	Se. Selkirk.
Ch. Cheshire.	Kr. Kinross.	Sf. Suffolk.
Co. Cornwall.	La. Lancashire.	Sg. Stirling.
Cr. Cromarty.	Le. Leicester.	Sh. Shropshire.
Cs. Caithness.	Li. Lincoln.	Sm. Somerset.
Cu. Cumberland.	Lk. Lanark.	Sr. Surrey.
Db. Derby.	Ll. Linlithgow.	Ss. Sussex.
Df. Dumfries.	Ma. Isle of Man.	St. Stafford.
Dm. Dumbarton.	Mg. Montgomery.	Wa. Warwick.
Dn. Denbigh.	Mi. Middlesex.	We. Westmorland.
Do. Dorset.	Mo. Monmouth.	Wg. Wigtonshire.
Du. Durham.	My. Moray.	Wi. Isle of Wight.
Dv. Devon.	Na. Nairn.	Wl. Wiltshire.
Ed. Edinburghshire.	Nb. Northumberland.	Wo. Worcester.
El. Elgin.	Nf. Norfolk.	Wx. Wexford.
ER. East Riding of Yo.	Np. Northampton.	WR. West Riding of Yo.
Es. Essex.	NR. North Riding of Yo.	Yo. Yorkshire.

LIST OF DIVISIONS, DISTRICTS AND VARIETIES, WITH THEIR NAMES.

I. S. Div.	v. Utchland.	D 8. s.BS.
D 1 to 12.	Merriott, Montacute, and about a dozen villages between the railways w. of Yeovil Sm., where the personal pronoun I is called <i>utch</i> .	Containing s. London and suburbs in Be. Sr. and ne.Ke.
D 1. w.CS.	vi. n. and e. Sm.	D 9. ES.
That is, S on C ground, shewn on the map by the CB pointing to l in margin, representing the position of the se. of Wx. in Ireland, opposite Aberystwith Cd. Dialect in existence a century ago, but now extinct.	D 5. e.MS.	V i. e.Ss.
D 2. m.CS.	V i. Ox.	ii. n.Ke.
In sw. Pm.	ii. Be.	iii. e.Ke.
D 3. e.CS.	iii. Ha. and Wi.	D 10. n.WS.
In sw. Gm.	iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss.	In w.Sm. and ne.Dv.
D 4. w.MS.	D 6. n.BS.	D 11. s.WS.
V i. Wl.	V i. Wo.	V i. n.Dv.
ii. Gl.	ii. s.Wa.	ii. s.Dv.
iii. e.He.	iii. Banbury.	iii. e.Co.
iv. Do.	iv. sw.Np.	D 12. w.WS.
	D 7. m.BS.	In w.Co. and Sc., modern, varied, not dialects proper.
	In m. and s. Ox.	II. W. Div.
		D 13 and 14.

- D 13. SW.
In Mo. He. Rd. and s.Sh.
D 14. NW.
In m. and se.Sh.

III. E. Div.

D 15 to 19.

- D 15. WE.
In m. and n.Bu.
D 16. ME.
V i. Ht.
ii. Bd.
iii. Hu.
iv. m.Np.
v. Es.
D 17. SE.
Containing n. London and
suburbs in Bu. Mi. and Es.
D 18. NE.
V i. Cb.
ii. ne.Np.
iii. Rt.
D 19. EE.
V i. nw.Nf.
ii. ne.Nf.
iii. s.Nf.
iv. e.Sf.
v. w.Sf.

IV. M. Div.

D 20 to 29.

- D 20. BM.
The whole co. of Li.
V i. s.Li.
ii. m.Li.
iii. n.Li.
D 21. s.NM.
V i. se.La.
ii. nw. and n. Peak of
Db.
D 22. w.NM.
V i. Ormskirk.
ii. Bolton and Wigan.
iii. Chorley & Leyland.
iv. Blackburn.
v. Burnley.
vi. Old Colne Valley.
D 23. n.NM.
V i. The Fylde in m.La.
ii. Ma.
D 24. e.NM.
Mostly in WR.
V i. Huddersfield.
ii. Halifax.
iii. Keighley.
iv. Bradford.
v. Leeds.

- vi. Dewsbury.
vii. Rotherham.
viii. Sheffield.
ix. Doncaster.

D 25. w.MM.

- V i. e.Ch.
ii. m.Ch.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. n.St.

D 26. e.MM.

- V i. s.Peak of Db.
ii. w.Db.
iii. e.Db.
iv. s.Db.

D 27. EM.

The whole co. of Nt.

D 28. w.SM.

- V i. nw.Sh.
ii. detached or Eng-
lish Fl.
iii. w.Ch.
iv. Dn. and se. of
main or Welch Fl.

D 29. e.SM.

- V i. a. ne.Sh. and nm.St.
b. wm.St.
c. em.St.
iia. me. and s.Sh.
b. s.St.
c. n.Wo.
iiia. e.Wa.
b. w.Wa.
iv. Le.

V. N. Div.

D 30 to 32.

D 30. EN.

Mostly in NR. and ER.

- V i. a. m.Yo.
b. York Ainsty.
c. Northallerton.
d. New Malton.
e. Pateley Bridge.
f. Washburn River.
iia. s.Cleveland.
b. ne. Coast and
Whitby.
iiia. Market Weigh-
ton.
b. Holderness.
iv. Goole & Marsh-
land.

D 31. WN.

In WR. Cu. and We.

- V i. n. Craven and nw.
Mining Dis-
tricts of Yo.
iia. s.Lonsdale.

iib. n.Lonsdale.

iii. s.We

iv. Edenside.

i.e. basin of River Eden in
Cu. and We.

v. w.Cu.

vi. s.Du.

D 32. NN.

- V i. n.Cu.
ii. n.Du.
iii. Hexham or sw.
Nb.
iv. Coalfields or se.
Nb.
v. m.Nb.
vi. n.Nb.

VI. L. Div.

Chiefly after Dr. Murray,
whose names of districts
are given in Italics.

D 33 to 42.

D 33. SL.

*Southern Counties.*With a different s. bound-
ary.

V i. English.

In n.Cu. and nw.Nb.

ii. Scotch.

In e.Df., Se. and Rx.

D 34. e.ML.

*Lothian and Fife.*In Bw. Cc. Ed. Fi. Hd. Kr.
Ll. and Pb.

D 35. w.ML.

*Clydesdale.*In Ar. n.Ay. Bt. e. and s.
Dm. Lk. Rf.

D 36. s.ML.

Galloway and Carrick.

In s.Ay. w.Df. Kb. Wg.

D 37. n.ML.

*Highland Border.*In nw.Fi. w.Fo. w.Sg.
e.Pr.

D 38. s.NL.

Angus.

In e.Fo. and m. and s.Kc.

D 39. m.NL.

*Moray and Aberdeen.*In Ab. Ba. e.Cr. El. n.Kc.
n.Na.

D 40. n.NL.

Caithness.

In ne.Cs.

The following were not
treated by Dr. Murray.

D 41. s.IL.

The Orkneys.

D 42. n.IL.

The Shetlands.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS IN FREQUENT USE.

abl.	ablative.	pf. t.	perfect tense.
acc.	accented, accusative.	pl.	plural.
adj.	adjective.	pp.	past or passive participle.
adv.	adverb.	pre.	preposition.
AJE.	A. J. Ellis, the author.	pro.	pronoun.
ans.	answers.	pron.	pronounce-d, pronunciation-s.
aq.	answers to questions.	prp.	present participle.
art.	article.	prt.	present tense.
b.	border, (preceding a date) born.	pt.	past tense.
CCR.	Mr. C. Clough Robinson.	pwl.	partial wl., one in which less than half the words had their pron. assigned.
cs.	comparative specimen-s.	rec.	received.
co.	county.	ro.	received orthography, or that commonly used.
cwl.	classified word list.	rp.	received pronunciation, or that of pronouncing dictionaries and educated people.
d.	(preceding a date) died.	rs.	received speech, with the grammar as well as pron. that educated people speak.
D.	Dutch.	sb.	substantive.
dat.	dative.	sg.	singular.
def. art.	definite article.	sim.	similarly.
dia.	dialect-s-al.	so.	some kind of systematic orthography.
dict.	dictate-d, dictation.	sp.	speech
diff.	differ-ent-ence.	spec.	specimen-s
diph.	diphthong-s-al.	TH.	Mr. Thomas Hallam.
dp.	dialectal pronunciation.	unacc.	unaccented.
ds.	dialectal speech, or speaker-s.	v.	version-s, or translation-s of cs. or dt. into dialectal speech or pron.
DSS.	Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Dialects of the South of Scotland.	vb.	verb-s, verbal.
dt.	dialect test-s.	vn.	verbal noun.
EEP.	Early English Pronunciation.	vv.	vivâ voce.
ex.	example-s.	wd.	word-s.
freq.	frequent-ly.	wl.	word list, as issued in Oct. 1877.
gen.	generally, genitive.	Ws.	Wessex, and West Saxon, both the country and language, literary Anglo-Saxon of the Southern type.
gl.	glossic, or written in glossic.	wn.	words noted from speakers, chiefly by TH. in his travelling note books.
imp.	imperfect.	y.	(following a number) years, as 10 y. = ten years acquainted with the dialect.
imp. t.	imperfect tense.		
imper.	imperative.		
ind.	indefinite.		
indic.	indicative.		
inf.	infinitive.		
io.	informant's orthography.		
JAHM.	Dr. James A. H. Murray.		
JGG.	Mr. J. G. Goodchild.		
LLB.	H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte.		
lw.	list of words (as distinguished from the wl. and cwl.).		
n.	old Norse.		
nom.	nominative.		
nwl.	numbered word list, that is with sounds expressed by the numbers sent with the wl.		
obs.	observe-d, observation-s.		
occ.	occasional-ly.		
orig.	original.		
orth.	orthography.		
pal.	palaeotype-d.		
par.	paragraph.		
pc.	post card, with an answer to the question it contained.		
pf.	perfect.		

To shew where places not on the Maps of the Dialect District are to be found, they are referred to places on those maps, thus :

4 nw. Lancaster = 4 miles measured in a northwesterly direction from Lancaster, and so in other cases.

III. COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN.

referred to in the following pages as cs.

This was constructed in Sep. 1873 by JAHM. and AJE., for the purpose of obtaining dia. renderings of familiar words in various connections and some characteristic constructions. A second edition was prepared in June 1875. It has been broken up into 15 short numbered paragraphs, and a title (0.), for convenience of rapid reference. The present copy in ro. will serve as a key to the numerous versions and extracts which follow. The paragraphs cited are always numbered to correspond with this copy.

(0.) WHY JOHN HAS NO DOUBTS.

(1.) Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.

(2.) Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? What should make them? It is not very likely, is it?

(3.) Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!

(4.) I am certain I heard them say—some of those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, safe enough,—

(5.) that the youngest son himself, a great boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it *was* so queer and squeaking, and I would trust *him* to speak the truth any day, aye, I *would*.

(6.) And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—

(7.) leastways she told it *me* when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and *she* ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

(8.) Well as I was saying, *she* would tell you, how, where and when she found the drunken beast that she calls her husband.

(9.) She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of yon lane.

(10.) He was whining away, says she, for all the world like a sick child, or a little girl in a fret.

(11.) And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes to dry on a washing day,

(12.) while the kettle was boiling for tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week ago come next Thursday.

(13.) And, do you know?, I never learned any more than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!

(14.) And so I am going home to sup. Good night, and don't be so quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t'other.

(15.) It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good b'ye.

IV. DIALECT TEST.

referred to in the following pages as dt.

This was constructed in Feb. 1879, in order to have a short specimen which contained an example of almost all the Ws. categories in the following cwl. No V., in which all the words occur separately. Here every word is numbered, and to each are added long notes, especially addressed to persons not much acquainted with phonetics, shewing the special points to which attention should be paid, and how to give the information required. These notes are here retained as forming a succinct and unsystematic conspectus of the principal varieties of English dialectal pron. In printing the versions, the numbering of the words has been abandoned, but the whole has been broken up into 7 short paragraphs to facilitate comparison. It is here printed in ro. to serve as an interpretation of all the v. that follow.

(1.) So¹ I² say,³ mates,⁴ you⁵ see⁶ now⁷ that⁸ I⁽²⁾ am⁹ right¹⁰ about¹¹ that¹² little¹³ girl¹⁴ coming¹⁵ from¹⁶ the¹⁷ school¹⁸ yonder.¹⁹

(2.) She²⁰ is²¹ going²² down²³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ road²⁴ there²⁵ through²⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ red²⁷ gate²⁸ on²⁹ the⁽¹⁷⁾ left³⁰ hand³¹ side³² of³³ the⁽¹⁷⁾ way.³⁴

(3.) Sure³⁵ enough,³⁶ the⁽¹⁷⁾ child³⁷ has³⁸ gone³⁹ straight⁴⁰ up⁴¹ to⁴² the⁽¹⁷⁾ door⁴³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ wrong⁴⁴ house,⁴⁵

(4.) where⁴⁶ she⁽²⁰⁾ will⁴⁷ chance⁴⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ find⁴⁹ that⁽¹²⁾ drunken⁵⁰ deaf⁵¹ shrivelled⁵² fellow⁵³ of⁽³³⁾ the⁽¹⁷⁾ name⁵⁴ of⁽³³⁾ Thomas.⁵⁵

(5.) We⁵⁶ all⁵⁷ know⁵⁸ him⁵⁹ very⁶⁰ well.⁶¹

(6.) Won't⁶² the⁽¹⁷⁾ old⁶³ chap⁶⁴ soon⁶⁵ teach⁶⁶ her⁶⁷ not⁶⁸ to⁽⁴²⁾ do⁶⁹ it⁷⁰ again,⁷¹ poor⁷² thing!⁷³

(7.) Look!⁷⁴ Isn't⁷⁵ it⁽⁷⁰⁾ true?⁷⁶

Notes.

* * The number of the wd. in the following cwl. is put at the end of each note, preceded by —.

1. **So.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Note whether *o* has a vanishing *ö* after it as in London. Mark the various fracture sounds, frequently used in the north, as *ee*, *ay*, or *oo*, followed by *a* in China.—1, 73.

2. **I.** Attempt in a note to indicate the first element of this diphthong, the second is almost always *ēē*. The first may be the sound of the *italic* letters in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pēt*, *nut*, *eur*, *pull*, *call*, *pop*, or some foreign sound. Reference to any named European language will be intelligible. Or this pronoun may not be a diphthong at all, but the simple vowel in *father*, *fall*, *folly*. These distinctions are all characteristic. Also note if *ie*, *itch*, *itchn*, *utch*, *utchy*, 'ch (as 'ch *am*, 'ch 'ould, 'ch 'ill = *I am*, *I would* *I will*), *ise*, *es*, *us*, have ever been heard for *I*. They

all occur in older books, but at present only *utch*, *utchy*, have been recorded at Merriott and Montacute, near Crewkerne, S. Somersetshire.—452.

3. **say.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *Zo I do say*, this is general when *s* becomes *z*; and then observe the vowel in *do*, which is generally unemphatic as *a* in China. Note whether *ay* has or has not a vanishing *ēē* after it as in London. Note whether it is pronounced with *a* in *father*, followed by *ēē*, that is, as the English-Greek *ai*, German *ai*, French *ai*, or English *aye* = yes. Mark if the *ay* be very broad like *e* in there. Mark if *say* is sounded like *see*, or almost like *seer* without a trill, or almost like the first syllable of *Sar-ah* also without a trill.—261.

4. **mates.** Use *mates*, *makes*, *mar-*

rows, soce, bo's, butties, boys, chums, according to the district, but select the word most familiarly used in a good sense as companion or fellow-worker. In *mates* or *makes* mark the long *a*, which may have all the varieties of *ay* in *say*, noted in No. 3, which see. *Soce* and *bo's* offer no difficulty, but in *butties* or *chums* mark (by an accent, as *û*, to be explained) whether the sound is between *u* in *but* and *u* in *put*, so that *but* nearly rhymes to *foot*. This is the Lancashire *û*, see No. 15. In *boys*, the diphthong requires attention, it may have its usual sound, or rhyme to *pies* (in which case it must be treated as *I* in No. 2), or be made up of *oo* and *é*.—737.

5. **you.** Note whether *you*, *ye*, or *'e* is used. If *you*, whether it rhymes to *too*, *toe*, or *now*. *You* is here plural, note whether it is also commonly used for the singular, or whether *thou* is commoner (and if so, whether *thee* is used as the nominative), or whether *thou* is used to some classes and *you* to others. Usage differs much.—435.

6. **see.** Note whether *s* or *z*. Observe whether *do* is inserted, as *you do zee*, which is generally the case when *z* is used; see No. 3. Note whether *ee* has quite a uniform sound or whether it seems to begin with *i* in *sit* and then to glide up to *ee*. Note if it is sounded like *say*, with or without a vanishing *ě*. The form of *eh*! very closely united to *ě*, is common. Mark whether it is followed by *û* as in *seer* without a trill.—428.

7. **now.** A word of very numerous forms. The *ow* may be a simple vowel, as in *too*, *tar*, *taw*, or may even be as in *near*, *ne'er*, without the trill. It is commonly a diphthong in which the last sound is *ö* and the first the vowel in *father*, *pass*, *pat*, *pet*, *pate*, *nat*, *cur*, *pot*, *toll*, or some foreign sound. The second element may also be *ě*, while the first is *a* in *father*. The second element may even be French *u*, and then the first may be *u* in *cur*, or broad French *eû*, German *ö* nearly. The *ow* is also very often a triphthong, a short sound of *ï* or *é* or *ä* being prefixed, as *nîow*, *neow*, *naiow*.—643.

8. **that.** Observe that the word is unemphatic and must be pronounced accordingly, the emphatic form No. 12 is reckoned as a different word. The unemphatic vowel is generally like *a* in *China*, or *e* in *pocket*, or *a* in *principal*,

ocean, or *i* in *it*. Note whether the *th* is entirely omitted. Also whether it is replaced by *d*.—177.

9. **am.** Use *am*, *is*, *are*, or *be*, according to the habit of the district, always selecting an uneducated person, such as an old native man or woman, because all young people have been taught to use *am*. If *am* or *is* is used, it generally reduces to *-m*, *-z*, being run on in the same word with *I*, which may have all the sounds of No. 2; but in case *-m* is used, *I* is very often pronounced as *a* in *fall* or *o* in *folly*. Note particularly the districts where *I are* occurs, and observe where it is used emphatically, as "*I are to wait*," or in answers, as "*Are you to do it? Yes I are*." Note whether the *r* is pronounced, or whether the whole word is not like *a* in *far*. When unemphatic, as *I're*, note whether the whole sound does not rhyme to *fire* without a trill. Especially note the use of *be*, and whether *he be* is also used. Note whether the several forms are all occasionally used in the district, and if so which is the most frequent. Note whether *we am*, *you am*, are ever used, as *we'm*, *you'm*, especially when followed by *to* as "*you'm to go home*." Note the use of the negative forms *I aint*, *I baint*, *beeünt*, etc., *it baint*, *it aint*, *'taint*, *tent*, *tyent*, *chent*, etc. Note whether *we is*, *you is*, *they is*, are used. All these forms are highly characteristic.—391.

10. **right.** First mark the *r*, whether it is trilled with the tip of the tongue as in Scotch or Italian, or whether the tip of the tongue is merely raised without being trilled as frequently in London and Spain. Note if the effect is produced by a rattle of the uvula at the back of the mouth as in Paris, or else by the same accompanied by a considerable closure of the lips as in Northumberland. Note also if the effect is produced by turning the tongue up so as almost to point down the throat as in Dorsetshire, or by retracting the tongue very much as in Oxfordshire, both sounds being very harsh and but slightly if at all trilled. Then as to *igh*, note whether *gh* is pronounced as a guttural, as in Scotch, and if so whether the guttural is the German *ch* in *ich* or that in *ach*, or the last with the lips much closed, and if the *i* is then as in *nick* or *neck*. If the *gh* is not pronounced, note if the *i*

has any one of the sounds of *I* No. 2, or of the vowels in *see* No. 6, as any such sound may occur.—459.

11. **about.** Note the *a* unaccented, whether it is like *a* in *China*, *idea*, or whether it is distinctly the short of *a* in *father*, as in *Italian*. Note that the *ou* may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, and when it sounds like *oo*, note whether the vowel is long or short, or of middle length.—650.

12. **that.** The word is here emphatic. See No. 8. Note whether the *a* is as in *London cat* or *pass*, or *a* in *father*, or the same short or of middle length. Note whether *th* has its usual sound, or is *t* (often the case after the *t* of *about*) or *d*, or is omitted altogether.—177.

13. **little.** Note whether *t* or *d* is used, or the *tt* omitted altogether as *lite*. If *tt* is omitted, note the sound of *i* either as one of the diphthongal forms of No. 2, or as *a* in *father*. Note, when *tt* is sounded as *t* or *d*, whether *i* is as in *skittle*, or as *ee* in *needle*, or as *a* in *father*.—682.

14. **girl.** The word *girl* is common, but in some districts is replaced by *wench*, *lass*, *maid*, *mauther*, or is not so frequently used as any one of these words. Note which word is most common and use it, but give also the pronunciation of the other words, if used. For *girl*, note whether the *r* is trilled or is pronounced as in one of the ways named in *right* No. 10; if not, note whether it rhymes to *sal* or *sell*, or *curl*, *pearl*; and if the *r* is the Dorsetshire *r* (see No. 10), note whether it rhymes to *hurdle*, with inserted *d*. For *wench* note if it rhymes to *drench*, *pinch*, *brunch* (with *a* in *cat*). For *lass* note if it rhymes to *gas* or *pass*. For *maid* note especially if it has the sound of *a* in *father* followed by *ě*, very distinctly, or any other sound of *ay* in No. 3. For *mauther*, note if *th* is sounded as in *rather*, or omitted altogether.—758.

15. **coming.** For first syllable, note if it rhymes to *hum*, or *loom* or *loam*, or is the short sound of the two last, or something between these two short sounds, nearly *u* in *pull*, but thicker (Lancashire *ū*). For the second syllable (and all participles in *-ing*) note whether *ng* has its received sound of *ng*, or whether another *g* seems to be added, or whether it sounds as the words *ink* or *in*; if it ends in *n* (as is

usual), note whether the *i* is like *i* in *in*, *e* in *woollen*, *o* in *motion*. In the phrase “They were *dansing* and such *dansing* I never saw,” note whether the two *ings* would be pronounced alike; they are sometimes different, and that is very characteristic.—603.

16. **from.** For *f* note if it is ever or generally *v*, or *th* as in *throw*. If *th* is used, note whether *-om* rhymes to a very broad *ā* sound like French *ê*, German *ä*, or almost *a* in *cat*. If *f* remains, note whether *-rom* be not pronounced as the last vowel described, or whether the word sounds like *fy* in *stuffy*, or like *fie*, *fay*. If *f* becomes *v*, note if the *r* does not become the Dorset *r* described in No. 10. If *fr*, *vr* remain in any form, note whether *-om* (as the word is unemphatic) rhymes to the last syllable of *bottom*. Note also its emphatic form, and whether in either form *m* is not often omitted as *fro'*.—58.

17. **the.** The definite article is very characteristic. Note whether *th* remains as usual, or becomes *d*, or is omitted altogether. In each case note the sound of *e* like *a* in *China*, or *y* in *pithy*, or *ee* in *priethee*; and note especially if the latter vowels are used when *th* is omitted. Note particularly whether the vowel is omitted altogether, and then whether *th* keeps its usual sound before a following vowel as in *th-arm* for *the arm*, or becomes *th'* in *th'in* (as it is convenient to write the acute sound), forming a hiss, before consonants, as *th'-man*, in one word. In these latter cases note whether the *th* or *th'* is not assimilated to *d* or *t* after a word ending in *d* or *t*, causing a suspension of the *t* or *d*, by the tongue remaining a sensible time against the palate, which may be conveniently written *d'* or *t'*, as *at t' door*. Note also particularly whether *the* does not always become a suspended *t'* when it is possible, as when it follows another word, as *from-t' school*, or, when this is not possible, whether it becomes just perceptible by a dull kind of minute thud, due to trying to speak without moving the tongue from the palate, as *t' man*, *t' ass* (not *tass*) = *the ass*. This is the regular form in Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham and Yorkshire. See examples in the Test after *from* 16, *down* 23, *through* 26, *on* 29, *of* 33, before *child* 37, after *to* 42, before *old*

63. The proper marking of the definite article is important.—231.

18. **school.** Note whether the initial letters are always sounded as *sk*, or sometimes as *sh*. Note whether the vowel is as usual *ôô*, or becomes *yoo*, or French *u*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*, or *ee* or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*. Note whether the usual *oo* is begun with the mouth open, giving the effect of a high *a* in *China* preceding the *oo*; this sound may be conveniently written *óó* as *skóól*. Note whether *oo* does not receive one of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, like the word *scowl*. Note also whether the *ool* does not become *weel* or *will*, so that the word sounds like *squeal* or *squill*.—560.

19. **yonder.** Note if this word is ever used as *yonder*, *thunder* (with *th* in *then*), or *inder*. If not, use *out there*, and treat *out* as in *about* No. 11, and *there* as No. 25. Also if the *school yonder* is not used, employ *yon school*, and then notice whether *yon* is pronounced with *y* or *th* in *then*, or acute *th'* in *th'in*, as *th'on* (see No. 17). The form *inder* should be especially noted, if ever heard in the district, even occasionally.—394.

20. **She.** The feminine personal pronoun is very important. It usually has *sh* preserved, with *ee* when emphatic, as in *sheet* (with one of the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, or *ay* in *say* No. 3), but when unemphatic becomes *shy* in *slushy*, or *chsta* in *fuchsia*, and the vowel is frequently entirely omitted in rapid speech, so that only the *sh* of *hush!* remains. But the forms *shoo*, *oo*, *ow*, *uh*, generally written *shoo*, *hoo*, *how*, *her*, are also used. For *shoo* note whether it ever sounds like *shoe*, *shoh*, *shuh*. For *hoo* note whether *h* is ever heard unless the word is very emphatic, and whether the *oo* is not the *óó* explained in No. 18. For *how* or *ow* note which of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7 is used. For *her* or better *uh* (the *u* in *cur* without any trill of an *r* after it), note whether it is ever pronounced with an *r* after it, even before a vowel, as *uh iz*, not *uh r'iz*, with emphatic *iz*. Note also if *h'im iz* or *mee iz* are ever said. Note also when the form *she* is used, whether *sh* ever changes to *zh* or *s* in division (French *j*), when the word is emphatic.—412.

21. **is.** First note the use of the forms *is*, *be*, *are*, see No. 9. Next see

whether in unemphatic forms the *i* or *a* are not omitted, as *she's*, *she're*. Give the emphatic forms also.—482.

22. **going.** First note whether *a-* is commonly inserted, as *she's a-going*, where this *a-* is pronounced as in *a-bout* No. 11. Note whether the form *go* or *gang* or *gan* is used. For *go* note the *o*, whether it rhymes to *toe* or *too* or *hay*, and for the second syllable *-ing*, not only see No. 15, but observe if the two syllables *go-ing* do not coalesce, sounding like *g* prefixed to *wine* (with any sound in No. 2), or *wain* (with any sound in No. 3), or *win*, very short.—67.

23. **down.** This may have any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7, or *ou* in *about* No. 11. It is a very characteristic word, especially when *ow* has the sound of *a* in *father* or *a* in *cat* lengthened, followed or not by short *ěě* or short *öö*, or *a* in *China*.—658.

24. **road.** For the *r* consult *right* No. 10. The *oa* may be pronounced with a short *öö* after it, as it is often in London, and then the *oo* may be lengthened and the *oh* shortened till the word sounds like *röh-ööd* or nearly *rowd*, and then the *ow* may receive any of the sounds of *ow* in *now* No. 7. These are London forms. It is more common to add a short *ü* or *a* in *China* as *roh-üd*, and then the *oh* is sometimes broadened to French *o* in *homme* or to *awe* in *awed* as *raw-üd*. But also very commonly the *oh* falls into *oo* followed by this *ü*, as *roöüd*. And the sound is still more complicated by inserting a *w* as *rwööüd*. Note what form is used, and whether simple *roh* *raud* *rah* or short *röd* are employed, and sometimes one of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4. The word is very variable and characteristic.—104.

25. **there.** First for *th*, note if it has its usual sound, or if it falls into *d*, and occasionally into *t* after a word ending in *t*. Then as to *r* final, observe whether it is trilled strongly as in Scotland or weakly as mostly in England. Also whether it is not trilled at all, and then whether it is a mere vowel as often in London, or a raised stiff tongue, or a Dorset or Northumberland untrilled *r*, see No. 10. The vowel varies much. It often becomes a very thin *ay*, almost an *ee*, rhyming nearly to *wear* or *seer*. Sometimes it rhymes to *tar*. With the Northumberland *r* it may become *ö*,

and with the Dorset *r* it may become *uh* in *cur*.—223.

26. **through.** First for *thr*, note whether *tr* is used with a trilled *r*, and next whether *dr* is used with a reverted or retracted *r*, as explained in No. 10. Also observe if *fr* is used, generally with *e* in *there*. Next note whether the *gh* is a guttural, or is replaced by *f*. Then note the vowel whether simple as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe* or *u* in *cut*, or Lancashire *ù* (No. 15), or diphthongal having one of the sounds of *ow* in No. 7.—634.

27. **red.** Note the *r* as in No. 10. Note the vowel, which may be usual, or as *reed* spoken long or short, or *rid*, or like *raid* or *rud-dy*. Particularly note whether the vowel is transposed and an aspirate prefixed, like *herd* with the Dorsetshire *r*, No. 25. Or if the aspirate is prefixed to the same *r* without transposition as *hred*.—352.

28. **gate.** Note all the changes of vowel as in *mates* No. 4. The word is generally very characteristic. It may also be *yate*, *yat* or *yet*.—346.

29. **on.** This does not vary much, but note the vowel when usual or like French *o* in *homme*, or like the short of *one* in *bone*, or like *an*, with the *a* of *father* shortened.—543

30. **left.** Observe whether *t* is pronounced. Note whether the vowel is *e* in *pet*, or *a* in *pat*, or *i* in *pit*.—749.

31. **hand.** First note whether the aspirate is used, and make a note as to the habits of the district in using or not using the initial aspirate both at right and wrong times. Next note the *d*, sometimes *t*, and often omitted. Lastly see if the vowel is *a* in *cat*, *a* in *father* at full length or shortened, *aw* in *an*, or *o* in *on*.—43.

32. **side.** The long *i* may have any of the sounds of No. 2. Note especially whether it is *a* in *father*, or a diphthong consisting of *uh* in *cur*, followed by short *ěě*.—492.

33. **of.** Note whether *f* is preserved; it is usually *v*, but is not unfrequently entirely omitted, especially before *the*, so that *of* becomes *ū-thū*, or even simply *ūth*, or *ūth'* with acute *th'* (No. 17). Often the word is a short *oh*, as *ōh thū* or *ōh ěě*.—525.

34. **way.** Note whether the *w* ever becomes *v*. Observe the same possible varieties of *ay* as for *say* No. 3. The sound of *ay* in *say* is however often

different from that of *ay* in *way* in the same district.—262.

35. **sure.** Note whether *s* remains or becomes *sh*. Note the *r* as for *there* No. 25. Observe the vowel, whether as *oo* in *poor*, *you* in *your*, *ew* in *ever*, French *u*, or French *eu*, or whether it becomes one of the *ow* diphthongs as in *now* No. 7.—969.

36. **enough.** Note also the form *enow*, and say whether in this district *enough* is used with singular and *enow* with plural nouns, as *bread enough*, *apples enow*, or whether one form is always used, and if so which. For *enow* note the different forms of *now* No. 7, and also the use of *enew*, or the French *u* or French *eu*. For *enough*, first note whether the guttural remains or is changed into *f*. If *gh* is German or Scotch *ch* in *loch*, observe the vowel, whether simple as *u* in *cut*, *o* in *cot*, or the same preceded by *y*; or whether *ew* in *ever*, or distinct *ee* followed by indistinct *o* in *cot*, or the French *u* or *eu*. For *f* observe whether the vowel is *u* in *snuff*, *ew* in *ever*, or French *u* or *eu*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*, or *y* followed by *u* in *dull*, or by French *eu*.—579.

37. **child.** Note whether *child* or *bairn* is ever used when speaking of a girl merely. If not, use in the translation some of the words in No. 14, but if *child* is used in the district in any sense, observe its pronunciation. First note the *ch*, whether as in *cheese*, or *chaise*, that is *sh*, the last is very characteristic. Next observe whether *d* is omitted. Then see if the vowel is diphthongal, having one of the forms of No. 2, or simple, as in *chilled*, or *shield*. In all cases note the form of the plural, *childer*, *childern*, *chööldern*, *children* or *chillern*, with the pronunciation of *ch* and vowel as before. If only *bairn* is used, note the sound of *air* as in *there* No. 25.—466.

38. **has.** This is in the unemphatic form, and hence probably omits *ha*, sounding simply as *-z* hung on to the preceding word. Note however also the emphatic form, and whether *h* is pronounced (see *hand* No. 31), and if *s* is ever *s* or always *z*. Then note the value of the vowel, as *a* in *mazzard*, *u* in *buzzard*, *i* in *lizard*, *e* in *fez*. Also note particularly whether it is customary in the district to say *the child have*, and if so note the *h* and vowel of *have* especially. Please con-

jugate as in the district: *I have, thou hast, he has, we, you, they, have, and the same negatively.*—159.

39. **gone.** Notice especially whether *a-* is inserted, as *the child has a-gone*, as this is very characteristic. If so, note whether this *a* is pronounced as *a* in *China*. For *gone* note the vowel as *o* in *on*, or *aw* in *awn*, or as in *in*, *pen*, *been* (short), or with *y* prefixed to these vowels, or as very short *i* in *in* followed by very short *a* in *China*. Or again with *a* in *father* or the same very short. Also observe if the habit of the district is to use *has go-ed, has went, has been and gone, or been simply with-*out either *has* or *gone*.—121.

40. **straight.** First observe whether the guttural *gh* is heard as Scotch or German *ch* in *loch*. Next as to the initial *str*, observe the *r* as in *right* No. 11, but especially whether the *t* is pronounced thickly by bringing the tip of the tongue quite against the teeth as for *th*, forming the dental *t*, which may be written *st'r*, a pronunciation highly characteristic in words beginning with *str*, or *tr*, or ending with *-ter* as *wa'ter, butt'er*, and if this is usual in the district, it should be noted carefully. Note also whether *t'* passes quite into acute *th'* No. 17, as *sth'raight, wath'er, bulk'er*, or whether in the last two words it is not altogether omitted as *wāh-er, bū-er*. Then for the vowel in *straight*, note the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *ay* in *say* No. 3, and especially the diphthongal form of *a* in *father* followed by short *ě*.—265.

41. **up** The vowel may be as usual or somewhat thicker, but note the Lancashire *ū* (see No. 15), which is highly characteristic. Note also French *eu*. ☞ It is particularly necessary to distinguish *u* in *dull* from *u* in *full*, or from Lancashire *ū* (No. 15). Dialect writers, following the usual orthography, use *u* for all three sounds. Great confusion thus arises. It is believed that *u* in *dull* is never found within the district bounded on the south by a line from the N. of Shropshire to the S. of Lincolnshire, and on the north by a line from Silloth in Cumberland to Hartlepool in Durham, but information is much wanted for the districts adjacent to these boundaries. The distinction has strong dialectal significance.—632.

42. **to.** Note if *at* is ever used for

to before the infinitive, see No. 67. Note the vowel, as *oo* in *too*, *oe* in *toe*, *ew* in *tew*, French *u* or *eu*, all especially when emphatic, or in *to and fro, where are you going to*; and the unemphatic form of *a* in *China*. Observe also how it coalesces with the following *the*.—556.

43. **door.** Note the *r* as in *there* No. 25. Note the *oor* as in *oar*, as in *drawer*, or as in *nor*, or as *mower, poor*, or the same shortened, or as *ewer*, or as in *deer, cur*, or French *sûr* or *sœur*, or with the Lancashire *óó*, No. 18, or as *ow*.—606.

44. **wrong.** First as to *wr-*, note if the *w* is omitted (as is generally the case) or is pronounced as *wū* with the *a* in *China*, or as a *v* as *vrang*. Next as to *ng*, note if another *g* is added on to the end as *ngg*, or whether the word ends in *nk*. The vowel is very characteristic, note the usual *o* in *wrong*, or the short of *a* in *father*, or *a* in *cat*, or *u* in *rang*, or Lancashire short *ū* (No. 15). This word with the next is sufficient to determine whether the district is to the N. or S. of a line passing from Cockermouth in Lancashire to the mouth of the Humber in Yorkshire—64.

45. **house.** First notice the aspirate, whether it is used, No. 31. Particularly notice the vowel in all the forms of *ou* in *about* No. 11, and *ow* in *now* No. 7. This and *home* are the most characteristic words we have. How is *home* pronounced? See sounds of Nos. 22, 39, 58, 62.—663.

46. **where.** Note the *wh* especially, and say whether the *h* is ever pronounced before or after the *w*, as it is very desirable to determine the limits of the pronunciation of *wh* proper. Next notice whether when *h* is not pronounced, *w* ever falls into *v*, as is often asserted to be the case. Lastly note where *wh* becomes *f*. For the *r* see *there* No. 25. For the vowel, determine whether it is in *air, ear, far, nor, drawer*.—224.

47. **will.** Being unemphatic this will probably be run on to the preceding word as simple *-l*, thus *she'll*. But also note which of the emphatic forms as *wīl* or *wūl*, and perhaps *wōl* or *wōöl*, or even *ööl*, is used in the district.—469.

48. **chance.** Very possibly this word may not be used in such a phrase in the district. Use the word employed,

as *hap* or *happen* or *mebby* (may be) for *chance to*. The *h* and *u* in the first two words treat as in *hand* No. 31. But the word *chance* is sure to be used in some sense, so please to note its sound, and especially if *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*. The *-ance* may be variously pronounced, as *a* in *father* long or short, *a* in *pass* long or short, *a* in *cat* long or short, all these six sounds being heard from educated people. But *a* may also be as in *all*, or have one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2.—841.

49. **find.** First as to the final *d*, often omitted, see *hand* No. 31. Notice whether the word is like *fined*, with one of the sounds of long *i*, No. 2, or like *fined*; it may be also like *fand* or *fund*, *fun* or *jun*, with *a* as in *hand* No. 31, or *u* as in *up* No. 41, or with *o* in *fond*.—477.

50. **drunken.** Notice the form *drucken*, much used in Scotland. Notice whether *dr-* is pronounced with the tongue against the teeth as for *th*, thus *d'r*, see *straight* No. 40 for a similar *t'r*. Notice also whether this is common in the termination *-d'er* as *rid'er* *bladd'er*, and whether it passes into *th* as *blather* in the district. These are very characteristic pronunciations. As to the vowel, observe whether it is *u* in *sunk*, or the Lancashire *ū*, Nos. 15 and 41. In some districts, where every one is in the habit of drinking, the word *drunken* is objected to. Then use the common word, but as *I have drunk* must be used, also give the sound of *drunk*.—804, 613.

51. **deaf.** Note the vowel as usual or rhyming to *reef*, *stiff*, or fractured as *ee* or *ay* followed by the *a* in *China*.—355.

52. **shrivelled.** This may not be a common word, and may be unknown to the informant in the dialect, although it is sure to be known in other connections. In this case *wizened*, *weazen*, *withered*, or *dried up* may be used. But if *shrivelled* cannot be given, take any word beginning with *shr-* as *shrammed*, *shred*, *shrewmouse*, *shriek*, *shrike*, *shrill*, *shrimp*, *shrink*, *shroud*, *shrub*, *shrug*, and state whether *shr-* or *sr-* is used in speech. It is particularly desirable to know how far the sound of *sr-* extends. For the *r* see *right* No. 10.—760

53. **fellow.** Note whether *f* or *v*. For the last syllable note whether the

word ends in a distinct *oh* or rhymes to *seller*, with the *r* merely a vowel, see *there* No. 25, or whether it is like the Egyptian *fellah*.—297.

54. **name.** The vowel may have any of the forms of *a* in *mates* No. 4, or *gate* No. 28. The word is also often like *neeūm*, *neeām*, *nyem*, or even *nem*.—21.

55. **Thomas.** Use whatever name is commonest in the district. If *Thomas* is kept, note whether *th-* is ever different from *t*. For the first syllable note whether the vowel is that in *pot*, *hum*, or the Lancashire *u* Nos. 15 and 41. For the second whether it is ever different from *us* in *omnibus*.—770.

56. **We.** This vowel may have all the sounds of *ee* in *see* No. 6, and the sound like very short London *way* should be especially noted. Note if *we* is ever used for *us* in the district, as *after we* (John Gilpin), *laughed at we*, *give it we*. Note also if *us* is used for *we*, as *us saw she*, *us told he*, for *we saw her*, or *we told him*.—293.

57. **all.** Note if the *ll* is omitted. Note the vowel as in *fall* or *father*, or *ay* followed by *a* in *China*, or whether the word sounds like *yell*.—335.

58. **know.** As this is plural, *we* being the nominative, note whether it has the plural in *-en* as *we known*, or in *-s* as *we knows*, and explain which is used in the district, or if *we know* is commonest. Similarly note *you* and *they know*, *knows*, or *known*. *We known* is sometimes used for *we have known*, or *we knew*. This must not be confused with *we known*, meaning *we know*. But it is best to note whether it is used. For the initial *kn-* note whether *k* is ever sounded as *k*, or ever indicated by using an *h* or *t* or *d*, instead of *k*, or is entirely omitted. Then note the vowel, whether as in *owe*, *awe*, *father*, *fate*, or *o* followed by short *ö*, or the *awe*, *ah*, *ay*, followed by short *a* in *China*. Note whether *do* is inserted between *we* and *know* as *we do know*, and if so, how *do* is pronounced, see end of notes on *say* No. 3, and see No. 6. The use of *we doh know* for *we don't know*, should be noted, but not confused with *we do know*. Note also whether the word *know* is superseded by *ken*, and the sound of the vowel in *ken*. In this case take some other word beginning with *kn-* as *knife*, *knuckle*, and ascertain whether

k is entirely omitted or pronounced; or indicated by *h* or *t* or *d*.—92.

59. **him**. Note particularly whether the form *en* or *un* or simple '*n*' is used, as *we do know 'n*. If *him* is used, note if *h* is ever heard, 1) when the word is unemphatic, 2) when emphatic. Note the vowel, whether *im*, *em*, *um*. Note if *we know 'im*, or *we know's 'm*, could mean indifferently *we know him*, and *we know them*.—470.

60. **very**. Note particularly whether the *v* changes into *w*. If possible, ascertain whether it is a perfect *w*, or rather a *v* spoken without allowing the underlip to touch the upper teeth. The *r* between the two vowels also requires attention. Note if it is entirely omitted as *ve-y*, *va-y*, or only represented by raising the stiffened point of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth without touching it, or slightly advancing the uvula; both forms occur, and it is desirable to know how far they extend. If the *r* is trilled, note which of the *r*'s in *right* No. 10 is used. The first vowel may be as in *sherry*, or *Harry*, or *father*, and the second may be as in *sherry* or *China*.—885.

61. **well**. Note whether the *w* becomes *v*. Note the vowel whether as in *tell*, or *wheel* rather shorter, or whether a short *a* in *China* or *y* in *sherry* is inserted after either of these.—266, not 244.

62. **won't**. Note if *o* is pronounced as in *don't*, *hunt*, *awe*, *taint*, or *o* in *don't* followed by *a* in *China*, or *oo* followed by *a* in *China*, or *ee* so followed. Note also if the forms *winna*, *winnad* (before a vowel), *wunna*, *wonna*, *winnut*, are employed. Note if *w* is entirely omitted, thus '*on't* or '*oon't*. Note also the various forms of *don't*, which includes those of *on't* in *won't* and also *divv'nt*, etc.—541.

63. **old**. Note whether both *l* and *d* are pronounced or either *l* or *d* omitted. Vowel as in *owed*, *hole*, *got*, *awe*, *father*, *ee* followed by *a* in *China*. Or whether *o* has not one of the sounds of *now* No. 7.—326.

64. **chap**. This word is pretty sure to be used. but, if not, use *man*. Observe whether *ch* is as in *cheese* or *chaise*, and whether the vowel is as in *cat*, in *father* or the same shortened, or in *get*.—364.

65. **soon**. Observe whether *s* or *z*, or even *sh*. Observe the vowel especially, which may be *ee*, *yoo*, French *u* or *eu*,

or *ee* followed by *öö*, or by *a* in *China*, or *u* in *dull* or French *eu*.—564

66. **teach**. Observe vowel as in *reach*, or *aitch*. If, as is very commonly the case, *learn* would be used in this sense, mark the vowel as in *urn* or *darn* or *ay* followed by short *o*, and note the *r* (No. 26). If *teach* is not used in this sense, *teacher* will certainly be known, and its pronunciation should be given.—183.

67. **her**. Observe whether *h* is pronounced, and what is the nature of the *r*, see *there* No. 25. See also the *her* for *she* No. 20, and note whether *she* is not used in its place as *won't he teach she*. Observe if the usual sound of *her* in *teach her* or *learn her* is the same as *er* in *teacher* or *learner*, and note if it is *a* in *China*, or how it differs from it.—447.

68. **not**. Note vowel as in *pot*, *pat*, *put*, or *nut*, and whether the *t* is sometimes *d*.—110, ii.

69. **do**. Note vowel as in *too*, *toe*, *new* or French *u*, or *ee* followed by French *u*. Observe whether *div* is used before *it*, as *div it*, or whether *do* and *it* are not contracted into one word as *dit* or *did*. Note whether *to* before the infinitive *do* is sometimes *at*, pronounced *üt*, especially in such phrases as *I am the man that was able to or at do it*, *something at eat*, *go at see him*, and write the pronunciation of these phrases. This use of *at* is highly characteristic.—586.

70. **it**. Observe whether, when not run on to *do* (No. 69), *it* becomes *et*, *ut*, *hit*, *het*, *hid*. Also state whether *its* is ever used, as in *over its* or *it eyes*, or *over the eyes of 'un*.—489.

71. **again**. Note the last vowel as in *gain*, or *hen*, *in*, or *ee* followed by *a* in *China*.—144.

72. **poor**. Note *r* as in *there* No. 25, and vowel as usual or as in *oar*, or like French *u* or *eu*.—866.

73. **thing**. Note whether acute *th'* in *th'in*, see No. 17, or flat *th* in *then*, or *t* simply is used. Note the vowel as in *in* or *hen*. Note *ng* as pure, or with an extra *g* added, as *nk* or as *n*. If the simple *n* is not used in *thing* alone, note whether it is not used in *nothing*, *something*, and write pronunciation of these words.—480.

74. **look**. Note the vowel as in *soon*, No. 65, or else as long *oo* in *loose*, or long *oh*, or short *u* in *full* or *u* in

dull. Note also such phrases as *loo' thee* for *look thou*.—558.

75. *isn't*. Note whether any of the forms *beant*, *aint*, *ar'n't*, *izna*, *iznad*, *innut*, etc., is used.—482.

76. *true*. Observe *tr* as in *straight* No. 40. The vowel may be *oo* or *you* or *ee* followed by *oo* or French *u*, or some variety of these sounds.—436.

V. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST

referred to in the following pages as cwl.

Finding that the *cs.* did not contain sufficient examples of some categories, and that the few examples of rather important cases were often ingeniously evaded by my informants, I constructed a "List of Words of which the pron. is wanted," and issued large numbers of it to clergymen in different villages where information was wanted. The greater number of these were not returned, but sufficient reached me to be of much service. This old word list is referred to as *wl.* and should be distinguished from the present *cwl.* It was stated to be a selection from the word lists in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*, and was arranged in his order, which, however, was found inconvenient for reference in practice. It was printed widely on 7 quarto pages, leaving space for informants to write in the pron. Half of the 8th page was occupied with questions on idioms and intonation. These are reproduced at the end of the *cwl.* as shewing the chief points beyond pron. on which it was attempted to gather information.

The following *cwl.* then contains all the words in the *wl.*, *cs.* and *dt.* and a very few others. Those marked * did not occur in the original *wl.* Those marked † were in the *cs.*, and those marked ‡ in the *dt.* The words are numbered throughout for ease of reference.

Many other words were given to me by kind informants, most of which will be introduced hereafter. But on making out a complete list for my own use, it became so unwieldy that it appeared better to confine the *cwl.* within the above limits. As much difficulty will undoubtedly be felt by many readers, (judging by the difficulty I have myself experienced,) in assigning any given word to its class, an index is added containing the English words in the usual alphabetical order of dictionaries, with the number of the *wd.* in the *cwl.* annexed.

All the old *wl.* and all the local *lw.* which I have used will be reduced to this order. The pron. is throughout given in *pal.* and, when the words considered occur in this list, their numbers are prefixed as sufficient explanation. When they do not, they are placed in the position they would have occupied, if they had occurred in the *cwl.*, and — is prefixed to shew that they have no number, and then the ordinary spelling is annexed in [], in which also any explanation or observation is inclosed.

The order and classification, which differ considerably from those in the original *wl.*, are arranged on the following principle. The lists are divided into three sections, headed I. WESSEX AND NORSE, II. ENGLISH, III. ROMANCE. The words in each list are grouped in classes dependent on the vowel of the original language in what corresponds to the accented syllable in received English. The words in each class are arranged in order of the letters which *follow* that vowel. Only when all these letters are the same in two or more words are the preceding letters taken into account, and then the order is reckoned from the vowel backwards. Strictly alphabetical order is followed for these letters, for which purpose *þ*, *ð* will each be taken as the *two* letters, *t*, *h*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE, Nos. 1 to 712.

This section contains only such words as can be referred with considerable certainty to prototypes existing in Wessex literature, (that is, books in the language of King Alfred, as distinguished from the Northumbrian forms,) or in Norse as represented by Icelandic. To the latter a small capital *æ* is subjoined.

When no such prototypes are known, or when there is difference of opinion respecting the etymology, even when the class of words is clear, the words are placed in Section II., ENGLISH.

The Wessex or Norse words are placed first in Roman letters, and the arrangement is by the vowels they contain, which are placed in *capitals* at the head of each class, long vowels being distinguished by a following acute accent. As the change which takes place in the vowel depends frequently upon its occurrence in an open or closed syllable, as presently defined, these are distinguished thus: A- open short A; A: closed short A; A'- open long A; A': closed long A. The vowel, by a mechanical rule which is sufficiently, but not absolutely correct, is said to be in an *open* syllable, 1) when it is final, and 2) when it is followed by a *single* consonant which is itself *followed by a vowel*, and to be in a *closed* syllable, 3) when it has *one* or more consonants after it at the end of a word, and 4) when it has *two* or more consonants between it and a following vowel in the middle of a word. In the Wessex words the orthography of Prof. Skeat in his *Etymological Dictionary* is usually followed, but when his differs from Ettmüller's (except in that author's peculiarities) the latter is sometimes preferred. I disclaim all responsibility for the orthography, which I could not verify by documents. Conjectural forms are excluded. Hence I have not, with Dr. Sweet, distinguished two forms of Æ, E, O.

The Wessex and Norse forms, placed first, are printed in Roman letters, followed by a comma; the corresponding English is in italics. But some little words as *a, the, to, I he we, was, had* are occasionally prefixed, and *thou* subjoined, in Roman letters, to shew the part of speech or part of the verb, and only when these are insufficient is the part of speech subjoined in Roman letters. Verbs are generally cited by their infinitive moods, but occasionally other parts are introduced either in their proper order, or placed in [] after the infinitives. Such parts are sufficiently shewn by these prefixes, which of course do not form part of the translation. Sometimes the English word is still so ambiguous that a synonym or explanation has to be prefixed or subjoined, also in Roman type.

A-	26 wanian, to <i>wane</i>	51 mann, a <i>man</i>
1 swa, so thus *†	27 cnapa, a <i>knave</i>	52 wann, a <i>wan</i>
2 gemaca, a <i>make com-</i>	28 hara, a <i>hare</i>	53 canna, a <i>can</i>
panion	29 aron, we or they <i>are</i> *†	54 wanta N, to <i>want</i> †
3 bacan, to <i>bake</i>	30 caru, a <i>care</i> *, see 320	55 ascan, <i>ashes</i> of a fire
4 tacan, to <i>take</i>	31 i. late, ii. læte, <i>late</i> adv.	56 wascan, to <i>wash</i> †
5 macian, to <i>make</i> †	32 baðian, to <i>bathe</i> *	57 assa, an <i>ass</i>
6 gemacod, was <i>made</i>	33 hraðor, <i>rather</i>	
7 sacu, the <i>sake</i>	34 latost, <i>last</i> †	A: or O:
8 hafa, <i>have</i> thou†	35 awel, an <i>awl</i>	
9 behafa, <i>behave</i> thou	36 þawian, to <i>thaw</i>	58 i. fram ii. from, <i>from</i> *†
10 haga, a <i>haw</i>	37 clawu, a <i>claw</i>	59 i. lamb ii. lomb, <i>lamb</i>
11 maga, the <i>maw</i>	A:	60 i. lang ii. long, <i>long</i>
12 saga sagu, a <i>saw</i>	38 also, <i>as</i> *†	61 on i. gemang ii. ge-
13 gnagan, to <i>gnaw</i>	39 cwam, he <i>came</i> †	mong, <i>among</i>
14 dragan, to <i>draw</i>	40 camb, a <i>comb</i>	62 i. strang ii. strong,
15 agi N, <i>awe</i>	41 þancian, to <i>thank</i>	<i>strong</i>
16 dagian, to <i>dawn</i>	42 and, <i>and</i> *†	63 i. geþrang ii. geþrong,
17 lagu, the <i>law</i> †	43 hand, a <i>hand</i> †	<i>throng</i>
18 kaka N, a <i>cake</i>	44 land, the <i>land</i>	64 i. wrang ii. wrong,
19 talu, a <i>tale</i> told	45 wand, a <i>want</i> mole,	<i>wrong</i> *†
20 lama, <i>lame</i>	animal*, see 114,	65 i. sang ii. song, a <i>song</i>
21 nama, a <i>name</i> *†	769	66 i. þwang ii. þwong, a
22 tama, <i>tame</i>		<i>thong</i>
23 same, <i>same</i> similarly	46 candel, a <i>candle</i>	A':
24 scamu. <i>shame</i>	47 wandrian, to <i>wander</i>	
25 manar, of the <i>mane</i> of	48 sang, he <i>sang</i>	67 ic gá, <i>I go</i>
an animal, gen. of	49 hangan, to <i>hang</i> *†	68 má, <i>no more in number</i> *
mön N	50 tange, the <i>tongs</i>	

- 69 ná, *no* never, see 122
 nán
 70 tá, a *toe*
 71 wá, *woe*
 72 hwá, *who* interroga-
 tive †
 73 swá, *so* like as † †
 74 twá, *two* †
 75 strácian, to *stroke*
 76 táde, a *toad*
 77 hláford, a *lord*
 78 ágan, to *owe* = to own
 79 ágen, his *own* †
 80 hálig dæg, a *holiday*
 81 i. lâne ii. lone, a *lane* †
 82 ánes, *once* * †
 83 mánian, to *moan*
 84 mára, *more* in size
 85 sáre, *sore* sorely
 86 áte, *oats*
 87 cláðas, *clothes* †
 88 cláðian, to *clothe*
 89 báðir n, *both* †
 90 bláwan, to *blow* as wind
 91 máwan, to *mow*
 92 cnáwan, to *know* † †
 93 snáwan, to *snow*
 94 cráwan, to *crow* †
 95 þráwan, to *throw*
 96 sáwan, to *sow* seed
 97 sáwel, the *soul*
 98 cnáwen, has *known*
 99 þráwen, has *thrown*
 100 sáwen, has *sown* seed

A':

- 101 áe an *oak*
 102 ácsian, to *ask* †
 103 ácsóde, he *asked* * †
 104 rád, a *road* †
 105 rád, he *rode*
 106 brád, *broad*
 107 hláf, a *loaf*
 108 dæg, *dough*
 109 lág, *low*
 110 i. náht náuht, *nought*,
 ii. nát, *not* † †
 111 áhte, he *ought* †
 112 hál, *hale*
 113 hál, *whole* †
 114 mál, *mole* a body
 mark, not the
 animal, see 45, 769
 115 hám, a *home* †
 116 hwám, *whom*, interro-
 gative only
 117 án, a † *one* *
 118 bán, *bone*
 119 gán, to *go* * †

- 120 ágán, *ago*, i.e. past
 by * †
 121 gegán, has *gone*
 122 nán, i. *none*, ii. *no* adj.
 123 nán þing, *nothing*
 124 stán, a *stone*
 125 ánlice, *only* †
 126 ár, an *oar*
 127 háas, *hoarse*
 128 þás, *those*
 129 gást, a *ghost*
 130 bát, a *boat*
 131 gát, a *goat*
 132 hát, *hot*
 133 wrát, I *wrote*
 134 áð, an *oath*
 135 cláð, a *cloth*
 136 áwðer = áhwæðer, i.
either, ii. *or*, see
 213 æ'gðer
 137 nâwðer = nâhwæðer,
 i. *neither*, ii. *nor* * †,
 see 214 nægðer

Æ-

- 138 fæder, a *father* †
 139 dræge (in dræge-net),
 a *dray*
 140 hægel, the *hail*
 141 nægel, a *nail*
 142 snægel, a *snail*
 143 tægel, a *tail*
 144 onrægen, *again* † †
 145 slægen, is *slain*
 146 mægen, *main* strength
 147 brægen, the *brain*
 148 fæger, *fair* adj. [not
fair sb., Fr. foire,
 after 921, from
 Lat. feria, after
 887.]
 149 blæse, a *blaze*
 150 læsest, *least* †
 151 lætan, to *let* or hinder
 152 wæter, *water*
 153 sæterdæg, *Saturday*

Æ:

- 154 bæc, the *back* * †
 155 þæc, the *thatch*
 156 glæd, *glad* *
 157 hraen, a *raven*
 158 æfter, *after*
 159 hæfð, he *has* * †
 160 æg, an *egg*
 161 dæg, a *day* †
 162 tó dæg, to-day * †
 163 læg, he *lay*

- 164 mæg, he *may* †
 165 sægde, he *said*
 166 mægden, a *maid*
 167 dæl, a *dale*
 168 tælg, *tallow*
 169 hwænne, *when* †
 170 hærfest, *harvest*
 171 bærlíc *barley*
 172 gæs, *grass*
 173 wæs, he *was* †
 174 æsc, an *ash* tree
 175 fæst, *fast*, firm
 176 æt, at * †
 177 þæt, *that* * † †
 178 gnæt, *grat*
 179 hwæt, *what* †
 180 bæð, *bath*
 181 pæð, a *path*

Æ'-

- 182 sæ', the *sea*
 183 tæ'can, to *teach* †
 184 læ'dan, to *lead*
 185 ræ'dan, to *read*
 186 bræ'do, *breadth*
 187 læ'fan, to *leave*
 188 hnæ'gan, to *neigh*
 189 wæ'gan, to *weigh*
 190 cæ'ge, a *key*
 191 hæ'lan, to *heal*
 192 mæ'nán, to *mean*
 193 clæ'ne, *clean*
 194 æ'nig, *any* * †
 195 mæ'nig, *many*
 196 wæ'ron, we *were*
 197 cæ'se, a *cheese*
 198 læ'tan, to *let* allow,
 see 288.
 199 blæ'tan, to *bleat*
 200 hwæ'te, *wheat*
 201 hæ'ðen, the *heathen*
 202 hæ'ta, *heat*

Æ':

- 203 spræ'c, *speech*
 204 dæ'd, *deed*
 205 þræ'd, *thread*
 206 ræ'dd, he *read*
 207 næ'dl, a *needle*
 208 æ'fre, *ever* * †
 209 næ'fre, *never* * †
 210 clæ'g, *clay*
 211 græ'g, *grey*
 212 hwa'g, *whay*
 213 æ'gðer = áhwæðer,
either, see 136
 áwðer

- 214 næ'gðer, *neither** †, see 137 nāwðer
 215 tæ'hte, he *taught*
 216 dæ'l, a *deal* portion
 217 æ'lc, *each*
 218 scæ'p, a *sheep*
 219 slæ'p, a *sleep*
 220 scæ'phirðe, a *shep-herd** †
 221 fæ'r fear sb.
 222 hæ'r, the *hair*
 223 þæ'r, *there** †
 224 hwæ'r hwar, *where** †
 225 flæ'sc, *flesh*
 226 mæ'st *most*
 227 wæ't, *wet** †
 228 swæ't, *sweat*
 229 bræ'ð, *breath*, pro-
 perly = odour
 230 fæ'tt, *fat*, adj.

E-

- 231 þe, *the** † †
 232 brecan, to *break*
 233 sprekan, to *speak** †
 234 cneðan, to *knead*
 235 wefan, to *weave*
 236 fefer, a *fever*
 237 blegan, a *chil-blain*
 238 hege, a *hedge*
 239 segel, a *sail*
 240 gelegen, has *lain*
 241 regen, *rain*
 242 twegen, *twain*
 243 plegian, to *play*
 244 wela, *well*, argumen-
 tative adv.* †, see
 266.
 245 melu melo, *meal flour**
 246 cwene cwén, i. *queen*
 ii. *quean*
 247 wenian, to *wean*
 248 mere, a *mare*
 249 werian, to *wear*
 250 swerian, to *swear*
 251 mete, *meat*
 252 cetel, a *kettle** †
 253 netele, a *nettle*
 254 leðer, *leather*
 255 weðer, a *wether* sheep

E:

- 256 streccan, to *stretch** †
 257 ecg, an *edge*
 258 secg, *sedge*
 259 wecg, *wedge*
 260 leggan, to *lay*
 261 secgan, to *say** †

- 262 weg, a *way** †
 263 on weg, *away** †
 264 eglan, to *ail*
 265 streht, *straight** †
 [see 923, to which
 dia. forms seem to
 be related].
 266 wel, *well*, adv. in a
 good manner* †,
 see 244.
 267 geldan, to *yield*
 268 eldest, *eldest*
 269 self, *self** †
 270 belg, i. *bellows*, ii.
 belly
 271 tellan, to *tell** †
 272 elm, an *elm*
 273 men, *men** †
 274 benc, a *bench*
 275 stenc, a *stench*
 276 þencan, to *think** †
 277 drencan, to *drench*
 278 wencle, a *wench*
 279 wended, he *went** †
 280 endlufon, *eleven*
 281 lengð, *length*
 282 strengð, *strength*
 283 merg, *merry*
 284 þerscan, to *thresh*
 corn
 285 cerse, *cress* vegetable
 286 herwe, a *harrow*
 287 besm, a *besom* broom
 for sweeping
 288 lettan læ'tan létan, to
 let permit, see 198.

E'-

- 289 gé, *ye*
 290 hé, *he** †
 291 þé, *thee*
 292 mé, *me** †
 293 wé, *we** †
 294 féðan, to *feed*
 295 bréðed, was *bred*
 296 geléfan, to *believe*
 297 télagi n, a *fillos** †
 298 félan, to *feel*
 299 gréne, *green*
 300 cépan, to *keep*
 301 gehéran, to *hear*
 302 gemétan, to *meet*
 303 swéte, *sweet*
 304 bétel, a *beetle* mallet,
 see 499

E':

- 305 i. héh ii. heáh, *high*
 306 héhðe, *height*

- 307 i. néh ii. neáh, *nigh*
 308 néd, *need* sb.
 309 spéd, *speed* sb.
 310 hél, a *hewl*
 311 tén, *ten*
 312 hér, *here*
 313 hércnian to *hearken*. †
 See 695 hyrcnian
 314 gehérde, he *heard*
 315 fét, *feet*
 316 néxt, *next*

EA-

- 317 fleagan, to *flay*
 318 hleahen, has *laughed** †
 319 geapian, to *gape*
 320 cearian, to *care** †, see
 30 caru

EA:

- 321 geseah, he *saw** †
 322 hleahhan, to *laugh*
 323 feaht, has *fought*
 324 eahta, *eight*
 325 wealcen, to *walk*,
 properly to full
 326 eald, *old** †
 327 beald, *bold*
 328 ceald, *cold*
 329 fealdan, to *fold*
 330 healdan, to *hold** †
 331 sealde, he *sold*
 332 tealde, he *told** †
 333 cealf, a *calf*
 334 healf, *half*
 335 eall, *all** †
 336 feallan, to *fall*
 337 weall, a *wal*
 338 ceallian, to *call** †
 339 eam, I *am**
 340 geard geord, i. a court
 yard † ii. a *stick*
 341 mearh, *marrow** †
 342 earm, an *arm*
 343 wearh, *warm*
 344 bearn, *bairn** †
 345 dearr, I *dare*
 346 geat a gate, door-way,
 not road = gata n

EA'-

- 347 heáfod, the *head*
 348 eáge, the *eye** †
 349 feáwa, *few** †

EA':

- 350 deáð, *dead*
 351 leáð, *lead* metal

- 352 reáð, *red* †
 353 breáð, *bread*
 354 sceáf, *sheaf*
 355 deáf, *deaf* †
 356 leáf, *leaf*
 357 þeáh, *though* †
 358 neáh, *nigh*. See 307
 ii. néh
 359 neáhgebúr, *neighbour* †
 360 teám, a *team*
 361 beán, a *bean*
 362 sleán, to *slay*
 363 ceáp, *cheap*
 364 ceápmán, *chap* * †
 365 neár, *near*, comparative of 358 neáh, *nigh*
 366 greát, *great* †
 367 þreát, *threat*
 368 deað, *death*
 369 sleáw, *slow*
 370 hreáw, *raw*
 371 streáw streaw streów
 streu streá, *straw*

EI-

- 372 ei N, *aye* †
 373 þei N, *they* †
 374 nei N, *nay*
 375 reisa N, to *raise*
 376 beita N, to *bait*

EI:

- 377 steik N, a *steak*
 378 veikr N, *weak*
 379 heill N, *hail*
 380 þeim N, *them* * †
 381 sveinn N, a *swain*
 382 þeirra N, *their*

EO-

- 383 seofan, *seven*
 384 heofon, *heaven*
 385 beneoðan, *beneath*
 386 eowe, a *ewe*
 387 i. neowe, ii. niwe,
 new †

EO:

- 388 meole, *milk*
 389 geolca, *yolk of eggs*
 390 sceolde, *should* †
 391 eom, I *am* * † †
 392 geond, *you* * †
 393 begeondan, *beyond*

- 394 geonder, *yonder* * †
 395 geong, *young* *
 396 i. weorc ii. werec, *work, sb.* See 694
 wyrcan, vb.
 397 sweord, a *sword*
 398 steorfan, to *starve* =
 be cold
 399 beorht, *bright* †
 400 eornest, *earnest*
 401 geornian, to *yearn*
 402 leornian, to *learn* †
 403 feorr, *far*
 404 steorra, a *star*
 405 heorð, the *hearth*
 406 eorðe, the *earth*
 407 feorðling, a *farthing*
 408 cneow, he *knew* †

EO'-

- 409 beó, a *bee*
 410 heó, *hoo*, she La * † †
 411 þreó fem. and neut.,
 þri mas., *three* †
 412 seó, *she* † †
 413 deófol, the *devil*
 414 fleóga, a *fly*
 415 leógan, to *lie*, fib
 416 deóre, *dear* adj. and
 a *deer*
 417 ceówan, to *chew*
 418 breówan, to *brew*
 419 eówer, *your* * †
 420 feówer, *four*
 421 feówertig, *forty*

EO':

- 422 seóc, *sick* ill * †
 423 þeóh, *thigh*
 424 hreóh, *rough*, see 654 *
 425 leóht, *light*
 426 feóhtan, to *fight*
 427 beón, to *be* †
 428 seón, to *see* †
 429 feónd, a *fiend*
 430 freónd, a *friend*
 431 beór, *beer*
 432 feórða, *fourth*
 433 breóst, *breast*
 434 beót, he *beat*
 435 eów, *you* † †
 436 treów, *true* †
 437 treówð, *truth*

EY-

- 438 deyja N, to *die* †

EY:

- 439 treysta N, to *trust* †
 I-
 440 i. wicu wice ii. wuce,
 a *week* †
 441 sife, *sieve*
 442 ifig, *ivy*
 443 frigadæg, *Friday*
 444 stigel, a *stile*
 445 higian, to *hie*
 446 nigon, *nine* †
 447 hire, *her* * †
 448 þise, *these* †
 449 gitan, to *get* obtain
 450 tiwesdag, *Tuesday*
 451 siwian, to *sew*

I:

- 452 ic, I † †
 453 cwic, *quick* * †
 454 wicce, *witch*
 455 liegan, to *lie* down †
 456 gif, *if* * †
 457 miht, the *might*
 458 niht, the *night* †
 459 riht, *right* †
 460 wiht, a *weight*
 461 gelihtan, to *alight*
 462 gesihð, the *sight*
 463 til N, *till* * †
 464 hwile, *which*
 465 i. swile, ii. swyle,
 such †
 466 cild, a *child* † †
 467 wilde, *wild*
 468 cildru, *children*
 469 willan, to *will* * †
 470 him, *him* * †
 471 timber, *timber*
 472 serincan, to *shrink*
 473 blind, *blind*, adj.
 474 rind, the *rind*
 475 wind, the *wind*
 476 bindan, to *bind*
 477 findan, to *find* †
 478 grindan, to *grind*
 479 windan, to *wind*
 480 þing, a *thing* * † †
 481 finger, a *finger*
 482 is, *is* * † †
 483 his, *his* * †
 484 þis, *this* †
 485 þistel, a *thistle*
 486 gist, *yeast*
 487 gistrandæg, *yesterday*
 488 git, *yet*
 489 hit, *it* * †

I'-

- 490 bí, *by* near †
 491 sícan, to *sigh*
 492 síde, a *side** †
 493 drítan, to *drive*
 494 tíma, *time* †
 495 hwínan, to *whine** †
 496 íren, *iron*
 497 arísan, to *arise*
 498 wrítan, to *write*
 499 bítel, a *beetle* insect*,
 see 30‡

I:

- 500 gelic, *like* †
 501 wíd, *wide*
 502 fíf, *fire*
 503 líf, *life*
 504 cníf, a *knife*
 505 wíf, a *wife*
 506 wífman, a *woman* †
 507 wífmen, *women*
 508 míl, a *mile*
 509 hwíl, *while*
 510 mín, *mine* my* †
 511 wín, *wine*
 512 spír, a *spire* steeple
 513 wír, a *wire*
 514 ís, *ice*
 515 wís, *wise*
 516 wísdom, *wisdom*
 517 íw, a *yew*

O-

- 518 bodig, a *body** †
 519 ofer, *over** †
 520 boga, a *bow* weapon
 521 fola, a *foal* horse
 522 open, *open*
 523 hopian, to *hope*
 524 woruld, the *world*

O:

- 525 of. i. of*††, ii. off*†
 526 cohhetan, to *cough*
 527 bohte, he *bought*
 528 þohte, he *thought*
 529 brohte, he *brought*
 530 wrohte, he *wrought*
 531 dohtor, a *daughter* †
 532 col, a *coal*
 533 dol, *dull*
 534 hol, a *hole*
 535 folc, *folk** †
 536 gold, *gold*
 537 molde, *mould* earth

- 538 wolde, *would*
 539 bolla, a *bowl* cup
 540 hollegen, *holly*
 541 wol nat, *won't**††
 542 bolt, *bolt*
 543 on, *on**††
 544 þonne, i. *than* ii.
 *then** †
 545 hoppán, to *hop*
 546 for, *for** †
 547 bord, a *board*
 548 ford, a *ford*
 549 hord, a *hoard* treasure
 550 word, a *word* †
 551 storm, a *storm*
 552 corn, *corn*
 553 horn, *horn*
 554 kross N, a *cross*

O'-

- 555 scó, a *shoe*
 556 tó, to †
 557 tó, *too* †
 558 lócian, to *look* †
 559 módor, *mother*
 560 scóla, a *school** †
 561 blóma, a *bloom* flower
 562 móna, the *moon*
 563 mónandæg, *Monday*
 564 sóna, *soon* †
 565 nósu, *nose*
 566 óþer, *other*
 567 þæt óþer, *t'other** †
 568 bróðor, *brother**

O':

- 569 bók, a *book*
 570 tóe, he *took*
 571 gód, *good* †
 572 blód, the *blood*
 573 flód, a *flood*
 574 bród, *brood*
 575 stód, he *stood*
 576 wódnedæg, *Wednes-*
 day
 577 bóg, a *bough*
 578 plóg N, a *plough*
 579 genóg, *enough*††
 580 tóh, *tough*
 581 sóhte, he *sought*
 582 cól, *cool*
 583 tól, *tool*
 584 stól, *stool*
 585 bróm, *broom*, the
 plant, not 287
 586 dón, to *do* †
 587 gedón, *done* †
 588 nón, *noon*

- 589 spón N, a *spoon*
 590 flór, the *floor*
 591 mór, a *moor*
 592 swór, he *swore* †
 593 móste, he *must*
 594 bót, *boat*
 595 fót, *foot*
 596 rót, *root*
 597 sôt, *soot*
 598 sóð, *sooth*

U-

- 599 ábufan, *above*
 600 lufu, *love* sb.
 601 fugol, a *fowl*
 602 sugu, a *sow* pig
 603 cuman, to *come*††
 604 sumor, the *summer** †
 605 sunu, a *son* †
 606 duru, the *door* †
 607 butere, *butter*

U:

- 608 ugglig N, *ugly*
 609 full, *full* †
 610 wull, *wool*
 611 bulluca, a *bullock*
 612 sum, *some* †
 613 druncen, *has drunk*††,
 see 80‡
 614 hund, a *hound*
 615 pund, a *pound* weight
 616 grund, the *ground* †
 617 gesund, *sound* in
 health
 618 wund, a *wound*
 619 funden, was *found* †
 620 grunden, was *ground*
 621 wunden, was *wound*
 622 under, *under*
 623 fundon, they *found** †
 624 grundon, they *ground**
 625 tunge, the *tongue*
 626 hungor, *hunger*
 627 Sunnandæg, *Sun-*
 *day** †
 628 nunne, a *nun*
 629 sunne, the *sun*
 630 wunnen, was *won*
 631 þunnresdæg, *Thurs-*
 day
 632 upp, *up*††
 633 cuppa, *cup*
 634 þurh, *through*††
 635 wurð weord, *worth*
 636 furðor, *further*
 637 tuse, a *tusk*

638 *busca* N, to *busk* make
ready
639 *dust*, *dust*

U'-

640 *cú*, a *cow*
641 *hú*, *how* †
642 *þú*, *thou*
643 *nú*, *now* † ‡
644 *súcan*, to *suck*
645 *dúfa*, a *dove*
646 *búgan*, to *bow*, bend
647 *úle*, an *owl*
648 *úre*, *our*
649 *þúsand*, *thousand*
650 *ábútan*, *about* * †
651 *wiðútan*, *without* * †
652 *cúðe*, *could*
653 *búton*, *but* = *be út*

U':

654 *scrúd*, a *shroud*
654* i. *rúh*, ii. *rúg*, iii.
rúw, *rough*, see 424
655 *fúl*, *foul* dirty
656 *rúm*, *room*
657 *brún*, *brown*
658 *dún*, *down* † ‡
659 *tún*, a *town* any in-
closure
660 *búr*, a *bower* = *room*
661 *scúr*, a *shower*

662 *ús*, *us*
663 *hús*, *house* † ‡
664 *lús*, a *louse*
665 *mús*, a *mouse*
666 *húsbónda*, *husband* †
667 *út*, *out* †
668 *prát*, *proud*
669 *uncúð*, *uncouth*
670 *búð* N, *booth*
671 *múð*, *mouth*
672 *súð*, *south*

Y-

673 *mycel*, *much* †
674 *dyde*, he *did* †
675 *drygan*, to *dry* †
676 *lyge*, a *lie* falsehood
677 *dryge*, *dry* adj. *
678 *dyne*, a *din*
679 *cyrice*, a *church*
680 *bysig*, *busy* †
681 *bysigu*, *business* * †
682 *lytel*, *little* † ‡

Y:

683 *mycg*, a *midge*
684 *brycg*, a *bridge*
685 *hrycg*, a *ridge*
686 *bycgan*, to *buy*
687 *flyht*, a *flight*
688 *byldan*, to *build*
689 *ynce*, an *inch*

690 *gecynd*, a *kind*
691 *mynd*, the *mind*
692 *gyngest*, *youngest* * †
693 *synn*, a *sin*
694 *wyrcan* *wyrcean*, to
work vb. See 396
weorc, sb.
695 *hyrcnian*, to *hearken* †.
See 313 *hércnian*,
and 710 *hy'renian*
696 *gebyrd* *gebeord*, *birth*
697 *bebyrgan*, to *bury*
698 *myrgð*, *mirth*
699 *wyrhta*, a *wright*
700 *wyrsa*, *worse*
701 *fyrsta* *first*
702 *wyð*, *with* * †
703 *pytt*, a *pit*
704 *fyxen*, a *vixen*

Y'-

705 *scy' N*, the *sky*
706 *hwy'*, *why* †
707 *þreótyne*, *thirteen*
708 *áhy'rian*, to *hire*

Y':

709 *fy'r*, a *fire*
710 *hy'renian*, to *hearken* †.
See 313 *hércnian*,
and 695 *hyrcnian*
711 *ly's*, *lice*
712 *my's*, *mice*

II. ENGLISH, Nos. 713 to 808.

This section contains words of which the precise prototype in Wessex or Norse is unknown; words of disputed origin; words derived from foreign sources, except Romance; words formed within the language itself, of which the origin can only be conjecturally, or cannot even be probably, assigned; slang or familiar words, etc. For want of a better plan, these have been arranged according to the vowel (or if several, the first vowel) they contain in the accented syllable, following the received orthography. Then the rest of the arrangement is alphabetical as in Section I. The differences of long and short, open or closed, are of course unnoted, as the original form is unknown. The headings of classes are in Roman capitals as before, but are distinguished from the last by a following period (.), and the absence of the hyphen (-) and colon (:) marking open and close.

A.

713 <i>bad</i>	720 a <i>fag</i>	730 a <i>canter</i>
714 <i>lad</i>	721 to <i>fag</i>	731 <i>wanton</i>
715 <i>pad</i>	722 a <i>drain</i>	732 <i>happen</i> * †
716 <i>addle</i> , i. adj. and ii. vb.	723 a <i>dairy</i>	733 to <i>scare</i>
717 a <i>jade</i>	724 <i>bald</i>	734 to <i>darn</i>
718 <i>trade</i>	725 a <i>sale</i>	735 <i>smash</i>
719 a <i>tadpole</i>	726 to <i>talk</i> * †	736 a <i>lass</i> * †
	727 <i>jam</i> preserve	737 a <i>mate</i> †
	728 <i>sham</i>	738 to <i>prate</i> †
	729 a <i>frame</i>	739 <i>mauther</i> girl

740 a *wave*
741 a *maze*
742 *lazy*

E.

743 to *scream*
744 the *measles*
745 to *cheat*
746 to *breathe*
747 to *endeavour*
748 i. *fledged* ii. *unfledged*
749 *left** †
750 to *beg*
751 *pert*
752 *fret*, *peevish fit** †

I. and Y.

753 to *tickle*
754 a *pig animal*
755 a *filbert nut*
756 a *shrimp*
757 *tiny*
758 a *girl* † †
759 *fit*, *suited*
760 *shrivelled** †

O.

761 a *load*
762 *oakum*
763 *roam*
764 to *coddle*
765 *John** †
766 *moidered* bewildered
767 a *noise* †
768 *coke*
769 a *mole animal**, same
as 45, not 114
770 *Thomas** †
771 *fond*
772 a *bonfire*
773 a *donkey*
774 a *pony*
775 a *booby*
776 *goodbye**
777 *shop*
778 *afford*
779 *orts* remnants
780 to *jostle*
781 a *bother* †
782 a *pothor*
783 *poultry*
784 to *bounce*
785 to *lounge*

786 to *douse*
787 to *souse*
788 to *flout*
789 a *row noise*
790 a *gown*
791 a *boy**

U.

792 a *squabble*
793 a *hug*
794 a *jug*
795 a *shrug*
796 *blue**
797 *squeaking** †
798 *queer** †
799 *scull* of head
800 *scull* of boat
801 *rum liquor*
802 *rum queer*
803 to *jump*
804 *drunken* adj. accus-
tomed to get drunk*,
see 613.
805 *curds*
806 *fuss*
807 *puss*
808 to *put*

III. ROMANCE, Nos. 809 to 971.

This section comprises words taken from the French, Latin or any language derived from the Latin. Properly speaking the arrangement should have been by the Anglo-Norman forms of words, that is, those used in England by speakers of Norman-French. Failing this, the old French forms should have been adopted. But in both cases insuperable difficulties presented themselves. The late Mr. H. Nicol endeavoured to arrange the words by their English sounds in the xvth century, but this would have had to be conjectured in many words. Hence I have adopted the modern French forms in almost all cases; for the few old French forms which I could not avoid, I am indebted to Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, and disclaim the responsibility for them. Latin, and in one case, Spanish, forms have also been given. The arrangement is by the vowels as in the former sections, the Romance word coming first, is followed by (..) if modern, and (...) if old French, (—) if Latin, and (—) Span. if Spanish. The class headings are in capitals followed by (..). No distinction of long and short, open and closed, could be made with any certainty, and hence no such distinction has been attempted.

A ..

809 <i>habile</i> .. <i>able</i>	818 <i>âge</i> .. <i>age</i>	828 <i>aigu</i> .. <i>ague</i>
810 <i>face</i> .. a <i>face</i>	819 <i>rage</i> .. <i>rage</i>	829 <i>gain</i> .. <i>gain</i>
811 <i>place</i> .. a <i>place</i>	820 <i>gai</i> .. <i>gay</i> *	830 <i>train</i> .. <i>train</i>
812 <i>lacet</i> .. a <i>lace</i>	821 <i>délai</i> .. <i>delay</i>	831 <i>destraindre</i> .. to <i>dis-</i> <i>train</i>
813 <i>bacon</i> .. <i>bacon</i>	822 <i>mai</i> .. <i>May</i>	832 <i>maire</i> .. a <i>mayor</i>
814 <i>maçon</i> .. a <i>mason</i>	823 <i>baie</i> .. <i>bay</i> of the sea	833 <i>paire</i> .. a <i>pair</i>
815 <i>facta</i> — <i>facts</i> †	824 <i>chaïere</i> ...a professor's and hence any <i>chair</i>	834 <i>chaise</i> .. a <i>chaise</i>
816 <i>fade</i> adj. to <i>fade</i>	825 <i>gaif</i> .. <i>waif</i>	835 <i>raison</i> .. <i>reason</i> †
817 <i>radis</i> .. <i>radish</i>	826 <i>aigle</i> .. an <i>eagle</i>	836 <i>saison</i> .. <i>season</i>
	827 <i>aigre</i> .. <i>eager</i>	837 <i>laisse</i> .. a <i>leash</i>

- 838 traiter .. to *treat*
 839 balle .. i. a *bale* ii. a *ball*
 840 chambre .. a *chamber*
 841 chance .. a *chance* †
 842 planche .. a *plank*
 843 branche .. a *branch*
 844 tranchée .. a *trench*
 845 ancien .. *ancient*
 846 chandelier .. *chandler*
 847 danger .. *danger*
 848 changer .. to *change*
 849 étranger .. a *stranger*
 850 danse .. a *dance*
 851 tante .. an *aunt*
 852 napperon .. an *apron*
 853 bargainer .. to *bar-*
 gain
 854 baril .. a *barrel*
 855 carotte .. a *carrot*
 856 part .. a *part*
 857 cas .. a *case* †
 858 bras .. *brace*
 859 chasser .. to *chase* hunt
 860 pâte .. *paste*
 861 tâter .. to *taste*
 862 sauf .. *safe* †
 863 chauffer .. to *chafe*
 864 à cause .. *because* †
 865 faute .. *fault*
 866 pauvre .. *poor* †
- E ..
- 867 thé .. *tea*
 868 geai .. a *jay*
 869 veau .. *veal*
 870 beauté .. *beauty*
 871 agréer .. *agree*
 872 chef .. *chief*
 873 effrei ... a *fray*
 874 reine ... a *rein* of a
 horse
 875 feinte .. a *faint*
 876 deintie ... a *dainty*
 877 heir .. *heir*
 878 céléri .. *celery*
 879 femelle .. *female*
 880 exemple ... *example*
 881 sens .. *sense*
 882 pensée .. *pansy*
 883 dent de lion .. *dande-*
 lion
- 884 apprenti .. *apprentice*
 885 vrai ... *very* * † ‡
 886 frère .. *friar*
 887 clergé .. *clergy*
 888 certain .. *certain* †
 889 cesser .. to *cease*
 890 bête .. *beast* †
 891 fête .. *feast*
 892 neveu .. *nephew*
 893 fleur .. *flowering* garden
 894 décevoir .. *deceive*
 895 recevoir .. *receive*
 896 bevre .. *bever* la-
 bourer's drinking
 time
- I .. and Y ..
- 897 délice .. *delight*
 898 nice ... *nice*
 899 nièce .. *niece*
 900 prier .. *pray*
 901 fin .. *fine*
 902 mine .. a *mine*
 903 dîner .. i. to *dine*, ii. a
 dinner
 904 violette .. a *violet*
 905 riote ... a *riot*
 906 vipère .. a *vipér*
 907 tris-Spanish *trice*
 908 avis .. *advice*
 909 brise .. *breeze*
 910 gîte .. *joist*
 911 citerne .. *cistern*
 912 riz ... *rice*
- O ..
- 913 coche ... a *coach*
 914 broche .. a *brooch*
 915 étoffe .. *stuff*
 916 oignon .. *onion*
 917 rogue .. *rogue*
 918 foible .. *feeble*, adj.
 919 oignement ... *ointment*
 920 point .. *point* †
 921 accointer .. to *acquaint*
 922 boisseau .. *bushel*
 923 étroit .. *strait*, see 265
 923* moite .. *moist*
 924 choix .. *choice*
 925 voix .. *voice* †
- 926 spolier ... to *spoil*
 927 tronc .. a *trunk*
 928 once .. an *ounce* weight
 929 concombre .. *cucumber*
 930 longe .. a *loin*
 931 jongleur .. a *juggler*
 932 à mont .. *amount*
 933 front .. *front*
 934 bonté .. *bounty*
 935 contrée .. *country*
 936 fonts .. baptismal *font*
 937 coq .. a *cock*
 938 cornière .. *corner* †
 939 clos .. *close* i. adj. ii.
 adv. † iii. sb.
 940 cotte .. *coat* †
 941 fou .. *fool*
 942 boucher .. *butcher*
 943 toucher .. to *touch*
 944 allouer .. to *allow*
 945 vouer .. to *vow*
 946 mouiller .. to *moil*
 947 bouillir .. to *boil*
 948 boule .. a *bowl* ball
 949 moule .. a *mould* or
 form, not 537
 950 souper .. *supper* †
 951 couple .. *couple*
 952 course .. i. *coarse*, ii.
 course
 953 cousin .. *cousin*
 954 coussin .. *cushion*
 955 doute .. *doubt* †
 956 couvrir .. to *cover*
 957 employer .. to *employ*
 958 froyer .. to *fray*
 959 convoyer .. to i. *con-*
 vey, ii. *convoy*
- U ..
- 960 quai .. *quay*
 961 grua .. *gruel*
 962 mue .. *mew's* stables
 963 quietus—*quiet* †
 964 suif .. *suet*
 965 huile .. *oil*
 966 fruit .. *fruit*
 967 suite .. *suit*
 968 huître .. *oyster* † ‡
 969 sûr .. *sure*
 970 juste .. *just* * †
 971 flûte .. *flute*

NOTES ON CONSTRUCTIONS AND INTONATION, APPENDED TO THE ORIGINAL WL.

[The informant was requested to underline the grammatical form which is common in his district; disregarding pronunciation.]

I am. thou am. he am. we am. you am. they am.—I are. thou art. he are. we are. you are. they are. we ar'n. you ar'n. they ar'n. [The three last were intended for the West Midland verbal plural in *en*, but were generally confused by informants with *am't*.]—I be. thou bist. he be. we be. you be. they be. we bin. you bin. they bin. [The three last referred to the Sh. plural *bin* for *are*, but were generally confused with *been* used for *have been*.]—I is. thou is. he is. we is. you is. they is.—I was. thou was. he was. we was. you was. they was.—I were. thou wert. he were. we were. you were. they were. we wer'n. you wer'n. they wer'n.—we ha'n. you ha'n. they ha'n. [The six last referred to the West Midland verbal plural in *-en*, but were generally misunderstood.]—him is. him be.—they goes. we goes.—he does. he doth. he do. he walketh. he live there.—thou (underline if used generally, and distinguish by underlining whether it is used to children, husband and wife, servants, friends, lovers).—I do walk. I have a-walked. I be or am a-going.—she was washing on a washing day (underline the two *-ings* if distinguished)—thease thick (=this, that, of shaped things). this that (of shapeless things).—dat man dere (=that man there).—t' man. th' man. 'e man.—theirselves. theirsells. theirsens.—I doh (*for* I don't). I will (*for* I shall). he shall (*for* he will). I would (*for* I should). he should (*for* he would).—to can, to could (*as* he won't can do it, he didn't used to could), he didn't ought.—at eat [meaning the Danishism in parts of D 31, *for* to eat]. to home.

Try to characterise the nature of the singsong of the speech, underlining as may be, rough, smooth, thick, thin, indistinct, clear, hesitating, glib, whining, drawling, jerking, up and down in pitch, rising in pitch at end, sinking at end, monotonous.

Give any singular pronunciations of words not mentioned; and any information respecting your dialect that you will have the kindness to impart.

INDEX TO THE ENGLISH WORDS IN THE CWL. REFERRING EACH TO ITS NUMBER.

A	allow 944	at 176	bargain 853
able 809	am 391	aunt 851	barley 171
about 650	among 61	away 263	barrel 854
above 599	amount 932	awe 15	bath 180
acquaint 921	ancient 845	awl 35	bathe 32
addle 716	and 42	aye 372	bay 823
advice 908	any 194		be 427
afford 778	apprentice 884	B	bean 361
after 158	apron 852		beast 890
again 144	are 29	back 154	beat, pt. 434
age 818	arise 497	bacon 813	beauty 870
ago 120	arm 342	bad 713	because 864
agree 871	as 38	bairn 344	bee 409
ague 828	ash 174	bait 376	beer 431
ail 264	ashes 55	bake 3	beetle, mallet 304
alight 461	ask 102	bald 724	beetle, insect 499
all 335	asked 103	bale 839, i.	beg 750
	ass 57	ball 839, ii.	behave 9

believe 296
 bellows 270, i.
 belly 270, ii.
 bench 274
 beneath 385
 besom 287
 bever 896
 beyond 393
 bind 476
 birth 696
 blain 237
 blaze 149
 bleat 199
 blind 473
 blood 572
 bloom 561
 blow, as wind 90
 blue 796
 board 547
 boat 130
 body 518
 boil 947
 bold 327
 bolt 542
 bone 118
 bonfire 772
 booby 775
 book 569
 boot 594
 booth 670
 both 89
 bother 781
 bough 577
 bought 527
 bounce 784
 bounty 934
 bow, weapon 520
 bow, bend 646
 bower 660
 bowl, cup 539
 bowl, ball 948
 boy 791
 brace 858
 brain 147
 branch 843
 bread 353
 breadth 186
 break 232
 breast 433
 breath 229
 breathe 746
 bred 295
 breeze 909
 brew 418
 bridge 684
 bright 399
 broad 106
 brooch 914
 brood 574
 broom, plant 585
 brother 568

brought 529
 brown 657
 build 688
 bullock 611
 bury 697
 bushel 922
 business 681
 busk 638
 busy 680
 butcher 942
 but 653
 butter 607
 buy 686
 by 490

C

cake 18
 calf 333
 call 338
 came 39
 can, sb. 53
 candle 46
 canter 730
 care, sb. 30
 care, vb. 320
 carrot 855
 case 857
 cease 889
 celery 878
 certain 888
 chafe 863
 chair 824
 chaise 834
 chamber 840
 chance 841
 Chandler 846
 change 848
 chap 364
 chase 859
 cheap 363
 cheat 745
 cheese 197
 chew 417
 chief 872
 child 466
 children 468
 choice 924
 church 679
 cistern 911
 clay 210
 clean 193
 clergy 887
 close 939
 cloth 135
 clothe 88
 clothes 87
 coach 913
 coal 532
 coarse 952, i.
 coat 940
 cock 937

coddle 764
 coke 768
 cold 328
 comb 40
 come 603
 convey 959, i.
 convoy 959, ii.
 cool 582
 corn 552
 corner 938
 cough 526
 could 652
 country 935
 couple 951
 course, 952, ii.
 cousin 953
 cover 956
 cow 640
 cress 285
 cross, sb. 554
 crow 94
 cucumber 929
 cup 633
 curds 805
 cushion 954

D

dainty 876
 dairy 723
 dale 167
 dance 850
 dandelion 883
 danger 847
 dare 345
 darn 734
 daughter 531
 dawn 16
 day 161
 dead 350
 deaf 355
 deal 216
 dear 416
 death 363
 deceive 894
 deed 204
 delay 821
 delight 897
 devil 413
 did 674
 die, vb. 438
 din 678
 dine 903, i.
 dinner 903, ii.
 distract 831
 do 586
 done 587
 donkey 773
 door 606
 doubt 955
 dough 108

douse 786
 dove 645
 down 658
 drain 722
 draw 14
 dray 139
 drive 493
 drunk 613
 drunken 804
 dry, adj. 677
 dry, vb. 675
 dull, 533
 dust 639

E

each 217
 eager 827
 eagle 826
 earnest 400
 earth 406
 edge 257
 egg 160
 eight 324
 either 136, i. 213
 eldest, 268
 eleven 280
 elm 272
 employ 957
 endeavour 747
 enough 579
 ever 208
 ewe 386
 example 880
 eye 348

F

face 810
 facts 815
 fade 816
 fag sb. 720, vb. 721
 faint 875
 fair, adj. 148
 fall 336
 far 403
 farthing 407
 fast 175
 fat 230
 father 138
 fault 865
 fear, sb. 221
 feast 891
 feeble 918
 feed 294
 feel 298
 feet 315
 fellow 297
 female 879
 fever 236
 few 349

fiend 429
 fight 426
 filbert 755
 find 477
 fine 901
 finger 481
 fire 709
 first 701
 fit 759
 five 502
 flay 317
 fledged 748, i.
 flesh 225
 flight 687
 flood 573
 floor 590
 flout 788
 flower 893
 flute 971
 fly, sb. 414
 foal 521
 fold 329
 folk 535
 fond 771
 font 936
 fool 941
 foot 595
 for 546
 ford 518
 forty 421
 fought 323
 foul 655
 found, pt. 623
 found, pp. 619
 four 420
 fourth 432
 fowl 601
 frame 729
 fray, vb. 958
 fray, sb. 873
 fret 752
 friar 886
 Friday 413
 friend 430
 from 58
 front 933
 fruit 966
 full 609
 further 636
 fuss 806

G

gain 829
 gape 319
 gate 346
 gay 820
 get 449
 ghost 129
 girl 758
 glad 156

gnat 178
 gnaw 13
 go, prt. 67
 go, inf. 119
 goat 131
 gold 536
 gone 121
 good 571
 goodbye 776
 gown 790
 grass 172
 great 366
 green 299
 grey 211
 grind 478
 ground, pt. 624
 ground, pp. 620
 ground, sb. 616
 gruel 961

H

hail, sb. 140
 hail, vb. 379
 hair 222
 hale 112
 half 334
 hand 43
 hang 49
 happen 732
 harrow 286
 harvest 170
 has 159
 have, imper. 8
 haw, sb. 10
 he 290
 head 347
 heal 191
 hear 301
 heard 314
 hearken 313, 695,

710

hearth 405
 heat 202
 heathen 201
 heaven 384
 hedge 238
 heel 310
 height 306
 heir 877
 her 447
 here 312
 hie, vb. 445
 high 305
 him 470
 hire 708
 his 483
 hoard 549
 hoarse 127
 hold, vb. 320
 hole 534

holiday 80
 holly 540
 home 115
 hoo = she 410
 hop, vb. 545
 hope 523
 horn 553
 hot 132
 hound 614
 house 663
 how 641
 hug, 793
 hunger 626
 husband 666

I

I 452
 ice 514
 if 456
 inch 689
 iron 496
 is 482
 it 489
 ivy 412

J

jade 717
 jam 727
 jay 868
 John 765
 joist 910
 jostle 780
 jug 794
 juggler 931
 jump 803
 just 970

K

keep 300
 kettle 252
 key 190
 kind, 690
 knave 27
 knead 234
 knew, pt. 408
 knife 504
 know 92
 known, pp. 98

L

lace 812
 lad 714
 lain, pp. 240
 lamb 59
 lame 20
 land 44
 lane 81

lass 736
 last 34
 late 31
 laugh 322
 laughed 318
 law 17
 lay, inf. 260
 lay, pt. 163
 lazy 742
 lead, metal 351
 lead, vb. 184
 leaf 356
 learn 402
 leash 837
 least 150
 leather 254
 leave, vb. 187
 left 749
 length 281
 let, permit 198, 288
 let, hinder 151
 lice 711
 lie, sb. 676
 lie, vb. fib 415
 lie, vb. be recum-
 bent 455
 life 503
 light 425
 like 500
 little 682
 load 761
 loaf 107
 loin 930
 long 60
 look 558
 lord 77
 lounge 785
 louse 664
 love, sb. 600
 low 109

M

made, pp. 6
 maid, sb. 166
 main 146
 make, vb. 5
 make, sb. 2
 man 51
 mane 25
 many 195
 mare 248
 marrow 341
 mason 814
 mate 737
 mauther = girl 739
 maw 11
 may, vb. 164
 may, sb. 822
 mayor 832
 maze 741

me 292
meal 245
mean, vb. 192
measles 744
meat 251
meet, vb. 302
men 273
merry 283
mews 962
mice 712
midge 683
might 457
mile 508
milk 388
mind 691
mine, pro. 510
mine, sb. 902
mirth 698
moan, vb. 83
moe = more, in
number, 68
moirered 766
moil 946
moist 923*
mole, animal 769
mole, mark 114
Monday 563
moon 562
moor 591
more, in quantity 84
most 226
mother 559
mould, form 949
mould, earth 537
mouse 665
mouth 671
mow 91
much 673
must, vb. 593
my, pro. 510

N

nail 141
name 21
nay 374
near 365
need, sb. 308
needle 207
neigh 188
neighbour 359
neither 137, i. 214
nephew 892
nettle, sb. 253
never 209
new 387
next 316
nice 898
niece 899
nigh 307, 358
night 458

nine 446
no, adv. 69
no, adj. 122, ii.
noise 767
none 122, i.
noon 588
nor 137, ii.
nose 565
not 110, ii.
nothing 123
nought 110, i.
now 643
nun 628

O

oak 101
oakum 762
oar 126
oath 134
oats 86
of 525, i.
off 525, ii.
oil 965
ointment 919
old 326
on 543
once 82
one 117
onion 916
only 125
open 522
or 136, ii.
orts 779
other 566
ought, pt. 111
ounce, weight 928
our 648
out 667
over 519
owe 78
owl 647
own, adj. 79
oyster 968

P

pad 715
pair 833
pansy 882
part 856
paste 860
path 181
pert 751
pig, animal 754
pit 703
place 811
plank 842
play, vb. 243
plough 578
point 920

pony 774
poor 866
pothor 782
poultry 783
pound, sb. 615
prate 738
pray 900
proud 668
puss 807
put, vb. 808

Q

quay 960
quean 246, ii.
queen 246, i.
queer 798
quick 453
quiet 963

R

radish 817
rage 819
rain 241
raise, v. 375
rather 33
raven 157
raw 370
read, inf. 185
read, pt. 206
reason 835
receive 895
red 352
rein, for horses 874
rice 912
ridge 685
right 459
rind 474
riot 905
road 104
roam, vb. 763
rode, pt. 105
rogue 917
room 656
root 596
rough 424, 654*
row, noise 789
rum, adj. 802
rum, sb. 801

S

safe 862
said, pt. 165
sail, sb. 239
sake 7
sale 725
same 23
sang, pt. 48
Saturday 153
saw, sb. 12

saw, pt. 321
say, vb. 261
scare 733
school 560
scream 743
scull, of head 799
scull, of boat 800
sea 182
season 836
sedge 258
see, vb. 428
self 269
sense 881
seven 383
sew 451
sham 728
shame 24
she 412
sheaf 354
sheep 218
shepherd 220
shoe 555
shop 777
should 390
shower 661
shrimp 756
shrink 472
shrivelled 760
shroud 654
shrug 795
sick 422
side 492
sieve 441
sigh 491
sight, 462
sin 693
sky 705
slain, pp. 145
slay, inf. 362
sleep, sb. 219
slow 369
smash 735
snail 142
snow, vb. 93
so = like as 73
so = thus 1
sold, pt. 331
some 612
son 605
song 65
soon 564
soot 597
sooth 598
sore, adv. 85
sought, pt. 581
soul, 97
sound, adj. 617
souse, vb. 787
south 672
sow, as seed 96
sow, sb. 602

sown 100
 speak 233
 speech 203
 speed 309
 spire 512
 spoil 926
 spoon 589
 squabble 792
 squeaking 797
 star 404
 starve 398
 steak 377
 stench 275
 stile 444
 stone 124
 stood 575
 stool 584
 storm 551
 straight 265
 strait 923
 stranger 849
 straw 371
 strength 282
 stretch 256
 stroke 75
 strong 62
 stuff 915
 such 465
 suck 644
 suet 964
 suit 967
 summer 604
 sun 629
 Sunday 627
 supper 950
 sure 969
 swain 381
 swear 250
 sweat 228
 sweet 303
 sword 397
 swore 592

T

tadpole 719
 tail 143
 take 4
 tale 19
 talk 726
 tallow 168
 tame 22
 taste 861
 taught 215
 tea 867
 teach 183
 team 360
 tell 271
 ten 311
 than 544, i.
 thank 41
 that 177

thatch 155
 thaw 36
 the 231
 thee 291
 their 382
 them 380
 then 544, ii.
 there 223
 these 448
 they 373
 thigh 423
 thing 480
 think 276
 thirteen 707
 this 484
 thistle 485
 Thomas 770
 thong 66
 those 128
 thou 642
 though 357
 thought 528
 thousand 649
 thread 205
 threat 367
 three 411
 thresh 284
 throng 63
 through 634
 throw, vb. 95
 thrown, pp. 99
 Thursday 631
 tickle 753
 till 463
 timber 471
 time 494
 tiny 757
 to 556
 toad 76
 to-day 162
 toe 70
 told 332
 tongs 50
 tongue 625
 too 557
 took 570
 tool 583
 t'other 567
 touch 943
 tough 580
 town 659
 trade 718
 train 830
 treat 838
 trench, sb. 844
 trice 907
 true 436
 trunk 927
 trust 439
 truth 437
 Tuesday 450

tusk 637
 twain 242
 two 74

U

ugly 608
 under 622
 uncouth 669
 unfledged 748, ii.
 up 632
 us 662

V

veal 869
 very 885
 violet 904
 viper 906
 vixen 704
 voice 925
 vow 945

W

waif 825
 walk 325
 wall 337
 wan 52
 wander 47
 wane 26
 want, sb. = mole 45
 want, vb. 54
 wanton 731
 warm 343
 was 173
 wash 56
 water 152
 wave 740
 way 262
 we 293
 weak 378
 wean 247
 wear 249
 weave 235
 wedge 259
 Wednesday 576
 week 440
 weigh 189
 weight 460
 well, argumenta-
 tive, 244
 well, in good state,
 266
 wench 278
 went 279
 were 196
 wet 227
 wether 255
 what 179
 wheat 200
 when 169
 where 224
 whey 212

which 464
 while 509
 whine 495
 who, in questions,
 72
 whole 113
 whom, in questions,
 116
 why 706
 wide 501
 wife 505
 wild 467
 will, vb. 469
 wind, sb. 475
 wind, vb. 479
 wine 511
 wire 513
 wisdom 516
 wise 515
 witch 454
 with 702
 without 651
 woe 71
 woman 506
 women 507
 won, pp. 630
 won't 541
 wool 610
 word 550
 work, sb. 396
 work, vb. 694
 world 524
 worse 700
 worth 635
 would 538
 wound, sb. 618
 wound, pp. 621
 wright 699
 write, vb. 498
 wrong 64
 wrote, pt. 133
 wrought, pt. 530.

Y

yard, inclosure,
 340, i.
 yard, stick, 340, ii.
 ye 289
 yearn 401
 yeast 486
 yesterday 487
 yet 488
 yew 517
 yield 267
 yolk 389
 yon 392
 yonder 394
 you 435
 young 395
 youngest 692
 your 419

CONSONANTAL INDEX TO THE WESSEX AND NORSE DIVISION OF THE CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

The preceding index will generally, but not always, suffice to refer to the numbers which in any future cwl. point out a dialectal alteration, if any, of the initial consonant or consonantal combinations, but not so for medial or final combinations. Hence the following index has been constructed to shew a few of the initial, and most of the medial and final combinations which may be required for study. Only the most interesting cases are cited.

Only Ws. and Norse consonants are given, and the words are cited only in the original spelling.

The Capital Initials mark the consonants selected, and hyphens are used thus C- initial, -C- medial, -C final, in this order.

C- 190 cæ'ge. 197 cæ'se. 285 cerse. 300 cepan. 466 cild. 468 cildru. 679 cyrice. 690 gecynd. -C- 2 gemaca. 3 bacan. 4 tacan. 5 macian. 6 gemacod. 7 sacu. 183 tæ'can. 232 breca. 233 spreca. 440 wicu wice wuce. 491 sican. 558 lócian. 673 mycel. 679 cyrice. -C 101 ác. 154 bæc. 155 þæc. 452 ic. 453 cwic. 500 gelíc. 569 bóc. 570 tóc. -CC- 256 streccan. 454 wice. CE- [meaning C before, and hence affected by a following E] 320 cearian. 328 ceald. 333 cealf. 363 ceáp. 364 ceapman. -CG- 260 lecgan. 261 secgan. 455 liegan. 686 bycgan. -CG 257 ecg. 258 secg. 259 wecg. 683 mycg. 684 brycg. 685 hrycg. CN- 27 cnapa. 92 cnáwan. 234 cnedan. 408 cneow. 504 cníf. -CS- 102 ácsian. 103 ácsóde. CW- 39 cwam. 246 cwene cwén.

-D- 76 tæde. 138 fæder. 385 beneoðan. 518 bodig. 559 módor. -Ð- 32 baðian. 33 hraðor. 87 cláðas. 88 claðian. 90 bláwan. 136 áwðer. 137 náwðer. 201 hæðen. 254 leðer. 255 weðer. 568 bróðor. 652 cúðe. 669 uncúð. 670 buð n. 671 múð. 672 súð. -Ð 134 áð. 135 cláð. 180 bæð. 181 pæð. 229 bræð. 368 deað. 598 sóð. 702 wyð. -DN- 576 wódnedæg. DR- 613 druncen. DW- 533 dol dwol dwal.

F- 297 félagi n. 298 félan. -F- 8 hafa. 9 behafa. 187 læ'fan. 235 wefan. 236 fæfer. 296 gefélan. 347 heáfod. 383 seofan. 384 heoton. 413 deófol. 441 sife. 442 itig. 493 dritan. 519 ofer. 599 ábutan. 600 lufu. 645 dúfa. -F 456 gif. 502 fif. 503 lif. 504 cnif. 505 wif. 506 wifman. 507 wifmen. 525 of. -FR- 208 æ'fre. 209 næ'fre.

G- 267 geldan. 289 gé. 486 gist. 487 gistrandæg. 488 git. -G- 10 haga. 11 maga. 12 saga sagu. 12 gnagan. 14 dragan. 15 agi n. 16 dagian. 17 lagu. 78 ágan. 79 ágen. 139 dræge. 140 hægel. 141 nægel. 142 snægel. 143 tægel. 144 ongægen. 145 slægen. 146 mægen. 147 brægen. 148 fæger. 188 hne'gan. 189 wæ'gan. 190 cæ'ge. 237 blegan. 238 hege. 239 segel. 240 gelegen. 241 regen. 242 twegen. 243 plegian. 317 fleagan. 348 eáge. 414 fleóga. 415 leógan. 443 frigadæg. 444 stigel. 445 higian. 446 nigon. 520 boga. 540 hollegen. 601 rugol. 602 sugu. 646 búgan. 675 drygan. 676 lyge. 677 dryge. -G 80 hálig dæg. 108 dæg. 109 lág. 160 æg. 161 dæg. 163 læg. 164 mæg. 165 sægde. 166 mægden. 194 æ'nig. 195 mæ'nig. 210 clæg. 211 græg. 212 hwæg. 213 æ'gðer. 214 næ'gðer. 262 weg. 263 on weg. 264 eglan. 577 bóg. 578 plóg n. 579 genóg. GE- [meaning G before and hence affected by a following E] 319 geapian. 340 geard geord. 346 geat. 389 geolca. 392 geond. 393 begeondan. 394 geonder. 395 geong. GN- 13 gnagan. 178 gnaet. GR- 366 gréat.

H- 489 hit. -H- 318 hleahen. -H 305 héh heáh. 306 héhðe. 307 néh neáh. 321 geseah. 357 þeáh. 358 neáh. 423 þeóh. 424 hreóh. 580 tóh. -HH- 322 hleahhan. 526 cohhetan. -HÐ 462 gesihð. HL- 77 hláfod. 107 hláf. 318 hleahen. 322 hleahhan. HN- 188 hne'gan. HR- 157 hrafn. 370 hreáw. 424 hreóh. 685 hrycg. -HT- 111 ahte. 215 tæhte. 324 eahta. 426 feóhtan. 461 gelihtan. 527 bohte. 528 þohte. 529 brohte. 530 wrohte. 531 dohtor. 581 sóhte. -HT 110 náht nát. 265 streht. 323 feaht. 425 leóht. 457 miht. 458 niht. 459 riht. 460 wiht.

687 flyht. HW- 72 hwá. 116 hwám. 169 hwænne. 179 hwæt. 200 hwæ'te. 224 hwær' hwar. 464 hwile. 495 hwínan. 509 hwil. 706 hwy'.

-K- 18 kaka n. -K 378 veikr n.

-L- 19 talu. -LC- 325 wealcen. 389 geolea. -LC 217 æ'le. 388 meole. 464 hwile. 465 swile. 535 folc. -LD- 329 fealdan. 330 healdan. 331 sealde. 332 tealde. 467 wilde. 537 molde. 538 wolde. -LD 326 eald. 327 beald. 328 ceald. 524 woruld. 536 gold. -LDR- 468 cildru. -LF 269 self. 333 cealf. 334 healf. -LG 168 tælg. 270 belg. -LM 272 elm. -LN- 541 wol nāt. -LT 542 bolt.

-M- 20 lama. 21 nama. 22 tama. 23 same. 24 scamu. -MB- 471 timber. -MB 59 lamb lomb.

-N- 25 manar, 26 wanian. -NC- 41 þancian. 276 þencan. 277 drencan. 278 wencle. 472 scrincan. -NC 274 bene. 275 stene. -ND- 46 candel. 476 bindan. 477 findan. 478 grindan. 479 windan. 619 funden. 620 grunden. 621 wunden. 622 under. 623 fundon. 624 grundon. -ND 42 and. 43 hand. 44 land. 45 wand. 429 feónd. 430 freónd. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wind. 614 hund. 615 pund. 616 grund. 617 gesund. 618 wund. 690 geeynd. 691 mynd. -NDL- 280 endlufon. -NDR- 47 wandrian. -NG- 49 hangan. 50 tange. 481 finger. 625 tunge. 626 hungor. 692 gyngest. -NG 48 and 65 sang. 60 lang. 61 on gemang. 62 strang. 63 geþrang. 64 wrang. 66 þwang. -NGÐ 281 lengð. 282 strengð. -NNR- 631 þunnresdæg. -NT- 54 wanta n.

-R- 248 mere. 249 werian. 250 swerian. 301 gehéran. 606 duru. -R 312 hér. 365 neár. -RC 396 weore were. -RCN- 313 hércnian. -RF- 170 hærfest. 398 steorfan. -RD- 314 gehérde. -RD 547 bord. 548 ford. 549 hord. 550 word. -RÐ- 406 eorðe. 432 feórða. 636 iurðor. -RÐ 405 heorð. 407 feorðling. 635 wurð weord. -RG 283 merg. 341 mearh. 697 bebyrgan. -RGÐ 698 myrgð. -RD 696 gebyrd gebeord. -RH 634 þurh. -RHT- 699 wyrhta. -RHT 399 beorht. -RM 342 earm. 343 wearm. 551 storm. -RN- 400 eornest. 401 geornian. 402 leornian. -RN 344 bearn. 552 corn. 553 horn. -RS- 285 cerse. 700 wyrsa. -RS 172 gærs. -RSC- 284 þerscan. -RST- 701 fyrsta. -RW- 286 herwe.

S- 412 seó. 422 seóc. -S- 149 blæse. 150 læsest. 375 reisa n. 497 arisan. 565 nósu. 617 gesund. 649 þúsand. 680 bysig. 681 bysigu. -S 127 há. 128 þás. 173 wæs. 482 is. 483 his. 484 þis. 514 ís. 515 wís. 516 wísdóm. 662 ús. 663 hús. 664 lús. 665 mús. 711 ly's. 712 my's. -SB- 666 húsbónda. SC- 24 scamu. 218 scæ'p. 220 scæ'phirde. 354 sceáf. 390 sceolde. 555 seó. 560 scóla. 661 scúr. 705 scy' n. -SC- 55 ascan. 638 busca n. -SC 174 æsc. 225 flæ'sc. 637 tuse. SCR- 472 scrincan. 654 scrúd. -SM 287 besm. SP- 309 spéd. 512 spír. SPR- 203 spræ'e. 233 sprecan. ST- 377 steik n. -ST- 593 móste. -ST 34 latost. 129 gást. 175 fæst. 226 mæ'st. 433 breóst. 639 dust. -STEL 485 þistel. STR- 75 strácian. 282 strengð. 371 streáw. SV- 381 sveinn. SW- 1 swa. 73 swá. 228 swæ't. 397 sweord. 465 swile. 592 swór.

-T- 31 late læte. 34 latost. 151 lætan. 86 áte. 198 læ'tan. 199 blæ'tan. 200 hwæ'te. 202 hæ'ta. 251 mete. 252 cetele. 253 netele. 302 gemétan. 303 swéte. 304 hétel. -TER- 152 water. 153 sæterdæg. 607 butere. Þ- 36 þawian. 223 þæ'r. 231 þe. 291 þé. 357 þeah. 373 þei n. 382 þeirra n. 423 þeóh. 480 þing. 484 þis. 485 þistel. 544 þonne. 631 þunnresdæg. 634 þurh. 642 þú. 649 þúsand. -Þ- 566 óþer. ÞR- 205 þræ'd. 367 þreát. 411 þréo. ÞW- 66 þwang. TW- 74 twá.

V- 378 veikr n.

-W- 35 awel. 36 þawian. 37 clawu. 90 bláwan. 91 máwan. 92 enáwan. 93 snáwan. 94 cráwan. 95 þráwan. 96 sáwan. 97 sáwel. 98 enáwen. 99 þráwen. 100 sáwen. 349 feáwa. 386 eowe. 387 neowe niwe. -W- 417 eówan. 418 breówan. 419 eówer. 420 feówer. 421 feówertig. 450 tiwesdæg. 451 siwian. -W 369 sleáw. 370 hreáw. 370 streáw streaw streów streu streá. 408 cneow. 435 eów. 436 treów. 517 íw. WR- 64 wrang. 133 wrát. 498 writan. WU- [that is, W affected by a following U] 610 wull. 618 wund.

-XT 316 next.

VI. ALPHABETICAL COUNTY LIST.

The counties of England, Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, are taken in this order.

The counties in each country are taken in the alphabetical order of its full name (not of the two letter abbreviation, as on p. 4*), each headed by its number in the countries (supposing that all the counties were enumerated, which is not the case in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, because all do not speak English), together with its two letter abbreviation and full name, and a statement of the number of places from which information was obtained, and of the districts over which it is distributed.

Within each county are ranged all the names of places from which information has been received, in alphabetical order, preceded by the number of the district in which it is contained, and by the initial letter, or letter and number, by which it is referred to in the following Alphabetical Informants List, VII. An asterisk * shews that the information received is given, or at least spoken of in the work itself. It will be seen that a very large number of places named are not further spoken of. It must not, however, be supposed that the information received was therefore valueless. Far from it. It was often incomplete, and often difficult to interpret, but it always helped to bridge over the spaces left between places from which more complete or more easily interpretable information was given, and without this I should have had the greatest difficulty in assigning the boundaries of my districts.

After the name, its local pron. is occ. given, and if, as is most frequently the case, the place is not on the small maps of the dialect districts annexed, the distance and direction from a place actually on the map is added in (). When the place is on the maps, its name suffices, for a whole county on this small scale is easily looked over. The places, or their position (for they are often so insignificant as not to be marked on many maps), can thus readily be found on any county map.

Afterwards follows a description of the nature of the information, employing the abbreviations explained on p. 6*. If several pieces of information have reached me from the same place, they are often numbered as (1), (2), etc., but these numbers are generally omitted if the informant is the same.

At the end of each piece of information, when referred to in the book, is added the number of the page on which the information is given or spoken of, preceded by the letter p. in case another number comes just before, but not otherwise.

When the information is given in the book, the indications of its origin are here abbreviated as much as possible, the page where it is cited furnishing the rest.

In VII. I give a list of informants referring to the county in this list, or to the place by means of the numbered initials. Many of these obliging informants have passed away since they so kindly assisted me. Others have changed their address, and I have no means of discovering them. But to each and all I give my most hearty thanks for the trouble they have taken, often great, and the time they have spent, often very long, in helping me to render this account of English local pronunciation as complete as it now appears, a result perfectly impossible without a great cooperation.

England.

1. Bd.=Bedfordshire, 16 places, all in D 16.

16. A. *Amphill* (:æmtil) (7 ssw. Bedford) and 4 or 5 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. J. Brown, Dunstable Road, 21 y. who says "the old-fashioned native dialect is comparatively rare."

*16. B. *Bedford* and neighbourhood and the county generally, (1) T.

Batchelor's book 204, (2) es. and phrases from Mr. J. Wyatt, 206 to 209, cwl. 209, (3) cwl. from Mr. Rowland Hill 209.

*16. D. *Dunstable* (5 w. Luton), wn. by TH., 209.

16. E. *Edworth* (12 se. Bedford), dt.

io. with notes and wd. from Mrs. Buttenshaw of the rectory.

16. *F. Flitwick* (:flitɪk) (9 s-by-w. Bedford) wl. io. by Rev. T. W. D. Brooks, vic.

16. *G. Girtford* (7 e.Bedford) wn. by TH.

16. *H1. Harrold* (8 nw.Bedford) dt. io. notes and lw. by Rev. J. Steel.

16. *H2. Hatley Cockayne* (:kəkin :ætlɪ) (12 e.Bedford) full wl. io. by the Rev. E. Brickwell, rect.

16. *M. Melchbourne* (10 n.Bedford) dt. io. by Mrs. F. H. Bolingbroke, of the vicarage.

*16. *R. Ridgmont* (10 ssw.Bedford),

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Susan Wheck, of Whitelands, 206.

16. *s1. Sandy* (8 e.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *s2. Sharnbrook* (7 nnw.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *t1. Thurleigh* (:therla'i) (6 n.Bedford), wl. and dt. io. by Rev. B. Trapp, vic.

16. *t2. Tilbrook* (12 nne.Bedford), wn. by TH.

16. *t3. Toddington* (:taa'ɪntən) (6 ene.Leighton Buzzard) wl. and dt. io. by Major Cooper Cooper, T. Manor.

16. *u. Upper Dean* (11 n.Bedford) wn. by TH.

2. Be.=Berkshire, 14 places in D 5 and 8.

5. *B. Bucklebury* (6 ne.Newbury) dt. io. by Rev. W. M. Wallis, Rose-lands, for Be. between Thames and Kennet rivers.

*5. *c. Cholsey* (12 e.Wantage) dt. io. with letter from Mr. W. Brewer, national schoolmaster, at Wallingford adjoining, obtained through Mrs. Parker, Oxford, 96.

*5. *D. Denchworth* (:dentɪθ) (3 nnw.Wantage) wl. and lw. io. by Rev. C. H. Tomlinson, vic. 10 y., 96.

5. *E. East Hendred* (4 e.Wantage) letter and wds. io. by Ven. Archd. Pott, Clifton Hampden, Ox. (3 ese. Abingdon, Be.).

*5. *H1. Humpstead Norris* (7 nne. Newbury) es. io. by Mr. W. B. Banting, LLB. and AJE., 95.

*8. *H2. Hurley* (9 nne.Reading) dt. io. by Mrs. Godfrey, 129.

*8. *H3. Hurst* (5 e.Reading) dt. io. by Rev. A. A. Cameron, for the Loddon river valley, 129.

5. *K. Kimbury* (:kɪmbri) (6 w.Newbury) from Rev. W. Campbell, vic.

5. *s1. Stanford-in-the-Vale* (5 nnw. Wantage) dt. io. from Mr. W. Cleverley, and dt. io. from Miss Collins, both through Mrs. Parker, of Oxford.

*5. *s2. Steventon* (6 ne.Wantage) and neighbourhood dt. glossic by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from Mr. B. Leonard, 94.

5. *s3. Streatley* (:striitli) (9 nw. Reading) wl. io. by Rev. John Slatter, vic. 15 y.

*5. *w1. Wantage* lw. io. from Mr. E. C. Davey, F.G.S., 96.

*8. *w2. Wargrave* (5 ne.Reading) lw. aq. vv. by Mr. T. F. Maitland, 129.

8. *w3. Windsor* wn. by TH.

3. Bu.=Buckinghamshire, 19 places in D 15 and 17.

*15. *A. Aylesbury* (:jee'jɪlzbəri) (1) wl. io. but partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Kersely Fowler, 192; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. R. R. Fowler, 190; (3) wn. by AJE. from labourer, 1881, 192; wn. by TH. 192.

15. *B1. Bu.*, probably the part near b. of Bd., pal. vv. by AJE. from Mr. J. Wyatt (see Bedford, Bd.).

*15. *B2. Buckingham* wn. by TH., 194.

*15. *C1. Clackmore* (1 nnw.Buckingham) dt. noted by TH., 191; wn. by TH. 194 (where it is misprinted *Clackmore*).

17. *C2. Chalvey* (name omitted on p. 189) (1 n.Eton), letter to LLB. from Mr. A. Henry Atkins, 1875.

17. *C3. Cheddington* (7 ene.Aylesbury) notes by LLB.

15. *E. Edlesborough* (:edjbərə) (10 ene.Aylesbury) wl. io. by Rev. G. Birch, vic. 12 y.

15. *G. Great Kimble* (5 s.Aylesbury) lw. io. picked up on the Chilterns by Rev. E. K. Clay, vic., communicated by Mr. J. K. Fowler (see Aylesbury).

17. *H1. Hambleden* (4 w.Great Marlow) lw. by Rev. W. H. Ridley, rec. 60 y.

*15. *H2. Hanslope* (10 nne.Buckingham) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, of Whitelands, native, 194 (see Wendover).

17. *L. Langley* (3 e.Eton), letter in 1875 to LLB. from Rev. W. D. Scoones.

15. m1. *Marsh Gibbon* (7 ssw.Buckingham]), letter on the pron. of the school there by a man of 90, by Mr. G. Parker, Oxford.

15. m2. *Marsworth* (6 e.Aylesbury) letter from Rev. F. W. Ragg, vic. (see Wingham, Ke.).

17. p. *Penn* (3 e.High Wycombe), letter from Rev. J. Grainger, vic., 235.

15. s1. *Stowe* (3 nnw.Buckingham) note by TH.

15. s2. *Swanbourne* (8 se.Buckingham) lw. by Rev. M. D. Malden, vic. 10 y.

*15. t. *Tyrringham with Filgrave* (13 ne.Buckingham) [misprinted Tyrrinham, p. 194] wl. io. and letters from Rev. J. Tarver, rect., 194.

*15. w1. *Wendover* (5 sse.Aylesbury) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby, of Whitelands, native of Northampton, but since 8 years old living at Aylesbury and Buckingham, 192; (2) wn. in 1884 by TH. from labourers of 82 and 63 and others, 192.

15. w2. *Winslow* (:winsloo) (6 se. Buckingham) with (s), heard by TH., who was told by a fellow traveller that the dialect was "very broad."

4. Cb.=Cambridgeshire, 15 places, all in D 18.

*18. c1. *Cambridge* wn. by TH.

*18. c2. *Cambridgeshire* generally, (1) dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. Perkins, M.A., Downing Coll., 249; (2) notes by Rev. Prof. W. W. Skeat.

*18. c3. *Chatteris* (9 nw.Ely) wn. by TH. 253d, and note from Rev. Sidney A. Smith, vic.

18. e. *Ely* wn. by TH.

18. h. *Haddenham* (6 sw.Ely) note by Rev. J. M. Freeman.

*18. m. *March* (12 nw.Ely) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. J. Wastie Green, rect., 251, and wn. by TH.

18. p. *Pampisford* (:paanzv) (6 sse. Cambridge) reported by TH. from Prof. Skeat.

*18. s1. *Sawston* (5 sse.Cambridge) dt. pal. from dict. by TH., 250.

18. s2. *Shelford* (4 s.Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. s3. *Soham* (5 se. Ely), note from Rev. J. Cyprian Rust.

18. w1. *Whittlesford* (6 s-by-e. Cambridge) wn. by TH.

18. w2. *Willingham* (8 nnw.Cambridge) wn. by TH.

*18. w3. *Wisbech* (:wisbitv) dt. and wl. io. with letters, 252, by Mr. Herbert J. Little, Coldham Hall, 252; and wn. by TH. 253.

*18. w4. *Wood Ditton* (3 sse.Newmarket) dt. and wl. with sentences pal. by AJE. in 1879 from dict. of Miss Walker, of the vicarage, 251.

*18. w5. *Wryde* (9 ene.Peterbro' Np.), a farming district 2 e.Thorney village, and in Thorney parish, wn. by TH., 254.

5. Ch.=Cheshire, 32 places in D 21, 25, 28.

25. A1. *Altrincham* (8 wsw.Stockport) (1) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. J. C. Clough, then Principal of the Agricultural College, Aspatia, Carlisle, native; (2) notes from JGG. and TH.

*25. A2. *Alvanly* (:AA'v'nlv) (7 ne. Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. A3. *Ashton* (7 ene.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. A4. *Audlem* (:AAlvm) (6 s.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. B1. *Beeston* (9 se.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

*25. B2. *Bickley* (5 nnw.Whitchurch, Sh.) (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. T. Darlington, native of Burland (6 ne.Bickley), author of *Folk-speech of South Cheshire*, and wl. in gl., 411, 422; (2) version of Ruth, chap. i., 698, No. 4.

25. B3. *Bowdon* (16 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

*25. B4. *Broxton* (9 sse.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

25. B5. *Buerton* (6 s-by-e.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*28. c1. *Churton* (6 s.Chester) wn. by TH. 457 (wrongly referred to D 25 on p. 421).

25. c2. *Congleton* (11 ene.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*28. e. *Eccleston* (:Eklistvn) (2 s. Chester) wn. by TH., 457.

*28. f. *Farndon* (:farn) (7 s.Chester) dt. in so. by Mr. E. French, native, and wn. by TH. 452, 457.

*25. g. *Great Neston* (10 nw. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. h1. *Hatton Heath* (4 se. Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

*25. H2. *Helsby* (8 ne.Chester) wn. by TH. 421.

25. K. *Knutsford* (15 ese.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

25. L. *Lymm* (11 ene.Runcorn) wn. by TH.

26. M1. *Malpas* (13 sse.Chester) lw. by Mr. T. Darlington, and wn. by TH.

25. M2. *Marbury* (7 sw.Nantwich) wn. by TH.

*25. M3. *Middlewich* (7 n.Crewe) cs. pal. by TH. from dict., 413.

25. M4. *Mobberly* (9 wnw.Macclesfield) dt. io. by Mr. Robert Holland, of Norton Hill, Halton (2 ese.Runcorn) to represent m.Ch., but really representing e.Ch.

25. M5. *Mouldsworth* (6 ene.Chester) wn. by TH.

*25. N1. *Nantwich* wn. by TH. 421.

25. N2. *Northenden* (4 w.Stockport) phrases noted by TH.

25. N3. *Northwich* (11n.Crewe) wn. by TH.

*25. P. *Pott Shrigley* (4 nne.Macclesfield) cs. pal. by TH. in 1874 from dict. of a native, 413.

*25. S1. *Sandbach* (4 ne.Crewe) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 411; TH. also noted the forms of negative *canna conner* in *Manchester City News*, 26 March, 1881.

*28. S2. *Shocklach* (14 w-by-s.Nantwich) wn. by TH. 457.

*21. S3. *Stalybridge*, situate half in La. and half in Ch., formerly all or nearly all the town was in La., which see, 317.

21. S4. *Stockport* wn. by TH.

*25. T. *Tarporley* (9 ese.Chester) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich and 7 sse.Tarporley), 413, 421.

*25. W. *Waverton* (4 se.Chester) wn. by TH., 421.

6. Co.=Cornwall, 19 places in D 11 and 12.

*11. C1. *Camelford* (14 w.Launceston) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Ada Hill, of Whitelands, 168.

*11. C2. *Cardynham* (4 ene.Bodmin) dt. by T. H. Cross, 169.

12. G. *Gwennap* (3 ese.Redruth) (1) dt. io. by Rev. Saltren Rogers, vic.; (2) wn. by TH.

11. L1. *Landrake* (8 ese.Liskeard), let. from vic. unnamed.

11. L2. *Lanivet* (3 sw.Bodmin) dt. io. by the late Mr. T. Q. Couch, author of the Glossary of Polperro (9 ssw.Liskeard).

11. L3. *Lanreath* (7 sw.Liskeard) wl. io. by Rev. R. Buller, rect.

*12. M1. *Marazion* (3 e.Penzance), specimen pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. J. Rawlings, Downes, Hayle (6 ne.Penzance), 172.

*11. M2. *Millbrook* (22 sse.Launceston) spec. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Rundell, 167.

11. P1. *Padstow* dt. io. by Hon. Mrs. Prideaux Brune, Prideaux Place.

12. P2. *Penzance* cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. W. Noye and then

from Mr. W. Rawlings (see above M1), but not used, 171.

11. P3. *Poundstock* (12 nnw.Launceston) dt. io. by Rev. P. D. Dayman, vic.

11. S1. *St. Blazey* (3 ne.St. Austell) wl. and dt. io. by Miss A. B. Peniston, of the vicarage, 6 y.

*11. S2. *St. Columb Major* (10 wsw.Bodmin) and 10 m. round by Mr. T. Rogers, 169.

11. S3. *St. Goran's* (6 s.St. Austell) also written *Gorran*, *Goram*, dt. io. by Rev. C. R. Sowell, vic.

11. S4. *St. Ive* (4 ne.Liskeard) dt. io. by Ven. Archd. Hobhouse, rect.

12. S5. *St. Just* (7 w.Penzance) dt. io. by Rev. H. S. Fagan, vic.

11. S6. *St. Stephen's* (1 n.Launceston) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. S. T. Daunt.

12. S7. *St. Stithian's* (4 sse.Redruth) dt. by Mr. W. Martin, Penhalvar East, churchwarden of St. Stithian's.

11. T. *Tintagel* (13 n.Bodmin) dt. io. by the Rev. Prebendary Kinsman, vic.

7. Cu.=Cumberland, 15 places in D 31, 32, and 33.

*31. A. *Abbey Holme* or *Holme Cultram* (12 nne.Maryport) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. T. Ellwood, 562, 563, cwl. 634.

*33. B1. *Bewcastle* (16 ne.Carlisle) to *Longtown* (8 n.Carlisle) pal. by JGG. from a native, 682, 684, 693.

31. B2. *Borrowdale* (7 s.Keswick)

wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Percy C. Walker, vic.

*32. B3. *Brampton* (9 ene. Carlisle) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. 669.

*32. c1. *Carlisle* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, 562, 563, 602; (2) aq. from Messrs. Coward, Harkness, Payne, Murray, and Dickinson about the s. b. of D 32.

*31. c2. *Clifton* (2 e. Workington) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Hetherington, 562, 563.

*32. D. *Dalston* (4 ssw. Carlisle) cs. pal. November, 1873, by AJE. from a native maid servant, but not used, 562*d*.

*31. E. *Ellonby* (6 nw. Penrith) cs. pal. by JGG. 562, 563, 600.

31. H. *Hale* (:jal) (14 ssw. Cocker-mouth) wl. from Rev. W. Sidney Pratten, vic.

Holme Cultram, see *Abbey Holme* above.

*31. K. *Keswick* cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. W. Postlethwaite, 562, 563, 600.

*31. L1. *Langwathby* (:la'qenbi) (4 ne. Penrith) pal. 1876-7 by JGG. from dict. of Miss Powley, 561, 563, 600.

8. Db. = Derby, 67 places in D 21, 25, 26.

*26. A1. *Alvaston* (:AA'væsten) (3 ese. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. A2. *Ashbourn* (10 sw. Matlock Bath) two cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 426, 427.

*26. A3. *Ashford* (8 ese. Buxton) with Bakewell (2 se. Ashford) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. 427.

*26. A4. *Ashover* (5 ssw. Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427, 445.

*26. B1. *Bamford* (12 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*26. B2. *Barlborough* (7½ ene. Chesterfield) dt. pal. from dict. by TH. 438.

*26. B3. *Belper* wn. by TH. 445.

*26. B4. *Bolsover* (:bæ'uzər) (5 e. Chesterfield) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 438, 442, 445.

*26. B5. *Bradwell* (:brad'v) (9 ne. Buxton) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, and wn. 442.

*26. B6. *Brailsford* (7 nw. Derby) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*26. B7. *Brampton* (3 w. Chesterfield) (1) wn. by TH., (2) cs. io. by Rev. J. M. Mello, rect., with observations on the same by TH., and (3) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 427, No. 7.

*33. L2. *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle) cs. io. by Rev. R. D. Hope, native, vic. of Old Hutton (4 n. Kendal), We. See under *Bewcastle*, 682, 693.

31. P. *Penrith*, notes on m. Cu. and a translation of A. Craig Gibson *Joe and the Jolly Jist*, pal. January, 1873, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. William Atkinson, an excellent authority, but this early work sadly wants revision, and as I have not been able to recover Mr. A.'s address, I have been obliged to pass it over.

31. R. *Ravenglass* (13 w. Coniston, La.) notes by Rev. H. Bell, vic., which enabled me to complete the s. *hoose* line 6 through s. Ch.

31. S. *South Cumberland*, correspondence with Rev. E. H. Knowles, of St. Bees, Cu., and his friends concerning the use of *at* and *to*.

31. W. *Workington*, cs. io. and wl. io. with many letters from Mr. W. Dickinson, author of the Cu. Glossary. As I was unable to have an interview with Mr. D., I have been obliged to pass over this work.

26. B8. *Brampton Moor*, near Brampton, wn. by TH.

*26. c1. *Castleton* (10 ne. Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*21. c2. *Chapel-en-le-Frith* (5 n. Buxton), (1) the Song of Solomon complete in his own original so. translated by TH., and Chaps. i. and ii. in pal. and gl. compared with Taddington, which see; (2) cs. from personal knowledge by TH. with variants for places in the neighbourhood, and notes on the use of *thou* and (*kh*), 317, and dt. 322; (3) Parable of the Prodigal Son; (4) complete cwl. from personal knowledge with the minute distinctions which TH. prefers, 323 to 329.

*26. c3. *Chellaston* (4 sse. Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. c4. *Chesterfield* wn. by TH. 427.

*26. c5. *Codnor* (5 ene. Belper) lw. io. by Rev. H. Middleton, vic 445.

*26. c6. *Codnor Park* (5 ene. Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*25. c7. *Combs Valley* (3 nw. Buxton) notes by TH., see *Chapel-en-le-Frith*, and dt. from personal knowledge, 411.

26. c8. *Crich* (4 n.Belper) notes by TH.

*26. c9. *Cromford* (1 s.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH. 444.

26. d1. *Derby*, wn. by TH. and also by AJE.

*26. d2. *Doe Hill Station* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. probably belong to Codnor Park, Ilkestone, etc. 445.

*26. d3. *Dore* (8 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. d4. *Dronfield* (5 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. d5. *Dronfield Woodhouse* (6 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*26. e1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438.

*21. e2. *Edale* (7 se.Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322.

*26. e3. *Eyam* (10 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

*25. f1. *Fernilee*, near Combs Valley, wn. by TH. 411.

26. f2. *Foolow* (9 ene.Buxton, 1 e. Eyam) wn. by TH.

*21. g1. *Glossop* cs. pal. by TH. from a man born 3 miles off, 317.

*25. g2. *Goyt, Dale of* (3 nw.Buxton) cs. pal. from personal knowledge by TH., whose father resided there from TH.'s childhood, 321, in the notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith, and 414.

26. g3. *Great Hucklow* (8 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. h1. *Hartington* (10 nnw.Matlock Bath) joke pal. by TH. 441.

*26. h2. *Hathersage* (12 ne.Buxton) and 3 or 4 miles round, wn. by TH. 442.

*26. h3. *Heanor* (5 ese.Belper) wn. by TH., and dt. in gl. by Mrs. Parker, of Oxford, from dict. 445.

*26. h4. *Higham* (7 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. h5. *Holmesfield* (6 nw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. h6. *Hope Woodlands* (10 se.Glossop) wn. by TH. 317, 322, and in note to Chapel-en-le-Frith, 321.

*26. i1. *Idridgehay* (4 nnw.Belper, and 4 s.Wirksworth, to which region it belongs) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

*26. i2. *Ilkeston* (8 se.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. l. *Little Hucklow* (7 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH.

*26. m1. *Matlock Bath*, wn. by TH. 444.

*26. m2. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth* (2 sw.Matlock Bath), a mining village, said to speak more broadly than at Wirksworth, wn. by TH. 441, 444.

26. m3. *Middleton-by-Youlgrave* (7 nw.Matlock Bath) wn. by TH.

*26. m4. *Milford* (2 s.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. m5. *Morton* (8 nne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. n. *Norton* (7 nnw.Chesterfield) lw. io. by Rev. H. H. Pearson, vic. 445.

*26. o. *Old Brampton* (3 w.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 427.

*21. p. *Peak Forest* (5 ne.Buxton) wn. by TH. 322.

*26. q. *Quarndon* (3 nnw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. r1. *Repton* (6 sw.Derby) (1) lw. io. by the curate, name not mentioned, and TH.'s observations on them; (2) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 427; (3) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. r2. *Ripley* (3 ne.Belper) wn. by TH. 445.

26. s1. *Sandiacre* (:sɛnˈdʒɪkə) (8 e.Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. s2. *South Wingfield* (5 nne.Belper) dt. 438, and wn. both by TH.

*26. s3. *Stenson* (4 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH. 446.

*26. s4. *Stretton* (6 s.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. s5. *Sutton* (3 ese.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. t1. *Taddington* (5 ese.Buxton) (1) Song of Solomon, chaps. i. and ii. in gl. and pal. by TH.; (2) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by a native, 426, 427.

*26. t2. *Tideswell* (:tidzə) (6 ene.Buxton) wn. by TH. 442.

26. t3. *Twynford* (5 ssw.Derby) wn. by TH.

*26. u. *Unstone* (4 nnw.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. w1. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby) dt. by TH. from dict. 438, 439.

*26. w2. *Whittington* (2 n.Chesterfield) wn. by TH. 445.

*26. w3. *Winster* (3 nw.Matlock Bath) cs. pal. by TH. and corrected by natives, 427, also wn. by TH.

*26. w4. *Wirksworth* (:wasə) (3 ssw.Matlock Bath) lw. io. with notes by Dr. Spencer T. Hall, and wn. by TH. 441, 444.

9. Dv. = Devonshire, 21 places in D 4, 10, 11.

4. A. *Axminster* (8 se. Honiton) cs. io. by the late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, not used because I had no vv.

11. B1. *Barnstaple*, cs. io. by Mr. W. F. Rock, native, pal. in 1873 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. D. H. Harris, native.

11. B2. *Bigbury* (12 sw. Totness) phr. noted, 1876, in gl. by Mr. J. B. Rundell.

11 B3. *Burrington* (10 sse Barnstaple) characteristic wds. and phr. io. by Mrs. Davis, of the vicarage, native.

*11. c1. *Challacombe* (9 ne. Barnstaple) wds. and phr. obtained from Anne Ridge, native, cook to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, see notes to Iddesleigh, 158.

11. c2. *Colyton* (7 se. Honiton) dt. io. by Mr. W. H. H. Rogers.

Dartmoor, see *Plymouth*.

*11. D. *Devonport* dt. pal. from Messrs. J. Tenney and J. B. Rundell, 166.

11. E. *Exeter* (1) wl. gl. by Mr. N. W. Wyer, collected 1873-7; (2) dt. io. with aq. by Mr. R. Dymond, F.S.A.

11. H. *Harberton* (2 sw. Totness) wn. by AJE. 1 and 2 Sept. 1869, written in the glosotype of the period and pal. 23 July, 1878. This was my first attempt to write English peasant speech from hearing. I stayed with Mr. J. Paige, Little Inglebourne, Harberton, and listened while he conversed with his labourers, and then wrote down the sounds on my return to the house. I was not very successful, and the notes made have therefore not been used.

*11. i1. *Iddesleigh* (:idɣli) (15 s. Barnstaple) (1) wl. io. written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands

Training Coll. from the dict. of his housemaid; (2) cs. pal. by AJE. from the dictation of the same housemaid, Mary Anstey, native, who had not been many months from Dv. 157.

11. i2. *Instow* (5 w-by-s. Barnstaple), from Rev. W. F. Dashwood Lang, rector.

11. m1. *Modbury* and 6 m. round (10 sw. Totness) dt. io. by Miss Green, of the Vicarage.

10. m2. *Morebath* (8 n. Tiverton) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. S. H. Berkeley.

*11. n1. *North Molton* (12 e-by-s. Barnstaple), (1) wl. io. by Mr. R. H. S. Spicer, B.Sc., of that place, (2) by Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, pal. by AJE. in 1877, dt. 160, cwl. 161.

11. n2. *North Petherwin* (14 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. T. B. Taunton.

11. p1. *Parracomb* (11 nne. Barnstaple) nwl. taken from n. Dv. servants by Miss Wakefield, of the Rectory.

*11. p2. *Plymouth* (1) cs. gl. for Dartmoor, (2) lw. gl., (3) wl. gl. (4) dt. gl., (5) numerous printed papers and much correspondence from 1868 onwards, all five from Mr. John Shelley, native of Norfolk, but long resident in Plymouth, 163 to 166.

11. s1. *St. Marychurch* (2 n. Torquay) dt. by Rev. G. H. White, with words and phrases by Miss Miles.

11. s2. *Stoke* (1 nw. Plymouth) nwl. by Rev. H. G. Wilcocks, Stoke Cottage.

11. w1. *Warkleigh* (8 sse. Barnstaple) wl. io. by Mrs. W. Thorold, of the Rectory, 30y.

11. w2. *Werrington* (12 nw. Tavistock) dt. io. by Rev. R. W. Margesson, vicar.

10. Do. = Dorsetshire, 14 places, all in D 4.

4. B1. *Bingham's Melcombe* (7 sw. Blandford, near Melcombe Horsey) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Bingham.

4. B2. *Blackmore, Vale of* (11 sw. Shaftesbury) wl. io. with notes and letters by Rev. John Smith, Kington Magna, rect.

4. B3. *Bradpole* (:bræfpool, :bræf'l) (1 ne. Bridport) wl. io. and notes by Rev. Canon Broadley, vic.

4. B4. *Bridport*, wl. by Mr. T. A. Colfox, native, Westmead, Bridport.

*4. c. *Cranborne* (12 ene. Blandford, and wrongly referred to Blandford on p. 37) cs. by Mr. Clarke, Gen. Michel, and Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, 75-84.

*4. E1. *East Lulworth* (:ləɹθ) (12 ese. Dorchester, on Purbeck hills) wl. io. by Rev. Walter Kendall, vic. 80.

4. E2. *East Morden* (7 sse. Blandford) wl. io. by Rev. T. Pearce, vic.

*4. H. *Hanford* (4 nw. Blandford) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Kerr-Seymour, see 75, dt. 76, cwl. 80.

4. S1. *Sherborne* (16 wnw. Blandford)

dt. io. with notes and letters by Rev. O. W. Tancock, school.

4. s2. *Sturminster Marshall* (6 se. Blandford) phrases by Mr. C. Kegan Paul, formerly curate there.

4. s3. *Swanage* (7 s. Poole) note by Mr. Paige, artist.

4. w1. *Walditch* (1 e. Bridport) notes by Mr. W. G. Stone, 10y.

*4. w2. *Whitchurch Canoncorum* (5 wnw. Bridport) (1) transcripts of letters and articles in Pulman's *Weekly News*, Crewkerne, written in glossic

with great care by Mr. N. W. Wyer, from dictation of John Taylor, a small freeholder, but doubts having arisen of the trustworthiness of Taylor's Dorset pronunciation, they have been reluctantly cancelled; (2) wn. by the same, 83.

*4. w3. *Winterbourne Came* (2 sse. Dorchester), by Rev. W. Barnes, the Dorset poet (see p. 75), cs. in so. with numerous letters of explanation, from which it was pal. by AJE. 76; list of Do. words with initial (f) or (v), 38.

11. Du. = Durham, 31 places in D 31 and 32.

*32. a1. *Annfield Plain* (8 nw. Durham), dt. from Rev. Dr. Blythe Hurst, vic. See *Collierley*, 653.

31. a2. *Aycliffe* (5 n. Darlington) pc. from anonymous vicar.

*31. b1. *Bishop Auckland* (20 wsw. Hartlepool) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. R. Long; (2) dt. by Mr. J. Wyld, master of the workhouse, 617.

*31. b2. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse. Du.) (1) pc. and letter from Rev. C. A. Cartledge, vicar, who introduced me to dialect speakers, 653.

*31. b3. *Bishopton* (5 nw. Stockton) pc. by Rev. C. H. Ford, vic. 644.

*32. c1. *Clickeminn* (spelling unknown) (10 w. Durham, in Lanchester par.) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Robson, bailiff, introduced by Canon Greenwell, 653, No. 2.

*32. c2. *Collierley* (11 nw. Durham, containing Dipton and Pontop) dt. io. by Mr. Hugh Leslie, see a1, 653.

32. d. *Dalton-le-Dale* (6 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. T. T. Allen, vic.

*31. e1. *Easington* (9 e. Durham) dt. io. by Miss E. P. Harrison, of the rectory, 617.

*32. e2. *Edmundbyers* (17 wnw. Durham) dt. io. with notes by Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-ha'f), rect. 653.

31. g. *Greatham* (:grii'tem) (6 ne. Stockton), pc. from Rev. J. MacCartie, vic.

Hart, see *Easington*.

31. h1. *Hartlepool*, pc. from Rev. E. R. Ormsley, rect.

*31. h2. *Heathery Cleugh* (:kliuf) (27 w. Durham) dt. io. by Mr. Dalton, schoolmaster, 617.

*32. k. *Kelloe* (6 se. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. W. S. Kay, vic., (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from R. Heightley, 653.

*32. l1. *Lanchester* (7 nw. Durham)

w1. io. by Rev. J. Dingle, vic., and see c1, 653.

*31. l2. *Lower Teesdale*, near Stockton, cs. pal. by AJE. in 1876 from Mrs. Alfred Hunt, 617.

*31. m1. *Middleton-in-Teesdale* (30 wnw. Stockton) on the Tees (1) w1. io. by Rev. J. Milner, vic., 634, and notes by JGG.

31. m2. *Monk Hesledon* (5 nw. Hartlepool) pc. from Rev. R. Taylor, vic.

31. n. *Ryhope* (3 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. Wilson, vic.

31. s1. *St. Andrew Auckland* (1 s. Bishop Auckland, see b1) pc. from Rev. R. Long, vic.

*31. s2. *St. John's Weardale* (24 wsw. Durham) w1. pal. by JGG. 634

31. s3. *Seaham* (4 s. Sunderland) pc. from Rev. W. A. Scott, vic.

31. s4. *Sedgefield* (10 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. J. P. Eden, rect.

32. s5. *Shincliffe* (2 sse. Durham) pc. from Rev. G. P. Bulman, rect.

*32. s6. *South Shields* from Rev. C. Y. Potts, w1. in gl. 672, and cs. in gl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Pyke, native, 645.

*31. s7. *Stanhope* (18 wsw. Durham) (1) pc. from Rev. C. Clayton, vic., and letter from Rev. C. Cosbey, curate; (2) dt. io. with notes by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, 617 to 619.

*32. s8. *Sunderland* (1) dt. io. by Mr. E. Capper Robson, Esplanade; (2) full w1. by late Mr. Tom Taylor, native; (3) letter from Mr. W. Brockie with local song of "Spottee" and notes; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth, 653.

31. t1. *Trimdon* (8 se. Durham) pc. from Rev. R. Simpson, curate-in-charge.

32. r2. *Tyneside*, 6 or 8 miles each way, dt. io. and MS. glossary of Tyneside words by Rev. Blythe Hurst, vic. of Collierly, see A1 and c2.

31. w1. *Witton-le-Wear* (10 sw.

Durham) pc. from Rev. J. F. Hodgson, vic.

31. w2. *Wolsingham* (12 wsw. Durham) aq. from Rev. R. H. Gray, rect.

12. Es.=Essex, 25 places, all in D 16.

16. b1. *Black Notley* (9 nne.Chelmsford) aq. from Rev. T. Owen, rect.

*16. b2. *Bradfield* (9 ene.Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. L. G. Hayne, rect. 221.

*16. b3. *Braintree* (:brâintrî) (10 nne.Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. b4. *Brentwood* (:bærntʃud) (7 ne.Romford) and 4 m. round, wl. io. by Mr. Arthur H. Brown.

*16. b5. *Brightlingsea* (8 se.Colchester) dt. and notes by Rev. Arthur Pertwee, vic., to illustrate Tendingr hundred, 221.

16. c. *Chelmsford* (:tʃemzfd) pron. of name obs. from a native by TH.

16. e1. *Elsenham* (15 nw.Chelmsford) wl. by Rev. J. Whateley, vic. 15 y.

*16. e2. *Essex*, various places, wn. by TH. 224.

16. g1. *Great Chesterford* (3 nw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. g2. *Great Chishall* (7 w.Saffron Walden) wl. io. by Mrs. Saraita Kent, wife of a principal farmer, obtained through Rev. S. S. Lewis, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

16. g3. *Great Clacton* (13 se.Colchester) dt. io. by Mr. G. Woodfall, certificated teacher.

*16. g4. *Great Dunmow* (9 nnw.Chelmsford) cs. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, native, 222, and phr. pal. from dict. of Mr. Roderick (see Ware, Ht.), together with wn. by TH. 221.

13. Gl.=Gloucester, 26 places in D 4 and 6.

6. A1. *Ashchurch* (3 ne.Tewkesbury) wl. by Rev. H. S. Warleigh, rect. 10 y., and wn. by TH.

*4. A2. *Aylburton* (4 nnw.Berkeley) phr. from Miss Trotter, and cwl., 66; see Coleford Gl. (name misprinted Potter on 66).

4. B1. *Berkeley, Vale of*, cs. io. from Mr. J. H. Cooke, of that place, 25 y., obtained by Mr. Bellows for LLB.

4. B2. *Birdlip* (:bærlɪp) (7 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. B3. *Bishop's Cleeve* (3 n.Cheltenham) wn. by TH.

*16. g5. *Great Easton* (8 sse.Saffron Walden) wn. TH. 221.

16. g6. *Great Saling* (14 nw.Maldon) aq. from Rev. T. W. Elvington, vic.

*16. g7. *Great Shalford* (15 nnw. Maldon) aq. from Rev. H. B. Philip, vic., and wn. by TH. 221.

16. h. *Henham* (6 s.Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

16. i. *Ingatestone* (10 ne.Romford) lw. from Mr. N. W. Wyer.

*16. m. *Maldon*, dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Wing, of Whitelands, formerly pupil teacher there, 223.

16. n. *Newport* (4 ssw. Saffron Walden) wn. by TH.

*16. p1. *Paglesham* (5 ne.Southend) dt. io. by Mr. J. F. T. Wiseman, the Chase, 221.

*16. p2. *Panfield* (13 nnw.Maldon) dt. io. and aq. by Rev. E. J. Hill, rect., with wn. by TH. 221.

*16. r. *Rayne* (12 nw.Maldon) aq. from (anonymous) rect., 221.

*16. s1. *Southend*, lw. by LLB. and Mr. Ph. Benton, Wakering Hall, 221-2.

*16. s2. *Stanway* (3 w.Colchester) dt. io. by Rev. E. H. Crate, Rose Cottage, 221.

*16. s3. *Stebbing* (Bran End), (11 n.Chelmsford) wn. by TH. 221.

16. t. *Thaxted* (16 nnw.Chelmsford) lw. compiled by Rev. Prof. Skeat, Cambridge, from the pron. of his cook, native, and pal. by AJE. from Prof. S.'s reading.

4. B4. *Bisley* (3 e.Stroud) wl. io. from Rev. T. Keble, vic.

4. B5. *Bristol* wn. by TH.

4. B6. *Brookworth* (4 ese.Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*6. B7. *Buckland* (11 ene.Tewkesbury) wn. by TH. from native railway porter, who resided there till 25, p. 113.

4. c1. *Cheltenham* (:tʃeltneɪm) wn. by TH.

*4. c2. *Cirencester* (:sɪsɪtər) wl. by Miss Martin, of Whitelands, pal. vv. by AJE. 66, and wn. by TH.

*4. c3. *Coleford* (9 nw.Berkeley), representing the Forest of Dean, from

Mr. R. D. Trotter (misprinted as Potter on 66), cs. 60, phr. 66, cwl. 66.

4. c4. *Compton Abdale* 8 se. Cheltenham) dt. io. by Rev. H. Morgan, vic., assisted by Rev. W. H. Stanton, rect. of Hazleton (9 ese. Cheltenham) and Rural Dean, representing the Cotswold hills Gl.

4. *Dean, Forest of*. See *Coleford*.

*6. E. *Ebrington* (18 ne. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 113.

4. F. *Fairford* (23 ese. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

*4. G. *Gloucester Vale and Town*, vv. from Mr. J. Jones, cs. 60, cwl. 66. *Town*, wn. by TH.

4. H1. *Highnam* (2 wnw. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

4. H2. *Hucclecote* (3 e. Gloucester) wn. by TH.

6. K1. *Kemerton* (5 ene. Tewkesbury),

on spike of Gl. projecting into Wo., words noted by Rev. J. I. Mercier, 3 months.

4. K2. *King's Wood* (4 ene. Bristol), representing the colliery region of King's Chase or King's Wood, cs. io. by Samuel Griffith.

6. L. *Long Marston* or *Marston Sicca* (21 ne. Cheltenham) note by TH.

4. M. *Maisey Hampton* (6 ese, Cirencester) wn. by TH.

*6. S. *Shenington* (5 wnw. Banbury), locally in Ox., (1) lw. from dict. by TH. 118, (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Miss Harris, of Whitelands, 117, 118.

*4. T1. *Tetbury* (8 sse. Stroud), from Miss Frampton, cs. 60, cwl. 66, wn. by TH.

6. T2. *Tewkesbury*, wn. by TH.

*4. W. *Whitcomb* or *Witcomb* (5 ssw. Cheltenham) wn. by TH. 66.

14. Ha. = Hampshire, with Wi. = Isle of Wight, 13 places in D 4 and 5.

*5. A. *Andover* (1) lw. io. by E. S. Bewly, see Stowmarket, Sf.; (2) specimens taken down by Prof. Schröder, 98 to 107.

4. B. *Broughton* (10 wnw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. S. Lee, rect.

*4. C1. *Christchurch* notes in letter from Lady Wolf to LLB., see also Iford below, 75.

5. C2. *Corhampton* (10 se. Winchester) lw. from Rev. H. R. Fleming, vic.

*5. E. *East Stratton* (8 nne. Winchester) dt. io. by Rev. S. E. Lyon, vic. 96.

*4. I. *Iford* (1 w. Christchurch) wl. io. by Mr. W. W. Farr, representing the part. of Ha. W. of the Avon, 75.

5. N1. *Northwood* (:narthud) (2 s. Cowes, Wi.) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. C. E. Seaman.

4. N2. *Nursling* (:næslin) (12 sw. Winchester) wl. by Rev. H. C. Hawtrej.

4. R. *Ringwood* (7 n. Christchurch)

by AJE. from dict. of a carter in service of Messrs. Moore and Moore, native, 15 y. away.

*5. S1. *Shorwell* (:shar' L, :shor' L) (5 ssw. Newport, Wi.) wl. io. from Mr. James Titmouse, schoolmaster, 14 y. continuously, through Rev. R. Broughton, vic. 107.

*5. S2. *Southampton to Winchester*, so called on p. 97, see below Winchester to Southampton, so called on p. 91, cs. from dict. of Mr. Percival Leigh, 97.

*5. W1. *West Stratton* (7. ne. Winchester) dt. io. from the late Dr. A. C. Burnell, native, 96.

5. W2. *Wight, Isle of*, generally, (1) wds. by Rev. R. N. Durrant, Arreton Vic. (2 se. Newport, Wi.); (2) wds. and letter from Mr. C. Roach Smith, F.S.A., of Stroud, author of the *Isle of Wight Glossary*.

*5. W3. *Winchester to Southampton*, see above S2.

15. He. = Herefordshire, 17 places in D 4 and 13.

13. A. *Almeley* (:a'mēli) (8 s-by-e. Presteign, Rd. and He.) from the (unnamed) vic. who said Eardisley (2 sw. Almeley) is called (ærsli).

13. D1. *Dinmore* (7 n-by-w. Hereford) wn. by TH.

*13. D2. *Docklow* (5 ese. Leominster) cs. and other specimens in so. by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, 30 y. obtained by LLB. 177.

*4. E. *Eggleton* (8 ne. Hereford) cs. and spec. both in a peculiarly keyed orthography by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, obtained in 1875 by LLB. 69 to 75.

*13. H. *Hereford* and its neighbourhood, (1) cs. in so. by Mr. James Davies, solicitor, of that town, obtained by LLB.; (2) cs. in the 1847 phonotypy of Ellis and Pitman [see Part IV.

pp. 1183-1186] by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, transliterated into pal. by AJE., obtained in 1875 by LLB. I was not able to use either version; (3) wn. TH. 180.

*4. l1. *Ledbury* (12 e. Hereford) cs. by Rev. C. Y. Potts and Mr. J. C. Gregg, 69-73.

13. l2. *Leintwardine* (11 nnw. Leominster) wn. by TH.

*13. l3. *Leominster* wn. b. TH. 180.

*13. l4. *Lower Bache Farm* (3 ene. Leominster) (1) lw. in io. and aq. by Mr. G. Burgiss, native, farmer, obtained through LLB.; (2) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Messrs. T. and J. Burgiss, brothers of Mr. G. Burgiss, 176, 180.

13. l5. *Lucton* (:læk'n) (5 nw. Leominster) note by Rev. A. C. Auchmaty, Lucton House, 4 y.

*4. m. *Much Cowarne* (9 ne. Hereford) cs. in 1847 phonotypy written in 1847

by Mr. J. Jones (see Hereford above) from dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, 10 y., pal. by AJE., obtained by LLB., see also Eggleton, given at p. 69; (2) wn. by TH. from Mrs. S. Griffiths, native, b. 1816, given on p. 73, notes to C.

*4. r. *Ross* (1) letter from W. H. Green to LLB. 68; (2) wn. by TH. 68.

13. s1. *Stockton* (2 ne. Leominster) wn. by TH.

4. s2. *Stoke Edith* (6 e-by-n. Hereford) wn. by TH.

4. t. *Upton Bishop* (4 ne. Ross) dt. by Mr. Havergal.

13. w1. *Wacton* (7 e. Leominster) wn. by TH.

13. w2. *Weobley* (7 sw. Leominster) cs. io. written by a farmer, communicated to LLB. by Rev. C. J. Robinson, of Norton Canon (10 nw. Hereford), and by him referred to Weobley.

16. Ht. = Hertfordshire, 32 places in D 15, 16, and 17.

16. a1. *Anstey* (14 ene. Hitchin) from Rev. T. T. Sale, rect.

*16. a2. *Ardeley* or *Yardley* (8 e-by-s. Hitchin) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Malet, then curate, and wn. from several old natives by TH. 200, 201.

16. b1. *Berkhampstead* (10 w. St. Albans) notes obtained by LLB.

16. b2. *Bishop's Stortford* (:stɑ:fəd) (11 ne. Hertford) pron. of name obtained by TH.

16. b3. *Boxmoor* (7 wsw. St. Albans) note from Rev. A. C. Richings sent to LLB.

16. b4. *Braughing* (:brafin) pron. of name obtained by TH.

*16. b5. *Buntingford* (:bənifət) (10 nne. Hertford) wn. by TH. 201.

*17. b6. *Bushey* (2 se. Watford) from Rev. W. Falconer, rect., 235.

16. f. *Furneaux Pelham* (11 nne. Hertford) phr. by Rev. W. Wigram, vic., with notes by Mr. Roderick, rect.

16. g1. *Gilston* (5 e. Ware) notes from Rev. J. L. Hallward, rect.

16. g2. *Great Gaddesden* (7 nnw. St. Albans) notes by LLB.

16. g3. *Great Hornead* (13 e. Hitchin) dt. io. from Rev. J. S. F. Chamberlain, vic., representing the "Wilds of Herts."

16. h1. *Hadham* (7 ne. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h2. *Harpenden* (4 n-by-w. St.

Albans) dt. io. from Mr. T. Wilson, Rivers Lodge, 203.

*16. h3. *Hatfield* (6 wsw. Hertford) wn. by TH. 203.

16. h4. *Hemel Hempstead* (5 w. St. Albans) note by LLB.

*16. h5. *Hertford* wn. by TH. 199.

*16. h6. *Hertford Heath* (2 se. Hertford) wn. by TH.

*16. h7. *Hitchin* dt. by Mr. C. W. Wilshere, the Frythe, Welwyn, pal. from indications by AJE. 203.

17. k. *King's Langley* (6 sw. St. Albans) note by LLB.

15. l1. *Little Gaddesden* (10 nw. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

15. l2. *Long Marston* (16 nnw. St. Albans) note obtained by LLB.

*17. r. *Rickmansworth* (3 sw. Watford) note sent to LLB. by Mr. W. H. Brown, national school master, and note by LLB. 235.

*16. s1. *St. Albans*, wds. from Mr. R. R. Lloyd, 8 y., 235.

16. s2. *Sandridge* (3 ne. St. Albans) dt. notes, and lw. all in io. by Rev. J. Griffith, of that place.

16. s3. *Sawbridgeworth*, called (:sæp'sərd) by old people (10 e-by-n. Hertford) (1) wl. and dt. io., and notes by Mrs. John Barnard, Spring Hall, 12 y., and (2) note by TH. from Prof. Skeat, who give (:saapse).

*16. s4. *Stapleford* (3 nnw. Hertford)

(1) dt. io. by Rev. D. Barclay, rect., and (2) wn. by TH. 199.

15. *r. Tring* (14 wnw.St. Albans), note obtained by LLB.

*16. *w1. Ware* es. and lw. pal. in 1876 from dict. of Mr. J. W. Roderick, 197 to 200, wn. by TH. 199.

16. *w2. Watford*, note by LLB.

*16. *w3. Welwyn* (1) wl. pal. by

AJE. from dict. of Miss Foxlee, of Whitelands, not usable, 197; (2) dt. io. with notes and phr. by Mr. C. W. Wilshire, of the Frythe, 202.

16. *w4. Weston* (5 e.Hitchin) wl. io. by Rev. A. C. Roberts, vic., assisted by Mr. M. R. Pryor, Manor House, native.

17. Hu.=Huntingdonshire, 21 places, all in D 16.

16. *A. Alconbury* (4 nnw.Huntingdon) lw. io. by Rev. R. Conway, vic., assisted by Mr. G. Johnston, of Broughton (5 ne.Huntingdon).

16. *g1. Godmanchester* (1 se.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. *g2. Great Catworth* (9 w.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. C. Purley, vic.

16. *g3. Great Gidding* (10 nw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. *g4. Great Paxton* (4 ssw.Huntingdon), from Rev. H. I. Nicholson, of that place.

*16. *g5. Great Stukeley* (2 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) wl. and dt. io. by Miss Mary E. Ebdon, then of the vicarage, with numerous notes pal. by AJE. 211; (2) wn. in 1881 by TH. from W. Johnson, b. about 1803, farm labourer, and James Valentine, b. 1806, to whom TH. was introduced by Miss Ebdon, 211.

16. *h1. Hamerton* (8 nw.Huntingdon), from Rev. D. G. Thomas, rect.

16. *h2. Hilton* (4 se.Huntingdon), from Rev. T. Carol, vic.

*16. *h3. Holme* (10 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) wl. io. from Rev. W. A. Campbell, rect., representing the drained fen about Whittelsea Mere; (2) wn. by TH. 212.

16. *h4. Houghton* (:hóut'n, :hoot'n)

(3 e.Huntingdon), from Rev. E. A. Peck, rect. over 50y.

16. *h5. Huntingdon*, wn. in 1881 by TH.

16. *κ1. Keyston* (12 wnw.Huntingdon), from Rev. J. P. Goodman, rect.

16. *κ2. Kimbolton* (9 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. *L. Little Stukeley* (3 nnw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. *o. Old Fletton* (1 s.Peterborough, Np.) wn. by TH.

16. *p. Pidley* (7 ne.Huntingdon) wl. io. by Rev. R. W. Close, 2y., assisted by Mr. W. Mason, Somersham, (which see) representing e.Hu.

16. *s1. St. Ives* (5 e.Huntingdon) wn. 1873 and 1882 by TH.

*16. *s2. Sawtry* (9 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. by Miss Ebdon, of Great Stukeley, (which see) from dict. of a maid servant, 212; (2) wn. by TH. in 1881 from J. Harlock, b. 1800, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebdon, 212.

16. *s3. Somersham* (8 ene.Huntingdon) dt. io. by Mr. W. Mason (see Pidley, which it adjoins).

16. *s4. Staneley* (8 wsw.Huntingdon) wn. by TH.

16. *s5. Stilton* (12 nnw.Huntingdon), (1) dt. io. from Rev. Thomas Hatton, rect., (2) wn. by TH.

18. Ke.=Kent, 16 places, all in D 9.

*9. *c1. Charing* (6 nw.Ashford) dt. from Miss Croucher, of Whitelands, 136.

9. *c2. Chatham*, a wd. from Mr. S. Price, see Montacute, Sm.

9. *d. Denton* (7 nw.Dover) from Rev. C. J. Hussey, rect.

*9. *f1. Faversham* (8 wnw.Canterbury) es. written by Rev. H. Berin, pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, with phrases and lw. 137 to 141.

*9. *r2. Folkestone Fishermen*, dt. glossic by Mr. R. Stead, master of the Grammar School, Folkestone, 143.

9. *κ. Kent* county generally, wn. by TH.

*9. *m1. Maidstone* note by AJE. from Mr. Streatfield, native, Bank-house, 131, l. 13.

*9. *m2. Margate* lw. by Mr. Basil Hodges, 20 y., 141.

*9. *r. Rolvenden* (12 sw.Ashford) lw. and dt. io. from Rev J. W. Rumny, vic. misprinted Ramsay on p. 136.

*9. s1. *Shadoxhurst*, misspelled *Shadshurst*, on p. 131, l. 6 (3 ssw. Ashford) dt. io. by Rev. C. T. Rolfe, 136.

9. s2. *St. Nicholas* (5 wsw. Margate) wl. and notes pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Peckham, of Whitelands, 141, 144.

*9. s3. *Sheerness*, nw. point of Isle of Sheppy, note by Miss Lowman, native of Ha., who had been all over it, 137.

9. s4. *Strood* (1 w. Rochester) note by Miss Calland, of Whitelands.

*9. s5. *Stoke* (6 nne. Chatham, between Thames and Medway) lw. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. A. E. Harris, 136.

*9. s6. *Stourmouth* (5 nw. Sandwich) notes by Rev. R. Drake, rect., 141.

*9. s. *Wingham* (6 e. Canterbury) dt. io. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, for the Highlands of Kent, 142.

19. La. = Lancashire, 61 places in D 21, 22, 23, and 31.

23. A1. *Abbeystead* (7 se. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

Ashton-under-Lyne, see *Stalybridge*.

*22. B1. *Blackburn* (1) wn. and dt. pal. by TH., cwl. 346, dt. 339; (2) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding in cwl. 346, this list comprised also words from several other places mentioned below, very valuable at first, but superseded by TH.'s work afterwards.

23. B2. *Blackpool* (15 wnw. Preston) from H. Fisher, Mus. D.

*22. B3. *Bolton* (1) wl. by Mr. Ch. Rothwell, M.R.C.S., 40 y. to 50 y. 343; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*31. B4. *Broughton-in-Furness* (:bra't'n i :fa'nes, (8 ssw. Coniston) wn. and dt. pal. from dict. by TH., dt. and phr. 553, cwl. 627.

*22. B5. *Burnley* (1) cs. pal. 1875-6 from a native by TH. 332; (2) cwl. by Mr. T. Healey, of the Science and Art Department, with wn. by TH., forming a cwl. 350.

21. B6. *Bury*, Miss Farrington's cs. (see Leyland) read to me in 1873 by Rev. Mr. Langston, sometime curate of Bury, but I was unable to make use of it.

*31. c1. *Cark-in-Cartmel* (5 e-by-s. Ulverston), wn. in 1881 by TH. especially from Betty Butler, b. 1797, near Grasmere, but her speech was too mixed to be trustworthy, cwl. 627.

*31. c2. *Caton* (4 ene. Lancaster) wn. by TH. given in wl. 626.

*22. c3. *Chorley* (10 nw. Bolton) wn. by TH. 345.

22. c4. *Clitheroe* lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*22. c5. *Cliviger Valley* (2 sse. Burnley) wn. TH. 350.

*31. c6. *Cockerham* (6 s-by-w. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*22. c7. *Colne Valley* (6 nne. Burnley)

from Mr. Hartley Stuttard, through Mr. John Shelly, 340, 341.

*31. c8. *Coniston* (1) cs. originally written io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, b. 1804, with aq. and explanations from Rev. T. Ellwood, of Torver (2 ssw. Coniston), afterwards pal. from Miss Bell, native, 558, 563, 597; (2) wl. io. by Rev. T. Ellwood, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Bell; (3) wn. by TH., the last two, 627.

31. D. *Dalton* (5 sw. Ulverston) wl. io. by Rev. John Atkinson, Rydal, Ambleside, occasioning, on account of some anomalies, a long correspondence, and Rev. T. Ellwood's obtaining a partial wl. from Mr. T. Butler, solicitor, native, who had known the place intimately for 45 years, and who decided against the anomalies.

22. E. *Earlestown* (8 sw. Wigan) wn. by TH.

21. F1. *Failsworth* (4 ne. Manchester), phrs. noted from 'Ben Brierley' in his public readings, by TH.

*22. F2. *Farrington* (3 s. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*23. F3. *Fylde district*, see 352 for full account; note from Mr. T. Cumberland, Harburn, St. (3 sw. Birmingham, Wa.), not used.

23. G1. *Garstang* (:gjaast'in) (10 nnw. Preston), note by TH. attached to next.

*23. G2. *Goosnargh* (:gáuznær) (5 nne. Preston), (1) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. E. Kirk, native, 354; (2) wn. by TH. 359.

22. H1. *Halliwell* (2 wnw. Bolton) wn. by TH.

*22. H2. *Haslingden* (7 ssw. Burnley) wn. by TH. 346.

*31. H3. *Heysham* (:iisem) (4 w-by-s. Lancaster) wl. by Rev. C. Twenlow Royds, rect. 12 y., cwl. 626.

22. H4. *Higham* (3 nw. Burnley) lw. io. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*31. H5. *High Nibthwaite* (7 n. Ulverston) wn. by TH. 627.

Higher Walton, see *Walton-le-dale*, w1, below.

*22. H6. *Hoddlesden* (4 sse. Blackburn) dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from dict. of native, 339, and wn. 346.

*31. H7. *Hornby* (8 ne. Lancaster) wn. by TH. 626.

*23. K. *Kirkham* (8 w-by-n. Preston) wn. by TH. 359.

*31. L1. *Lancaster*, wn. by TH. 626.

22. L2. *Leigh* (9 ene. St. Helens). Rev. J. H. Stanning, curate in charge in 1873 said the *gh* was pron. as a guttural; places of the same name were in 1875 called (:lɛ'ith) in Ch., and (:lái) also written Lye in Ke.

*22. L3. *Leyland* (5 s. Preston) es. pal. 1877 from Miss ffarrington, with remarks by three other natives, 332, 337, and wn. by TH. 345.

*31. L4. *Lower Holker in Cartmel* (5 e. Ulverston) es. pal. 1877 by TH. from dict. 558, 563, 596d'.

21. M1. *Manchester* (1) wl. io. by Mrs. Linnaeus Banks, acquainted with the dialect from childhood; (2) note by JGG.; (3) nwl. io. by Rev. J. C. Casartelli, M.A., St. Bede's, Manchester College, for the environs.

22. M2. *Mellor* (2 nw. Blackburn) es. pal. 1876 by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Coulter, native, but long absent, and I felt that my appreciation was inaccurate, hence I have not used it.

21. M3. *Moston* (4 ne. Manchester) nwl. by Mr. G. Milner.

*31. N1. *Newton-in-Cartmel* (7 ene. Ulverston) note by Mr. J. Stockdale, writer of the translation of SS. chap. ii. for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, reproduced on p. 550.

*31. N2. *Newton-le-Willows* or *Newton-in-Makerfield* (4 e. St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. O1. *Oldham* (1) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1; (2) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. O2. *Ormskirk* (7 se. Southport) wn. by TH. 342.

*21. P1. *Patricroft* (4 w. Manchester) wn. by TH. 322.

*22. P2. *Penwortham* (:pɛn'wɜrdəm) (1 sw. Preston) wn. 1877 by TH. from Mr. Kirk, see Goosnargh, of which he was a native, though he had resided 60 years in Penwortham.

*23. P3. *Poulton-le-Fylde* (13 nw. Preston) es. first by Mr. Bellows sent to LLB., not used, and second pal. 1876 by TH. with phrases, 354, 357.

*22. P4. *Prescot* (3 wsw. St. Helens) wn. by TH. 342.

23. P5. *Preston*, wn. by TH.

31. Q. *Quernmoor* (3 ne. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

21. R1. *Royton* (2 nnw. Oldham) wn. by TH.

*21. R2. *Rochdale* and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. 322.

22. S1. *Sabden* (5 nw. Burnley) lw. from Mr. T. Fielding, see B1.

*22. S2. *Samlesbury* (:səm'zɜəri) (4 ene. Preston) wl. io. by Mr. W. Harrison, F.S.A., Samlesbury Hall, representing the parishes of Blackburn, Preston, and Whalley, 346.

*22. S3. *Skelmersdale* (:skjɛm'ɜrzdil) (7 nnw. St. Helens) es. pal. 1878 by TH. from natives, 332; wn. by TH. 342.

31. S4. *Skerton* (1 nw. Lancaster) wn. by TH.

*21. S5. *Stalybridge* (1 e. Ashton), half in La. and half in Ch. (which see S3) es. pal. 1876 by TH. from Mr. J. Marsland, 317.

*31. T. *Ulverston* (:ʊs'n) (1) es. io. by Mr. Pearson, native, obtained by Rev. T. Ellwood, but I was not able to interpret it satisfactorily; (2) wn. by TH. 627.

*22. W1. *Walton-le-dale*, or *Higher Walton* (2 se. Preston) wn. by TH. 345.

*22. W2. *Warrington* wn. by TH. 342.

*22. W3. *Westhoughton* (:æ'ut'n) (5 wsw. Bolton), this represents the Bolton neighbourhood, es. pal. 1876 with wn. by TH. 332, 343.

*22. W4. *Whalley* (3 s-by-w. Clitheroe) lw. io. by Mr. T. Fielding, see B1, and Mr. W. Harrison, 346.

*22. W5. *Wigan* (:wigin) and neighbourhood, (1) wn. by TH. 343; (2) wl. io. from Wigan to Ashton in Makerfield (4 s. Wigan), by Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A., Sandy Knowe, Wavertree (3 ese. Liverpool) 50 y., during which the dialect has much changed.

*22. W6. *Worsthorn* (2 e. Burnley) wn. by TH. 350.

*23. W7. *Wyersdale* (6 sse. Lancaster) dt. and wn. by TH. 358, 359.

20. Le.=Leicester, 19 places in D 29.

29. A. *Ansty* (3 nw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B1. *Barlestone* (10 w-by-n. Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Barwell* (:barel) (2 ne. Hinckley) wds. by Rev. R. Titley, rect.

*29. B3. *Belgrave* (1 n.Leicester) nwl. and dt. by Miss Charlotte Ellis, who has lived near Leicester all her life, 472, 489.

*29. B4. *Birstall* (3 n.Leicester) wds. from Miss Allen, 489.

29. B5. *Blaby* (5 s-by-w.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. C. *Cottesbach* (:kotesbat) (10 se.Hinckley) wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rect. 489.

*29. E. *Enderby* (4 sw.Leicester) variants by Miss E. Hirst, of Whitelands, from the Waltham cs. 464, and wn by TH.

*29. G. *Glenfield* (3 wnw.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. H. *Harby* (14 ne.Loughborough) wds. by Rev. M. O. Norman, rect.

29. I. *Ilston-on-the-Hill* (8 ese. Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. L1. *Leicester* (1) cs. in gl. with aq. by the late Mr. Geo. Findley, not used, see 464; (2) wn. by TH. from

Mr. Findley, 489; (3) letter from Mr. W. Napier Reeve, F.S.A., 35 y., saying he could not see in my wl. any word "of which the pron. in Leicester is different from rec. pron., I am," he added, "an Essex man. I have been in this town 35 years. I have been often struck with the few provincialisms among the people of this county compared with those of Essex"; (4) for town and neighbourhood a few notes from J. H. Chamberlain, Small Heath, Birmingham, having been 20 years there and 40 in Leicester.

*29. L2. *Loughborough* wn. in 1878-9 by TH. 489.

*29. M1. *Market Harborough* (14 se.Leicester) wn. by TH. 489.

29. M2. *Mount Sorrel* (6 n.Leicester) wn. by TH.

29. N. *Normanton* (3 sse.Ashby-de-la-Zouche) from Miss Green of the rectory.

*29. S. *Syston* (5 nne.Leicester) full wl. pal. by AJE. from Miss M. A. Adcock, teacher at Whitelands, 489.

29. T. *Thurcaston* (4 nnw.Leicester) wn. by TH.

*29. W. *Waltham* (16 ene.Loughborough, in the horn of Le.) cs. pal. by AJE. from Miss H. Bell, of Whitelands, see also E above, 464.

21. Li.=Lincolnshire, 55 places in D 18 and 20.

20. A1. *Aisthorpe* (6 nnw.Lincoln), aq. by Rev. T. W. Bury, rect.

20. A2. *Alford* (10 se.Louth), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2 below.

20. A3. *Acholme, Isle of* (4 to 18 n.Gainsborough) lw. io. by Mr. Standing, of Working Men's College.

20. B1. *Barnoldby-le-Beck* (:baanvbi) omitting *le Beck* (4 sw.Great Grimsby), full wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Morgan G. Watkins, M.A.

*20. B2. *Barrowby* (2 w.Grantham) wn. by TH. from a native then living at Newark, Nt. 299.

20. B3. *Beckingham* (11 nnw.Grantham) aq. from the (anonymous) vicar.

*20. B4. *Billingborough* (13 e.Grantham, and 6 m. round), full wl. corrected vv. by AJE. from Mr. T. Blason, surgeon, b. 1833, native and constant resident, 299.

20. B5. *Blyton* (3 nne.Gainsborough), aq. from Rev. J. S. Cockshall, vic.

20. B6. *Bracebridge* (2 s.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. C. Ellison, vic.

*20. B7. *Brigg or Glanford Brigg* (17 w.Great Grimsby) (1) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. E. Peacock, F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, author of the *Manley and Corringham Glossary*, b. 1833, with a dt. pal. by AJE. from the wl. 312, 313; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby.

20. B8. *Brocklesby* (8 wnw.Great Grimsby), note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C1. *Caistor* (11 wsw.Gt. Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. C2. *Coningsby* (:ku-nin'sbi) (10 wnw.Boston) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. Canon Wright, rect.

20. C3. *Crowle* (14 n-by-w.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. F. W. White.

*20. E. *Epworth* (8 nnw.Gainsborough) cs. pal. by AJE., described, and why rejected, on p. 312, see w2.

20. F1. *Faldingworth* (10 ne.Lincoln) aq. by Rev. W. S. Mackean, pro. rect.

20. f2. *Fillingham* (9 se.Gainsborough) note from Rev. J. Jenkins, rect.

*20. f3. *Friskney* (3 sw-by-s.Wainfleet) nwl. with rules and ex. io. by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vic. 298.

20. f4. *Fulstow* (7 n.Louth) lw. by Rev. Alex. Johnson, vic.

20. g1. *Gainsborough*, aq. by Rev. W. J. Williams, vic.

20. g2. *Glanford Brigg*, see Brigg.

20. g3. *Grantham* (:gra'ntham) cs. io. by Mr. Cockman, national schoolmaster, read to A.JE. by Miss Cockman, of Whitelands, but as both were Londoners and she was uncertain on some points I was obliged to pass it by.

20. g4. *Great Coates* (2 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. g5. *Great Grimsby* note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. h1. *Holton Holegate* (6 nw. Wainfleet) dt. and many specimens and notes pal. in April, 1881, from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, 306 to 309.

20. h2. *Haxey* (6 nnw.Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. J. Johnston, vic.

20. h3. *Healing* (3 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. h4. *Horbling* (13 e.Grantham) wl. by Mr. H. Smith, representing "the parts of Kesteven" in sw.Li. 299.

20. h5. *Horncastle* (17 e.Lincoln) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k1. *Keelby* (6 w.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k2. *Killingholme* (8nw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. k3. *Kingerby* (15 e.Gainsborough) phr. from Rev. W. A. Cottee, vic.

20. l1. *Laceby* (3 sw.Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see Scartho.

*20. l2. *Lincoln*, see Spilsby for wn. by TH. 309.

*20. l3. *Louth* (1) Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style rendered in gl. by Mr. T. Wemyss Bogg, surgeon, then of that place, see Somerby below, and p. 297; (2) wn. by TH., see Spilsby, 309; (3) wl. by Mr. W. R. Emeris; (4) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. n1. *North Hykeham* (:áikem) (4 ssw.Lincoln) wl. by Rev. F. T. Cusins (:kiúzinz), 9 y.

20. n2. *North Kelsey* (14 wsw. Great Grimsby) note from Rev. W. J. Chambers, vic.

20. s1. *Saxby* (10 nne.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. C. W. Markham, rect.

20. s2. *Scartho* (2 s.Great Grimsby) wl. and dt. io. by Mrs. Williams, of the rectory. In relation to the s. hoose line 5, Mrs. Williams informed me that (uus) was said at Killingholme, Ulceby, Thornton, but (a'us) at Brocklesby, Keelby, Great Coates, Stallingborough, Healing, Louth, Alford, Spilsby, Horncastle, Caistor, Great Grimsby, Laceby, Scartho, Waltham, which see in this list, thus completing line 5.

*20. s3. *Scotter* (8 ne.Gainsborough) wl. corrected vv. by A.JE., written by Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, native and resident till 15, Principal of Whitelands Training College, to whom I am indebted for the great assistance rendered by its teachers and students, 313.

20. s4. *Scunthorpe* (15 nne.Gainsborough, in parish of Frodingham) full wl. by Mr. Bernard Dawson, C.E. Mr. Peacock (see Brigg), who lives 3 s.Frodingham, says it is full of miners, and that he should not trust any one's pron. unless he knew his birth. Hence I have thought Mr. Peacock's wl. p. 313, safer.

20. s5. *Skellingthorpe* (4 w.Lincoln) aq. from Rev. E. P. Armstrong, vic.

*20. s6. *Sleaford* (16 w.Boston) wn. by TH. 309.

20. s7. *Snitterby* (11 ene.Gainsborough) note from Rev. R. E. Warner, rect.

*20. s8. *Somerby* (22 e-by-n.Lincoln) representing the dialect from Horncastle (17 e.Lincoln) to Spilsby (27 e. Lincoln), here I received great assistance on 23 March, 1881, from Lord (then Mr.) Tennyson, detailed 302 to 306, who introduced me to Mrs. Douglas Arden, see h1.

*20. s9. *Spilsby* (8 ne.Wainfleet) (1) wn. by TH. from Rev. W. Jackson, 309; (2) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. s10. *Springthorpe* (4 e.Gainsborough) note from Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp, rect.

20. s11. *Stallingborough* (4 nw. Great Grimsby) note by Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*18. s12. *Stamford* wn. by TH. from a man of 60, and again from a Rutland man who may not be trustworthy, 254.

20. t1. *Thoresway* (10 sw.Great

Grimsby) aq. from Rev. G. Maule, rect.

20. τ2. *Thornton* (12 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. υ1. *Ulceby* (10 nw. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

20. υ2. *Usselby* (18 e-by-n. Gainsborough) aq. from Rev. A. Bower, vic.

20. w1. *Waltham* (4 s-by-w. Great Grimsby) note from Mrs. Williams, see s2.

*20. w2. *Winterton* (22 wn. Great Grimsby) cs. pal. 1874 from dict. of Rev. J. J. Fowler, of Hatfield Hall, Durham, curate of Winterton in 1870; and this version was also read to me by a maid servant from Epworth, which see, 312.

22. Mi. = Middlesex, 7 places in D 17.

*17. A. *Ashford* (7 sw. Brentford) note by Rev. F. B. Dickinson, 235.

*17. B. *Bromley* (5 e. Charing Cross, London), representing e. London, wl. by JGG. 233.

*17. E. *Enfield* (5 e. Barnet), (1) note by Mr. Joseph Whitaker, F.S.A., White Lodge, 15y., (2) note by Mr. J. H. Meyers, editor of *Enfield Observer*, (3) wn. io. from the chief mason, by LLB., 235.

*17. H1. *Hanwell* (2 nnw. Brentford) note from Miss E. Coleridge, of the rectory, 235.

*17. H2. *Harmondsworth* (7 w. Brentford) lw. from Mr. Lake, school-master.

*17. L. *London* wn. in various parts of the metropolitan area at very various times, by TH. 231.

*17. s. *South Mymms* (3 nnw. Barnet) notes from Rev. P. F. Hamond, vic. 236.

*17. w. *Willesden* (5 nne. Brentford) letter from Rev. J. Crane Wharton, vic. to LLB., and note from LLB. in Meyer's *Enfield Observer*, 28 Sep. 1875, p. 235.

23. Mo. = Monmouthshire, 3 places in D 13.

13. c1. *Caerleon* or *Llangattock* (2 ne. Newport) aq. by Rev. H. Powell Edwards, vic.

*13. c2. *Chepstow* lw. io. with long note, through Dr. J. Yeats, 179.

*13. L. *Llanover* (12 w-by-s. Monmouth) cs. read to me by Lady Llanover

in the presence of LLB., and variants suggested by LLB. from his own observations and communications by Mr. Meredith, 179.

13. P. *Pontypool* (8 nnw. Newport) aq. by Rev. J. C. Llewellyn, vic.

24. Nf. = Norfolk, 51 places in D 19.

County, see *Norwich*.

*19. A. *Ashill* (:ashəl) (12 n. Thetford) notes by TH. 262.

19. B1. *Binham* (4 se. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. B2. *Brancaaster* (7 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. B3. *Burnham* (:baanim) *Westgate* (4 sw. Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. C. H. Everard, Eton Coll., 28 y., p. 264.

*19. B4. *Buxton* (9 n. Norwich) wn. by TH., who here had the misfortune to lose his note book containing the details of the pron. of numerous places visited in 1883, p. 278.

19. C. *Congham* (:kəŋgəm) (6 ene. King's Lynn) nwl. by Rev. Canon Kersley, LL.D., rect.

19. D1. *Diss* (15 e-by-s. Thetford)

wn. by TH. in 1881, with example, 278, from a farm-labourer, native.

19. D2. *Ditchingham* (12 sse. Norwich) wl. and phr. from Rev. W. Skudamore, rect., assisted by Rev. H. Frere, native of s.Nf.

*19. D3. *Downham Market* (10 s. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. E. *East Dereham* (15 w-by-n. Norwich) (1) cs. io. with aq. by Mr. G. A. Carthew, of Millfield in 1873; (2) wn. by TH. 273.

19. F. *Fakenham* (8 s. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. G1. *Gaywood* (2 e. King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. G2. *Great Dunham* (14 ese. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. G3. *Great Yarmouth* (:jaaməθ) nwl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. J. Raven,

D.D., then of the school house, with notes made vv. from him by A.J.E. in 1879, this represents s.Nf. and nw.Sf. gen. 278.

19. н1. *Hardingham* (13 w-by-s. Norwich) wn. by TH.

*19. н2. *Heacham* (:itɪəm) (12 nne. King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. н3. *Hempton* (9 s.Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

19. н4. *Hemsby* (6 n.Great Yarmouth) wl. io. by Rev. H. W. Harden, vic.

*19. н5. *Holme-next-Sea* (13 w. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. н6. *Hunstanton St. Edmunds*, close to Old Hunstanton (12 nne.King's Lynn), wn. by TH. 262.

19. 1. *Ingham* (14 se.Cromer) wl. by Rev. G. Sharley.

*19. κ1. *Kimberley* (10 wsw.Norwich) cs. pal. in 1873 from dict. of G. Ashby, native, but absent 33 years, and then gardener to LLB. 273.

*19. κ2. *King's Lynn*, wn. by TH. 262.

*19. κ3. *Kirby Bedon* (3 se.Norwich) lw. pal. in 1868 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, of the Vicarage, his first attempt at writing dialect from dict. with additions from her sister, Mrs. Luscombe, and Mr. Keith, 275; cs. io. with aq. by the same.

*19. м1. *Marham* (8 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. from J. W. Little, gardener, 45, then at Wisbech, Cb. 262.

*19. м2. *Mattishall* (:mæts'l) (11 wnw. Norwich) cs. pal. by A.J.E. from Miss Buckle, of Whitelands, 273.

*19. м3. *Middleton* (3 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 261, 262.

*19. н1. *Narborough* (9 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262, and dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a labourer, aged 70, p. 263.

19. н2. *North Elmham* (13 sse. Wells-next-Sea) wn. by TH.

*19. н3. *North Tuddenham* (11 nw. Norwich) wn. by TH. 279.

*19. н4. *North Walsham* (:walsəm) (13 nne.Norwich) wl. and dt. io. by Mr. Baker, J.P. 272.

*19. н5. *Norwich* (1) wn. by TH. from a native living in Db., also 279; (2) street cries pal. by A.J.E. in 1867, p. 277; (3) wl. io. by Rev. G. P. Buck;

(4) various ex. pal. from dict. by A.J.E. from Dr. Lomb, 276, Mrs. Luscombe, 277, Anonymous passenger, 277, and from letter of Rev. T. Burningham, 277.

*19. о1. *Old Hunstanton* (13 nne. Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. о2. *Ovington* (:əvɪŋtən) (12 nne. Thetford) wl. io. representing 3 n. and 3 ne. of Watton (11 ne.Thetford) by Rev. C. J. Evans, rect. 12 y., native of Norwich.

19. R. *Ringstead* (13 w-by-s.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Mr. Everard Kitton.

*19. s1. *Snettisham* (:snetɪsəm) (10 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. s2. *Stanhoe* (:sta'ne) (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea) full wl. pal. in 1877 by A.J.E., dt. pal. by A.J.E. 1879, both from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, 50 y., in 1877, but then rect. of Farnham (10 wsw.Guildford, Sr.), with many notes and illustrations given me in two long visits, with an examination of Forby, 264 to 272; (2) wn. by TH. 272.

19. s3. *Stoke Ferry* (13 sse.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

19. s4. *Stow* (9 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH.

*19. s5. *Swaffham* (13 se.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. т1. *Terrington St. Clements* (4 w.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. т2. *Thetford* wn. by TH. 279.

19. т3. *Tivetshall* (:tɪtsəl) (17 ene. Thetford) name noted by TH.

19. т4. *Tuttington* (12 n.Norwich) wl. io. by Rev. J. Gostle.

19. w1. *Walsingham* (:wa'lziŋgjam) (3 s.Wells-next-Sea) name noted by TH.

*19. w2. *Warham* (2 se.Wells-next-Sea) wl. io. by Rev. C. T. Digby, 264.

19. w3. *Watton* (11 nne.Thetford) wn. by TH.

19. w4. *Wells-next-Sea*, wn. by TH.

*19. w5. *Wiggenhall St. German's* (4 ssw.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

19. w6. *Witton* (9 se.Cromer) notes by Rev. F. Procter, vic.

*19. w7. *Wolferton* (6 nne.King's Lynn) wn. by TH. 262.

*19. w8. *Wymondham* (:windəm) (9 sw.Norwich) wn. by TH. 278.

25. Np. = Northamptonshire, 52 places in D 6, 16, 18.

*18. A1. *Ailesworth* (5 w. Peterborough) in Castor parish, wn. by TH. from a labourer b. 1808, p. 254.

*6. A2. *Ashby St. Legers* (3 n. Daventry) wn. by TH. from a native shepherd b. 1845, and another b. 1805, p. 120.

*6. B1. *Badby* (2½ ssw. Daventry) wn. by TH. from persons b. 1807, and about 1831, p. 120.

16. B2. *Blisworth* (4 ssw. Northampton) note by TH.

*16. B3. *Brixworth* (6 n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. B4. *Byfield* (8 nne. Banbury) (1) from Rev. F. H. Curgenven, rect. 4 or 5 y.; (2) wn. by TH. especially from a native farm waggoner, b. 1803, p. 120.

*18. C1. *Castor* (4½ w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*16. C2. *Clay Coton* (6 w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. D1. *Daventry* (12 w-by-n. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

16. D2. *Denton* (6 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH.

16. D3. *Duston* (2 w. Northampton) from Rev. Peake Banton.

*16. E1. *East Haddon* (7 nw. Northampton) cs. wds. and phr. pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, railway porter, 213 to 216.

*18. E2. *Eye* (3 ne. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a carpenter, b. 1822, and a widow, a cottager, b. 1829, p. 254.

6. F. *Farthinghoe* (:fårdhinjoo) (5 e-by-s. Banbury) wn. by TH.

*16. G. *Great Houghton* (:a'ut'n) (3 ese. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H1. *Hackleton* (5 se. Northampton) wn. by TH.

*16. H2. *Hannington* (5 nw. Wellingborough) wl. dt. io. with lw. and aq. by Miss Downes, of the rectory, 216.

*16. H3. *Hardingstone* (2 sse. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

16. H4. *Hargrave* (9 ene. Wellingborough) dt. and notes from Rev. R. S. Baker, rect.

*16. H5. *Harrington* (:arinten) (5 w. Kettering) wl. and dt. io. by Hon. and Rev. H. F. Tollemache, rect., and Miss Tollemache, 217.

*6. H6. *Helmdon* (9 e-by-n. Banbury) wn. by TH., who says the dialect is similar to that of Towcester (which see), 120.

16. I1. *Irchester*, formerly (:aa'tjiste),

now (:æa'tjiste) (2 se. Wellingborough) wn. by TH.

*16. I2. *Islip* (:A'islip) (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

6. L1. *Long Buckley* (5 ne. Daventry) wn. by TH.

*16. L2. *Lower Benefield* (:bənifild) (14 nnw. Wellingborough) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. E. M. Moore, rect., and Mr. C. H. Wykes, schoolmaster, and the dt. afterwards pal. by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Wykes and various wn. from the same, 218, 219.

*16. L3. *Lowick* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N1. *Nether Heyford* (6 w-by-s. Northampton) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. N2. *Northampton* (1) wn. by TH., and (2) notes from Miss Eva Chapman, of Whitelands, who knew the town speech only, 219.

*16. O. *Oundle* (12 ne. Kettering) (1) notes from Mr. J. Cunningham, Tansor Lodge, and Mr. H. St. John Reade, school house, (2) wn. by TH. 219.

*18. P1. *Peakirk* (5 n. Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

*18. P2. *Peterborough* notes of town pron. from Miss E. Furness, of Whitelands, and wn. by TH. 254.

*18. R. *Rockingham* (8 n. Kettering) wn. by TH. from a native, b. 1814, and others, 254.

*16. S1. *Sibbertoft* (3 n-by-w. Naseby) wn. by TH. 219.

6. S2. *Silverstone* (12 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH.

6. S3. *Slapton* (11 sw. Northampton) dt. io. by Rev. Philip Lockton, rect.

*16. S4. *Stanion* (6 nne. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. S5. *Sudborough* (7 ene. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. S6. *Syersham* (11 e. Banbury) wn. by TH. 120.

18. T1. *Thornhaugh* (8 w-by-n. Peterborough) dt. io. from Rev. J. Jenkyns, rect.

*16. T2. *Thrapston* (8 e. Kettering) wn. by TH. 219.

*6. T3. *Towcester* (8 ssw. Northampton) wn. by TH. 120.

18. U. *Ufford* (7 nw. Peterborough) note by Rev. T. Paley, rect.

*18. W1. *Wakerley* (14 w. Peterborough) wn. by TH. from a farm labourer, b. 1806, p. 254.

*6. W2. *Watford* (5 nne. Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*6. w3. *Weedon* (4 se.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. w4. *Welford* (12 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. 219.

*16. w5. *Wellingborough* wn. by TH. 219.

*18. w6. *Werrington* (3 nnw.Peterborough) wn. by TH. 254.

16. w7. *West Haddon* (7 ne.

Daventry) from Rev. G. L. W. Fauquier, vic.

6. w8. *Wood Burcote* (10 ssw.Northampton) wn. by TH.

*6. w9. *Woodford* (7 ssw.Daventry) wn. by TH. 120.

*16. γ. *Yelvertoft* (:jæ'letət) (8 nne.Daventry) wn. by TH. in 1886 from a farm waggoner, b. 1812, p. 219.

26. Nb.=Northumberland, 25 places in D 32.

32. A1. *Acklington* (:æ'klyntən) (7 sse.Alnwick) notes from Mr. Middleton H. David, Hauxley Cottage.

*32. A2. *Alnwick* (1) dt. io. from Rev. James Blythe; (2) dt. io. from Mr. R. Middlemas, solr., 654, 656, 668; (3) Alnwick vowels, by Mr. G. Thompson, 668.

32. A3. *Ancroft* (a'ŋkra'ft) (4 s. Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. io. and aq. from Rev. J. Henderson, 30 y.

*32. B1. *Backworth* (5 ne.Newcastle) wl. by Mr. G. B. Foster, see Pitmen's speech, 674.

*32. B2. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, cs. pal. by AJE., from Mr. G. M. Gunn, 645, 652.

*32. B3. *Birtley* (9 nnw.Hexham, spelled Birkley in the parish registers) wl. io. with notes by Rev. G. Rome Hall, 674.

32. D. *Doddington* (13 s.Berwick-upon-Tweed) wl. and aq. from Mr. J. F. Rea, 17 y.

*32. E. *Embleton* (6 ne.Alnwick) (1) dt. io. for the agricultural population by Rev. M. Creighton, vic.; (2) dt. io. for the fishing population up to Bamborough (14 n.Alnwick) by Rev. C. E. Green, both on 655, 656, 668.

*32. F. *Falstone* (19 nw.Hexham), note in 1878 by JGG. 644.

*32. H1. *Haltwhistle* (14 w.Hexham) dt. io. with aq. by Rev. W. Howchin, 654, 656, 664, No. 9.

*32. H2. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick) dt. io. and notes by Dr. F. T. Richardson, 654, 656, 664, No. 16.

*32. H3. *Hexham* dt. pal. in 1879 by AJE. from Messrs. J. Wright and Dobson, 654, 656, 663, Nos. 7 and 8.

*32. K. *Knaresdale* (17 sw.Hexham) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, 563, 602, No. 22.

32. M. *Morpeth* wn. by AJE.

*32. S1. *Newcastle-on-Tyne* cs. pal. 1879 by AJE. from writing of Mr. W. H. Dawson, and reading of Mr. T. Mitcheson, and Mr. T. Barkas, and

conversations with J. Bryson and R. Young, miners, and Mrs. Fersch, 645, 650, and dt. pal. 1879 by AJE. from Mr. W. Lyall, 654, 656, No. 12.

*32. N2. *North Shields* dt. pal. 1879, by AJE. from Mr. J. S. Edington, Symes Walk, 654, 656, No. 13.

*32. R. *Rothbury* (11 sw.Alnwick) (1) cs. io. with aq. from Rev. Dr. Ainger, rect., written in 1873 from old men of 86 and 72, but it could not be properly interpreted even vv.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. C. H. Cadogan, Brenchburn Priory, Morpeth; (3) wn. February, 1879, by AJE. from J. Ramsey, procured by Dr. Ainger, 678; (4) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. A. Scott, 654, No. 14.

*32. S1. *Snitter* (12 wsw.Alnwick) pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Allen, of Whittingham, 654, No. 15, serving also for w3.

*32. S2. *Stamfordham* (:sta'nortən) (12 nw.Newcastle) dt. io. by Rev. J. F. Bigge, vic. 654, No. 10.

*32. T. *Tyne to Wansbeck Rivers*, that is, the coal-fields, for the Pitmen's speech by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (:hʊmz'həf), 40 y., revised by Rev. J. Taylor and Mr. W. B. Forster, see B1, p. 674.

*32. W1. *Warkworth* (6 se.Alnwick) dt. and wl. both pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. D. Ridley, 654, No. 17; *Ned White*, a yarn, pal. by AJE. from the same, 666; cwl. 678.

*32. W2. *Whalton* (5 sw.Morpeth) dt. io. by Rev. J. Walker, rect., from notes by Mr. R. Bewick, 654, No. 11.

*32. W3. *Whittingham* (7 w.Alnwick) (1) note by Rev. R. W. Goodenough, vic.; (2) dt. io. by Mr. W. Dixon, 655, No. 19, see also S1.

32. W4. *Woodhorn* (6 ene.Morpeth) notes by Rev. E. N. Mangin, vic.

*32. W5. *Wooler* (1) dt. io. by Mr. M. T. Culley, 655, No. 22; (2) dt. pal. by AJE. from Mr. T. Kirkup, 655, No. 22, and 669, No. 22.

27. Nt.=Nottinghamshire, 25 places, all in D 27.

27. B1. *Beckingham* (2 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. D. Hooke, vic.

*27. B2. *Bingham* (7 e.Nottingham) (1) lw. by Mrs. Miles of the Rectory; (2) part of a cs. pal. in 1873 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. Francis Miles, son of the rect. 449; (3) part of a cs. pal. in 1879 by TH. from a native, 449; (4) wn. by TH. 450.

27. B3. *Blyth* (6 nne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. Ch. Gray, vic.

*27. B4. *Bulwell* (4 nnw.Nottingham) dt. pal. from a retired labourer by TH. 448.

*27. E1. *East Retford* (7 ene.Worksop) (1) dt. pal. by TH. from the lock-keeper at the Chesterfield Canal, 76, who had been there 44 years, and his father 56, p. 449; (2) wn. by TH.; (3) a note from Rev. A. J. Ebsworth, vic.

27. E2. *Eastwood* (8 nw.Nottingham) wn. by TH.

27. F. *Finningley* (7 ese.Doncaster, Yo.) wl. and aq. from Rev. G. H. Woodhouse, rect.

27. G. *Gringley* (5 wnw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. G. H. Scott, vic.

27. K. *Kirkby-in-Ashfield* (4 sw.Mansfield) wn. by TH.

27. L. *Laxton* (10 nnw.Newark) wl. by Rev. H. A. Martin, 19 y.

*27. M1. *Mansfield* dt. and wn. pal. 1879 by TH. 448.

*27. M2. *Mansfield Woodhouse* (2 n.

Mansfield) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 448.

27. M3. *Mattersey* (9 ne.Worksop) wds. by Rev. J. M. Lewes.

27. M4. *Misson* (9 nw.Gainsborough, Li.) aq. from Rev. I. N. Baldwin, vic.

27. M5. *Misterton* (5 nnw.Gainsborough, L.) aq. from Rev. G. Swift, vic.

*27. N1. *Newark* dt. pal. by TH. from a butcher, native of Caunton (5 nw.Newark), 449, and wn. by TH.

27. N2. *North Carlton* (4 n.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Foxley, rect.

27. N3. *North Wheatley* (12 nne.Worksop) from Rev. T. C. B. Chamberlain, vic.

*27. N4. *Nottingham* dt. pal. by TH. from a native of Widmerspool (7 sse.Nottingham), and wn. by TH. 450.

27. R1. *Ratcliffe* (4 e.Nottingham) full wl. io. by Rev. J. Cullen, vic. 4 y.

27. R2. *Rempstone* (9 s.Nottingham) wl. by Rev. G. Pope.

*27. S1. *Southwell* (5 w.Newark) wn. by TH. 450.

27. S2. *Sutton* (7 ne.Worksop) aq. from Rev. J. Farmer, vic.

27. W1. *Walesby* (8 se.Worksop) lw. by Rev. R. Pocklington, vic.

*27. W2. *Worksop* dt. pal. 1879 by TH. from the porter at the canal wharf, 56, a native of Blyth, see B3, which he left at 9, and wn. from the same, 449.

28. Ox.=Oxfordshire, 22 places in D 5, 6, and 7.

5. A. *Alvescot* (:ælsht) (6 sw.Witney) wl. by Rev. F. C. Marshall, rect. 2 y., assisted by an unnamed lady who had been there all her life.

*6. B1. *Banbury* (1) cs. by Mr. T. Beesley, 116; (2) lw. by his uncle, 118; (3) wn. by TH. 118; (4) dt. io. by Mrs. P. Bradshaw, jun., Wykham Mills. All (1, 2, 4) refer to about 6 m. round Banbury, encroaching on Ox., Bu., Wa., which belong to D 7.

*7. B2. *Blackthorn* (11 ne.Oxford) wd. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. Angelina Parker, 122, 127.

5. C1. *Charlbury* (:tʃɑːlberi) (12 nw.Oxford) from Rev. C. F. West, vic.

5. C2. *Chastleton* (14 sw.Banbury) dt. io. from Miss Whitmore Jones, Chastleton House.

*5. D. *Ducklington* (:dæk'lt'n) (1 s.Witney) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. W. D. Macray, rect. pal. vv. by TH., who noted other words from J. Brain, then 81, since deceased, 93.

7. E. *Ensham* or *Eynsham* (:eɪnsem) (5 nw.Oxford) specimens from dict. in glossic from Rev. W. W. Skeat, sent me in MS. but afterwards printed in Mrs. Parker's Oxford Glossary, and wn. by TH.

*7. F1. *Freeland* (4 ene.Witney) wn. by TH. 127.

*7. F2. *Fringford* (:friŋkfɔːrd) (15 nne.Oxford) wl. and dt. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Coker, 123.

*7. G. *Greys* (2 nw.Henley-on-Thames) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev.

N. Pinder, rect. 17 y., representing 10 m. round, 122.

*7. H1. *Handborough* (7 nw.Oxford) es. and dt. glossic with many letters and explanations by Mrs. Angelina Parker, author of the Oxford Glossary, with wn. by TH. from Mrs. Parker, 123-128.

*7. H2. *Henley-on-Thames* (22 se. Oxford) from vicar, 235, where it is wrongly attributed to Bu.

*7. H3. *Holton* (5 e.Oxford) lw. glossic by Mrs. A. Parker, 127.

*7. I. *Islip* (5 n-by-e.Oxford) dt. io. by Mr. J. W. F. Walker, obtained by Mrs. Parker and wn. by TH. 127.

*5. L1. *Leafield* (4 nw.Witney) wn. from old natives by TH. 93.

5. L2. *Lew* (3 sw.Witney) wds. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. A. Parker.

5. M. *Milton* (8 nw.Witney) wn. from a working man by TH.

7. O. *Oxford City*, dt. io. by Mr. W. H. Allnutt, procured by Mrs. A. Parker, with notes by TH.

*7. S1. *Sonning* (4 ssw.Henley-on-Thames) dt. io. by Miss Slade, schoolmistress, obtained by Mrs. A. Parker, 122.

7. S2. *Stonesfield* (5 nne.Witney) note by TH.

7. T. *Tiddington* (8 e.Oxford) note by TH.

*5. W. *Witney*, dt. by Mrs. A. Parker and TH. with wn. from natives by TH. 92, 93.

29. Ru. = Rutland, 5 places in D 18.

*18. C. *Cottesmore* (4 nne.Oakham) wl. and dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, to whom I was introduced by Miss Kemm (see Oakham), 255, 256.

18. E. *Empingham* (6 e.Oakham) from Rev. Lovick Cooper, rect.

*18. O. *Oakham* (:uu:kem) town, full wl. io. partly pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Kemm, native, a teacher

at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, 256.

*18. S. *Stretton* (7 ne.Oakham) wl. and dt. both io. from Rev. Edward Bradley ("Cuthbert Bede") rect. 256.

18. U. *Uppingham* dt. and notes from Mr. H. Chandler, West Bank.

18. W. *Whitwell* (4 e.Oakham) lw. io. from Rev. J. Breechen, rect.

30. Sh. = Shropshire, 39 places in D 13, 14, 25, 28, 29.

14. B1. *Baschurch* (7 nw.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

29. B2. *Bolas Magna* (6 n.Wellington) wn. by TH.

14. B3. *Bridgenorth*, notes by TH.

*14. C1. *Church Pulverbach* (7 sw. Shrewsbury) (1) es. in gl. by Miss G. Jackson, author of the *Shropshire Wordbook*; (2) specimen pal. by AJE. from her dict.; (3) lw. with pron. pal. from her dict.; (4) wds. taken from TH.'s account of the pron. prefixed to her Wordbook, and revised by her, with examples, 183 to 187.

14. C2. *Clee Hills* (7 ne.Ludlow) wn. by TH. with note on the verbal plural in *-en*.

13. C3. *Clun* (22 ssw.Shrewsbury) notes by TH.

*29. C4. *Coalbrookdale* (4 s.Wellington) dt. by Rev. F. W. Ragg, native, 472.

14. C5. *Corve Dale*, from Wenlock Edge to Ludlow, wn. by TH.

14. C6. *Craven Arms* (7 nw.Ludlow) wn. by TH.

29. C7. *Crudgington* (4 n-by-w. Wellington) wn. TH.

*29. E1. *Edmond* (6 ne.Wellington, 1½ w.Newport) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, and wn. 471, 476, 478.

*28. E2. *Ellesmere* (7 ne.Oswestry) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. from a native b. 1809, p. 452, 455.

14. F. *Ford* (5 w.Shrewsbury) nwl. from Miss Hawkins, Dinthill.

28. H1. *Hadnall* (4 n-by-e.Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

*29. H2. *Hodnet* (:odnit) (10 nnw. Wellington) wn. by TH. 478.

*28. H3. *Hordley* (13 nnw.Shrewsbury) wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, rect. 455.

*29. I. *Ironbridge*, wn. by TH. 483.

14. L1. *Llanymynech* (15 wnw.S.) aq. on CB. by Rev. N. E. Price, rect.

14. L2. *Longville* (11 w.Bridgenorth) wn. by TH.

*28. L3. *Loppington* (:lopiten) (10 n. Shrewsbury) wl. by Rev. J. W. Davis, M.A., 25 y. p. 455.

*13. 14. *Ludlow* wn. by TH. 180.
 *29. m1. *Madeley* (5 sse. Wellington)
 wn. by TH. 483.

*29. m2. *Market Drayton* (:drit'n) (17
 ne. Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. 476, 478.

14. m3. *Much Wenlock* (10 se.
 Shrewsbury) wn. by TH. in 1880.

*29. n1. *Newport* (8 ne. Wellington)
 (1) full wl. io. by Mrs. Burne, Loyn-
 ton Hall, Edgmond, whose daughter
 assisted Miss Jackson in her Sh.
 Wordbook, and (2) wn. by TH. 478.

25. n2. *Norton-in-Hales* (20 ne.
 Shrewsbury) wn. by TH.

14. o. *Oswestry* (:hodjestrī) according
 to Rev. W. Walsham How, of Whit-
 tington, Sh.; wn. by TH.

25. p1. *Pipegate* (6 ne. Market
 Drayton, see m2, just on ne. horn of
 Sh.) wn. by TH.

28. p2. *Prees* (13 n-by-e. Shrewsbury)
 wl. by Ven. Archdeacon Allen, vic.,
 14 y.

*29. s1. *Shifnal* (7 ese. Wellington)
 wn. by TH. 483.

14. s2. *Shrewsbury* wn. by TH.

*28. u. *Upton Magna* (4 e. Shrews-
 bury) wn. by TH. 455.

*29. w1. *Wellington* (:wel'iten) wn.
 and dt. pal. by TH. from a working
 man, 472, and wn. 483.

*28. w2. *Welsh Frankton* (3 sw.
 Ellesmere) wn. by TH. 455.

*28. w3. *Wem* (10 n-by-e. Shrews-
 bury) wn. by TH. 455.

28. w4. *Whitchurch* (18 nne. Shrews-
 bury) wn. by TH.

14. w5. *Whittington* (2 ne. Oswestry)
 full wl. by Rev. W. Walsham How,
 26 y.

*28. w6. *Whixall* (13 n. Shrewsbury)
 dt. io. with explanations from Rev. J.
 Evans, vic., a very old resident, but
 a Welshman, not a native, 452.

*28. y. *Yorton* (7 n. Shrewsbury)
 wn. by TH. 455.

31. Sm. = Somersetshire, 26 places in D 4 and 10.

*3. A. *Axe-Yarty* district by the late
 Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, s. Sm. 87-89.

4. b1. *Bath*, cs. gl. by Mr. C.
 Galbraith, written on the spot by a
 long resident, but when I, who had
 resided in Bath two years, attempted
 to pal. it, I was so often brought to
 a standstill, that I was only able to use
 it as a lw.

10. b2. *Bishop's Hull* (1 w-by-s.
 Taunton) cs. pal. by AJE. from dict. of
 Rev. Wadham Williams, author of a
 glossary, but as he was a native of
 e. Sm. I have preferred Mr. Elworthy's
 version, see Wellington.

3. b3. *Burtle Turf Moor* (8 ne.
 Bridgewater to centre of Burtle Heath
 on the river Brue) wds. and phr. by
 Miss Westmacott, sent through Mr.
 F. H. Dickinson, of King's Weston,
 Somerton (4 ene. Langport).

*4. c1. *Castle Cary* (:keri) (10 se.
 Wells) wl. io. by Mr. Ross, resident
 above 80 y. 89.

4. c2. *Chard* (12 sse. Taunton) wl. by
 the late Rev. Henry Thompson, vic.

4. c3. *Chedzoy* (:tjɛdʒi) (2 e. Bridge-
 water) from Mr. G. Winter, resident
 50 y.

*4. c4. *Combe Down* (:kuum) (2 s.
 Bath) wl. by Mr. C. Daubeny, The
 Brow, 89.

4. c5. *Compton Dando* (6 w. Bath)
 note by Rev. C. M. Christie, 4 months'
 resident.

4. c6. *Crewkerne* (11 s-by-e. Lang-
 port) dt. io. with notes by the late Mr.
 G. P. R. Pulman (d. 1880), author of
 "Rustic Sketches."

4. c7. *Croscombe* (3 e. Wells) wl. io.
 by Mr. James Rossiter.

4. e. *East Harptree* (12 sw. Bath),
 from Rev. C. H. Nutt, 25 y.

4. h. *High Ham* (3 n. Langport)
 from Rev. C. D. Crossman, 2½ y.

*4. L. *Langport* (:la'ɪmpɔrt) words
 collected in 1877 from a native servant
 by Mrs. Dawes, then of Newton House,
 Surbiton, 89.

*4. m1. *Merriot* (9 s-by-e. Langport)
 cs. and wl. by Mr. G. P. R. Pulman,
 87, 88.

10. m2. *Milverton* (6 w. Taunton)
 cs. io. by Mr. H. Randolph, surgeon,
 resident 42 y., procured for me by Dr.
 Prior (see Corsham, Wl.). I have found
 it quite impossible to determine the
 pron. from this writing.

*4. m3. *Montacute* (:mɒn'ɪkiu) (8 sse.
 Langport) pal. in 1880 by AJE. from
 Messrs. G. Mitchell and S. Price,
 84-86.

4. n1. *Nailsea* (:nɛ'izi) (16 w-by-n.
 Bath) from Rev. J. Johnson, rect. 3½ y.

4. n2. *North Wootton* (2 se. Wells)
 from Rev. Owen B. Tyler, vic. 30 y.

4. s1. *Sutton Mallet* (4 e. Bridge-
 water) wds. by Rev. A. Yarranton,
 representing 7 e. Bridgewater, obtained
 by Miss Westmacott, and sent through

Mr. F. H. Dickinson, see Burtle Turf Moor.

4. s2. *Swanswick* (:swanzwik), the spelling Swainswick is a literary revival (2 ne. Bath), note by Rev. John Earle, rect. 20 y.

10. t. *Taunton* cs. io. by Mr. Cecil Smith. I have found it impossible to determine the pron. from the spelling.

*4. w1. *Wedmore* (7 wnw. Wells) phr. procured from a friend by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, 89.

*10. w2. *Wellington* (6 wsw. Taunton) (1) pal. by A.J.E. in 1874, 1875, and 1885, from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, cs. 148; (2) specimens 151 to 153,

cwl. 153; (3) from Mr. E.'s West Somerset Grammar, version of Ruth, chap. i. 698, No. 5.

West Somerset, see *Wellington*.

4. w3. *Wincanton* (15 se. Wells) pal. by J.G.G. from dict. of Mr. Roberts, native, who had known the dialect 30 y., but was then living at Newbiggin, Cu. On account of Mr. R.'s long residence in the North, this carefully pal. wl. was found untrustworthy, and could not be used.

*4. w4. *Worle* (2 ne. Weston-super-Mare) nwl. with long explanatory letter from Rev. W. F. Rose, vic., referring to the whole of nw.Sm. 90.

32. St.=Staffordshire, 51 places in D 25, 26, 29.

*26. a1. *Alstonefield* (:A'rsfild) (9 e. Leek) including Narrowdale (2 n. Alstonefield) wn. by TH. 441, 444.

25. a2. *Alton* (:ôut'n) (10 sse. Leek) wn. by TH.

25. a3. *Audley* (:E'idli) (6 nw. Stoke-upon-Trent) wl. io. and aq. from Mr. G. Till, 11 y., but notwithstanding explanations I was too uncertain of the meaning of his symbols to use it.

*29. b1. *Barton-under-Needwood* (5 sw. Burton-on-Trent) lw. by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst, 482, and pron. of a carol, 477.

25. b2. *Betley* (6 wnw. Newcastle-under-Lyme) wl. and dt. io. from Miss E. Tollet, from observation made, 1820-50.

25. b3. *Biddulph* (:bid'l) (9 n. Stoke) wds. from Rev. F. Elmes.

25. b4. *Blythe Marsh* (7 se. Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. b5. *Bradley* (4 ssw. Stafford) wl. and phrases io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vic.

*25. b6. *Burslem* (3 n. Stoke) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of one native, and corrections by another, and wn. 414, 422.

*29. b7. *Burton-on-Trent* dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 471, and wn. and exs. 477, cwl. 482.

*29. c1. *Cannock Chase* (e. of Cannock Town c2, and w. of Lichfield) cs. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 463, and wn. 480.

*29. c2. *Cannock Town* (9 sse. Stafford) wn. on a market day by TH. 480.

25. c3. *Cheadle* (:tjrid'l) (9 ese. Stoke) wl. by Rev. R. Watt, rect., and wn. by TH.

*29. c4. *Codsall* (5 nw. Wolverhampton) just on b. of Sh., wl. by Mr. E. Viles, of Codsall Wood, 484, and dt. pal. by TH. from a man of 69.

*29. d1. *Darlaston* (3 wsw. Walsall) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 472, and also the anecdote of the Wake Beef pal. by TH. 478, and wn. 461, 484.

25. d2. *Denston* (12 sse. Leek) wn. by TH.

*29. e1. *Eccleshall* (7 nw. Stafford) wn. and dt. pal. by TH. 471, 476, 478.

29. e2. *Enville* (10 ssw. Wolverhampton) wl. by Mr. E. Bennett, of the Schoolhouse, which is close by the b. of Sh. Wa. and St.

*26. f1. *Flask* (7 nne. Leek) dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 438, additional ex. 441, and wn. 444.

*25. f2. *Frogghall* (9 e. Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. h1. *Hanbury* (6 nw. Burton-on-Trent) wn. and part of a dt. pal. by TH. 482.

*29. h2. *Haughton* (4 sw. Stafford) wn. by TH. in 1882 from Powell, b. 1798, and his wife, the latter a native, and says there is no difference between the speech of Bradley and that of Haughton, 477, 480.

*29. h3. *Hopwas* (:ôp'vz) (2 wnw. Tamworth) wn. by TH. 482.

*25. i1. *Leek*, dt. and wn. by TH. 411, 422.

*25. i2. *Leek Frith* (4 n. Leek) wn. by TH. 422.

29. l3. *Leigh* (11 se. Stoke) wn. by TH.

*29. l4. *Lichfield*, wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 472, 482.

*25. l5. *Longport* (2 n. Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH. 422.

25. l6. *Longton* (3 se.Stoke) wn. by TH.

25. m. *Madeley* (4 wsw.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

29. n. *Newborough* (7 w-by-n. Burton-on-Trent) nwl. by Rev. J. P. Wright, vic. 8 months.

25. o. *Oakamoor* (12 e.Newcastle-under-Lyme) wn. by TH.

*26. r. *Rocester* (15 ese.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422, 444.

25. s1. *Shelton* (1 n.Stoke) full wl. by Dr. J. B. Davis, F.R.S., F.S.A., materially assisted by Mr. Levi Stanway, Registry St., Stoke, and wn. by TH.

29. s2. *Stafford*, wn. by TH.

25. s3. *Stoke-upon-Trent* and neighbouring villages, wn. by TH.

26. s4. *Stoke Gutter Farm*, about 5 ne.Leek, on the way from Leek to Flash and past the Roaches, wn. by TH. shewing the division between D 25 and D 26.

29. s5. *Stone* (:stuun) (7 s.Stoke) wn. by TH.

29. s6. *Stretton* (8 ssw.Stafford) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vic.

*29. r1. *Tamworth*, wn. by TH. 482.

*25. r2. *Tunstall* (4 nnw.Stoke) wn. by TH. 422.

*29. r3. *Tutbury* (4 nw.Burton-on-Trent) wn. by TH. 482.

29. u1. *Upper (or Over) Arley* (13 sw.Dudley, Wo.) note by Rev. C. J. Wilding, vic., who said there was only one St. man resident there.

29. u2. *Uttoxeter* (12 ne.Stafford) wn. by TH.

*29. w1. *Walsall* wn. by TH. 461, 478, 484.

*29. w2. *Wednesbury* (3 sw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w3. *West Bromwich* (5 ssw.Walsall) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w4. *Willenhall* (3 e.Wolverhampton) wn. by TH. 461, 484.

25. w5. *Wolstanton* (:unsiten) (1 nne.Newcastle-under-Lyme) nwl. by Mr. W. Field, Brighton Road School, Croydon.

*29. w6. *Wolverhampton*, wn. by TH. 461, 484.

*29. w7. *Wootton* (1½ ssw.Eccleshall) wn. by TH. 478.

*29. y. *Yoxall* (6 nne.Lichfield) wn. by TH. from a native, 482.

33. Sf.=Suffolk, 12 places in D 19.

19. b1. *Boyton* (13 e-by-n.Ipswich) note from Rev. G. C. Hoste, rect.

19. b2. *Bradwell* (:bræd'l) (7 nnw.Lowestoft) note by Rev. J. Walker, rect., "13 years resident, but does not profess acquaintance with the dialect."

*19. f. *Framlingham* (13 nne.Ipswich) cs. pal. in 1880 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. J. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough, 279.

*19. g1. *Great Bealings* (4 ne.Ipswich) wn. by TH. 281.

19. g2. *Great Finborough* (:finbrə) (10 se.Bury St. Edmunds) full wl. io. by Rev. W. V. Kitching, 16 y.

19. h. *Hemingstone* (6 n.Ipswich) lw. by Rev. T. Brown, rect. 54 y., who says: "what between railroads and education the Sf. dialect is fast dying out."

*19. o. *Orford* (:Aafəd) (4 sw.Aldborough) including Sudbourne (1 n.Orford) and neighbourhood, dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, 285.

*19. p. *Pakenham* (5 ene.Bury St. Edmunds), pal. in 1873 and 1886 by AJE. from dict. of Rev. C. W. Jones, vic. native, 287.

*19. s1. *Southwold* (11 ssw.Lowestoft), full wl. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallett, teacher at Whitelands, native, 281.

19. s2. *Stowmarket* (13 ese.Bury St. Edmunds) lw. partly in gl. by Mr. E. S. Bewley, 15 y.

19. u. *Ufford* (10 ne.Ipswich) wl. io. by Mr. F. C. Brooke, 60 y.

19. y. *Yaxley* (20 ene.Bury St. Edmunds) notes in 1873 from Rev. H. Sewell, vic.

34. Sr.=Surrey, 13 places in D 5, 8.

*5. c1. *Charlwood*, called (:tʃɔləd) by old people, (6 ssw.Reigate) wl. and ex. io. by Rev. T. Burningham, then rect., more than 50 y., 109.

*8. c2. *Chertsey* (18 w.Croydon) from Rev. R. Marshall Martin, 3 y., 130.

*8. c3. *Chobham* (8 nnw.Guildford) note by Rev. J. J. Jewan, vic., more than 50 y., 130.

*8. c4. *Croydon* wl. by Mr. W. Taylor Malleon, Duppas Hill, 11 y., 130.

5. e1. *Elstead* (:ælstəd) (7 sw.

Guildford) from Rev. I. R. Charlesworth, rect.

5. e2. *Ewhurst* (8 se. Guildford) notes by Rev. J. Mount Barlow, rect.

5. g1. *Godulming* (4 sw. Guildford) note from Mr. J. W. Sharpe, Charterhouse.

5. g2. *Godstone* (9 sse. Croydon) wl. by Rev. G. T. Hoare.

5. h. *Haslemere* (12 sw. Guildford) note by Mr. T. J. Ellis.

*8. l. *Leatherhead* (7 nw. Reigate) note in a letter from Mr. Alfred W. T. Martel to LLB. 130.

*5. o. *Ockley* (8 sw. Reigate) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, of Whitelands, and of Miss M. A. Firth, 109 (where the name is misprinted 'Forth'), and lw. and notes from Rev. T. P. du Sautoy, Oxford, rect., 12 y.

*5. s. *Stoke* (1 n. Guildford) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Jane Slyfield, of Whitelands, 109.

*5. w. *Weald of Surrey* s. of Reigate; the Weald extends into Kent and Sussex, nwl. and dt. io. by Dr. Clair Jas. Greece, Redhill, Reigate, 109.

35. Ss. = Sussex, 19 places in D 5, 8.

9. a. *Ashburnham* (:eshbʊrəm) (10 nne. Eastbourne) note from Rev. J. R. Munn, vic. 50 y.

9. b1. *Battle* (6 nnw. Hastings), wn. by TH.

5. b2. *Bolney* (:booni) (12 n-by-w. Brighton) lw. and notes by Mr. Alfred Huth.

9. b3. *Brighton*, wn. by TH.

5. c1. *Compton* (8 nw. Chichester) note from Rev. Harry Peckham, 25 y.

*8. c2. *Cuckfield* (9 se. Horsham) (1) wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss A. Sayers, of Whitelands, 134; (2) wd. by Archd. Fearon, native.

5. e1. *Eartham* (:ærthem) (5 ne. Chichester) note by Rev. E. Kelly, vic.

*9. e2. *Eastbourne*, wl. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Francis, of Whitelands, 134.

9. e3. *Etchingam* (18 ne. Eastbourne) note by Rev. W. H. Eley, rect.

5. k. *Kirdford* (:kaafu'd), a nearly extinct pron. (10 w-by-s. Horsham), wl. by Miss Cole, of the rectory.

9. l1. *Leasam* or *Leesham* (8 ne. Hastings) wl. from Miss Bessie Curteis.

9. l2. *Lewes*, name noted by TH.

*9. m. *Markly* (8 wnw. Battle) dt. with aq. and notes by Miss Anne M. Darby, 133.

9. p. *Pasingworth* (:pæs'nweth), wrongly spelled on p. 131, l. 4, but rightly l. 14 (14 nnw. Eastbourne and 4 e. Uckfield), notes from Mr. Louis Huth, Pasingworth Hawkhurst.

*9. s. *Selmeaton* (8 nw. Eastbourne) dt. io. by Rev. W. D. Parish, author of the Sussex Glossary, 133.

5. t. *Twineham* (10 nnw. Brighton) from Rev. W. Molyneux, rect.

9. w1. *Weald of Sussex* (n. Brighton) lw. from Mr. Somers Clarke, jun., Belgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W., 30 y.

5. w2. *West Wittering* (6 sw. Chichester) from Rev. W. D. Underwood, vic.

*5. w3. *Wisborough Green* (8 wsw. Horsham) lw. from Rev. W. A. Bartlett, vic. 109.

36. Wa. = Warwickshire, 23 places in D 6, 29.

*29. a1. *Allesley Gate* (4 w. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. a2. *Atherstone* (12 n. Coventry) es. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. R. S. Knight, 14 y., 464, and wn. by TH. 487.

6. b1. *Bearley* (4 nnw. Stratford-on-Avon) wn. by TH. shewing southern speech.

*29. b2. *Bedworth* (5 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*29. b3. *Birmingham*, often (:brom-ɛdʒəm, bru- bræ-) full wl. by Mr. Samuel Timmins, 488.

*29. b4. *Brandon* (5 ese. Coventry)

wn. by TH. from a native then at Leamington, 487.

*29. b5. *Bulkington* (6 ne. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native and his mother, in whose lifetime the pron. had changed, 487.

*6. b6. *Butler's Marston* (:maas'n) and 6 miles round (10 s-by-e. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. E. Miller, 115.

*6. c1. *Claverdon* (5 w. Warwick) wn. and dt. by TH. from a native, 114.

*29. c2. *Coventry* refined town speech, wn. by TH. 487.

*29. c3. *Curdworth* (:kærdʊθ) (7 ne. Birmingham) wl. and dt. io. by

Mr. J. Montague Dormer, Dunton Hall, Minworth (:mineth), 28 y. 488.

*29. E. *Elmdon* (7 ese. Birmingham) wl. by Mr. F. J. Mylins, of the rectory, 488.

*6. K1. *Kineton* (:kjinten) by working men, (:kaint'n) by the middle class (9 s-by-e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 115.

6. K2. *Knowle* (10 nw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. J. Howe, vic. 40 y.

*29. L. *Leamington* (2 e. Warwick) wn. by TH. from a native, 488.

*29. N. *Nuneaton* (9 nne. Coventry) wn. by TH. 487.

*6. P1. *Pillerton Priors* (7½ se. Stratford-on-Avon), now united with Pillerton Hersee to form one parish, wn. by TH. from a native labourer, b. 1819, 115.

*29. P2. *Polesworth* (14 n-by-w. Coventry) wn. by TH. in 1879 from

elderly resident natives and habitual dialect speakers, 487.

29. S1. *Saltley* (2 ene. Birmingham), a mere suburb, wn. by TH. from people in the street.

29. S2. *Sherborne* (3 ssw. Warwick) wl. io. by Rev. W. Grice, shewing practically rec. pron.

*6. S3. *Stratford-on-Avon* (1) es in so. by Mr. G. H. Tomline, schoolmaster, made for LLB. who passed it on to AJE., who did not succeed in palaeotyping it; (2) wn. by TH. in 1880, 115.

*6. T. *Tysoe* (11 se. Stratford-on-Avon) (1) wl. by Mrs. Francis, of the vicarage, completed from dict. by TH.; (2) wn. by TH. in 1886 principally from a man b. 1802, and his wife b. 1809, p. 115.

*29. W. *Warwick* wn. by TH., the general effect on the ear being quite Midland, 488.

37. We. = Westmoreland, 10 places, all in D 31.

31. A. *Appleby* cs. io. with aq. by Rev. C. Holme, native of Orton (9 ssw. Appleby), several years in Mr. Richardson's school at Appleby, representing m. We. This careful work, over which Mr. Holme and I spent much time in 1873, has been entirely superseded by JGG.'s work.

*31. C1. *Casterton* (10 se. Kendal, and 2 ne. Kirkby Lonsdale) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from a native, 558, 563, 597d', No. 6.

*31. C2. *Crosby Ravensworth* (6 sw. Appleby) pal. 1875 by JGG. from dictation of Mr. J. Dover, 560, 563, 599d, No. 13, 633.

*31. K1. *Kendal* (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Brown, 559, 563, No. 9; (2) wl. in glossic by Mr. J. Brown himself.

*31. K2. *Kirkby Stephen* (9 sse. Appleby) pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict.

of Mr. Joseph Steel, 560, 563, 599, 633, No. 12.

*31. L. *Long Sleddale* (6 n. Kendal) cs. pal. 1875 by JGG. from dict. of Rev. T. Clarke, 559, 563.

*31. M. *Milburn* (5 nnw. Appleby) cs. and wl. pal. by JGG. while residing there two years with the assistance of natives, 561, 563, 599, 633.

*31. O. *Orton* (11 ne. Kendal) (1) cs. pal. by JGG. from dict. of J. Dover, 560, 563; (2) wl. io. by Rev. C. Holme, superseded like A. by the work of JGG.

31. S. *Shap* (9 wsw. Appleby) note by JGG. that Mr. Hindson, of Kirkby Lonsdale, b. 1800, remembered hearing (kh, kw) in use near this place in 1818.

*31. T. *Temple Sowerby* (6 nnw. Appleby) cs. pal. by JGG., and finally revised 1877 from dict. of Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath, 561, 563, 599, 633.

38. Wl. = Wiltshire, 18 places, all in D 4.

4. A. *Aldbourne* (:aabern) (8 se. Swindon) wl. io. from Mr. T. H. Chandler, jun., who spent the greater part of his youth there.

4. C1. *Calne* (6 n. Devizes) (1) nwl. Rev. G. H. Wayte, Bonehill, Tamworth, 30 y.; (2) nwl. Rev. W. Wayte, 30 y., his brother.

*4. C2. *Chippenham* (8 nnw. Devizes)

from JGG., *Hornet and Beetle*, 51, cwl. 54.

*4. C3. *Christian Malford* (10 nnw. Devizes) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. Arthur Law, cs. 44; phrases, 48; cwl. 49.

4. C4. *Corsham* (7 n. Trowbridge) from Dr. R. C. A. Prior, Halse House, Taunton, cs. pal. from dict. by

AJE. Dr. Prior introduced AJE. to Rev. A. Law, whose cs., p. 44, superseded this one.

4. c5. *Corsley* (8 ssw.Trowbridge) from Mrs. G. M. E. Campbell, Corsley House, 50 y., wl. io. and notes.

4. d. *Damerham* (:dæm'ərəm) (9 s. Wilton) wl. io. by Rev. W. Owen, vic., assisted by his schoolmaster, a native.

4. e. *East Knoyle* (13 w.Wilton) wl. from Rev. R. N. Milford, rect., 12 y.

4. k. *Kemble* (4 sw.Cirencester, Gl.) wn. by TH.

4. m. *Maddington* (:mæd'nton maarnt'n) (7 n.Wilton) wl. io. from Rev. Canon Bennett, vic. of Shrewton (1 n.Maddington).

4. o. *Orcheston* (:əs'n) *St. George* (10 sse.Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. Gorges Paulin Lowther, rect., from 70 y. to 80 y., then 85.

4. p. *Purton* (5 nw.Swindon) (1) wl. io. for 4 m. round by Major Purton, Purton House; (2) wn. by TH.

4. s1. *Salisbury* (3 w-by-s.Wilton) to *Warminster* (16 nw.Wilton) (1) wl. io. 1877 by Mr. T. H. Chandler, Rowde; (2) dt. 1879 written from his dict. by his son.

4. s2. *Seend* (4 w.Devizes) wl. io. by Rev. A. B. Thynne, vic.

4. s3. *Sopworth* (:zæp'vəθ) (18 n. Trowbridge) wl. io. for 4 m. west and 10 m. east of Swindon, by Rev. Joseph Buckley, rect.

*4. t. *Tilshead* (8 sse.Devizes) from Miss L. H. Johnson, *Hocktying* and dt. 58, cwl. 59.

4. w. *Wilton* wl. and dt. by Mr. Edward Slow, coachbuilder, and constant resident.

4. y. *Yatesbury* (:jætsbəri) (7 nne.Devizes) wl. io. from Rev. A. C. Smith, rect., 50 y.

39. Wo. = Worcestershire, 25 places in D 6, 13, 29.

*6. a. *Abberley* (8 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. b1. *Bengeworth* (a suburb of Evesham on the opposite side of the Avon) wn. by TH. 113.

*6. b2. *Bewdley* (:biə'udli) 3 sw.Kidderminster) wn. in 1880-1-2 by TH. especially from a nonagenarian, about 94, full of vivacity, reading and sewing without spectacles, when young a maker and seller of ling brooms, 113.

6. b3. *Birt's Morton* (6 s.Great Malvern) wn. from a native by TH.

*29. c. *Cradley* (:kreedli) (9 ne.Kidderminster) wn. from native hop-pickers by TH. 485.

*6. d1. *Droitwich* (6 ne-by-n.Worcester) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. d2. *Dudley* (on an island of Wo. locally in St.) cs. by Mr. R. Woof, procured by LLB. 463, 464.

6. d3. *Dunley* (5 ssw.Kidderminster, between Abberley and Stourport) wn. by TH.

13. e1. *Eastham* (10 sw.Kidderminster) wl. and dt. io. by Rev. H. Browne, rect., see Tenbury.

*6. e2. *Eldersfield* (9 s.Great Malvern) wn. in 1880 by TH. from a native b. 1801, left at 13 and resided since in m.Wo. 113.

6. e3. *Evesham*, dt. and wn. by TH. from a market gardener.

*6. g1. *Great Malvern*, wn. by TH. 113.

*6. g2. *Great Witley* (9 sw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 113.

*29. h1. *Hagley* (6 ene.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. 485.

*6. h2. *Hanbury* (6 wsw.Redditch) dt. and wn. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Turner, of Whitelands, native, 112, 113.

6. h3. *Hartlebury* (3 sse.Kidderminster) dt. with aq. from the Misses Haviland, of the rectory, and wn. by TH.

6. k. *Kidderminster*, wn. by TH. from natives.

*6. m. *Malvern Wells and Link*, wn. by TH. see Gt. Malvern, 113.

*6. s1. *Salway* (8 sw.Redditch) wn. by TH. in 1880 from a native, 113.

*29. s2. *Selly Oak* (14 ene.Kidderminster) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Sadler, of Whitelands, a native, and wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, 485.

*29. s3. *Stourbridge* (6 ne.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who found the speech quite Mid. 485.

6. s4. *Stourport* (4 ssw.Kidderminster) wn. by TH. who said the speech had "the southern ring."

13. t. *Tenbury* (:tɛmbəri) (16 wsw.Kidderminster) dt. io. by Miss Sweet (now Mrs. Chamberlain), author of "A Glossary of West Worcestershire Words with Glossic Notes by TH.,"

and wn. by TH. in 1880 from Miss Sweet and others. [This was accidentally omitted in giving the account of D 13.]

6. v. *Upton Snodbury* (6e. Worcester) note per Rev. J. Wright, vic.

*6. w. *Worcester* (1) dt. pal. by TH. 112; (2) wn. by TH. 113.

40. Yo. = Yorkshire, 93 places in D 24, 30, 31.

24. A. *Armitage Bridge* (:éevmtidj) (2 s. Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. Thomas Brooke, 45 y.

24. B1. *Barnborough* (6 w. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Wilmot W. Ware, rect.

*24. B2. *Barnsley* dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 403.

24. B3. *Birkenshaw* (7 sw. Leeds) wn. by TH.

*31. B4. *Black Burton* or *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, Yo. (32 nw. Keighley) on b. of La., on the Greta, Seward's Dialogue translated by Mr. J. Powley, and pal. by JGG. 608 to 616, also cwl. 619.

*24. B5. *Bradford* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, notes 390; (2) words from Preston's Poems, 391; (3) wn. by TH.

24. B6. *Brotherton* (3 nne. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Haslam, vic.

*30. B7. *Burton Constable* (7 ssw. Hornsea) wn. by TH. incidentally mentioned on the middle of p. 501.

Burton-in-Lonsdale, see *Black Burton*.

*24. C1. *Calverley* (6 wnw. Leeds) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 390.

24. C2. *Campsall* (6 nnw. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Edwin Castle, vic.

*31. C3. *Cautley*, a hamlet in the township of Sedberg (41 nw. Keighley), on b. of We., (1) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG., used as variants to the cs. for Sedberg, notes No. 8, p. 559, 598; (2) portion of a wl. pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Law, then 60, a regular old dalesman, in whose house JGG. lived some weeks, left incomplete.

*31. C4. *Chapel-le-dale* (29 nw. Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. 619.

31. C5. *Clapham* (16 n. Clitheroe, La.), extracts from a cs. pal. 1887 by TH. from W. Metcalfe, native.

Dacre, see *Lower Nidderdale*, p. 500.

*30. D1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* (15 se. Middlesbrough) wl. and dt. both io. by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the *Cleveland Glossary*, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527.

*31. D2. *Dent town* (27 n-by-w. Clitheroe, La., 12 ese. Kendal, We.) cs. and wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, cs. 558, 563, 598, cwl. 630.

*24. D3. *Dewsbury* (6 w. Wakefield) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367, 404; (2) cs. io. by Mr. M. Ridgway, 37 y., sent to LLB., who communicated it to AJE., with CCR.'s notes on his orthography.

*24. D4. *Doncaster*, wl. pal. by AJE. 1877 and 1882 from Dr. John Sykes, who kindly came to town twice for the purpose, 406.

30. D5. *Drax* (5 nw. Goole) 2 pc. from Rev. S. H. Hooper, vic.

30. E1. *East Haddlesey* (11 wnw. Goole) pc. and letter from Rev. J. N. Worfold, rect.

*24. E2. *East Hardwick* (2 s. Pontefract) pc. from Rev. G. Eel, vic.; alluded to, 405d.

*30. E3. *East Holderness*, se. Yo. dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Stead, 522.

*24. E4. *Elland* (3 sse. Halifax) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from a native, 384.

*31. G1. *Giggleswick* ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle, 19 n. Burnley, La.) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

*24. G2. *Golear* (2 w. Huddersfield), see 377d.

*30. G3. *Goole* and *Marshland* dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, 522.

30. H1. *Hackness* (5 w. Scarborough) wl. io. from Rev. Thomas Cheese.

*24. H2. *Halifax* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 384; (2) Parable of the Prodigal Son translated by CCR. in Part. IV. pp. 1400 to 1405; (3) wn. by TH.; (4) cwl. from J. Crabtree, 383.

30. H3. *Hatfield* ($6\frac{1}{2}$ ne. Doncaster) pc. and letter from Rev. G. Haydon, vic.

Hawes, see *Upper Wensleydale*, v6, below.

24. H4. *Haworth* (3 sw. Keighley) wn. by TH.

*30. H5. *Holderness* district, forming se. Yo. from Hull to Spurnhead, and n. to Bridlington: (1) cs. pal. by AJE. from Rev. Henry Ward, 501, 502, 518, who also gave me a version of *Launce and Speed*, not used. The assistance of Rev. H. Ward was obtained by the late Rev. J. R. Green, the historian;

(2) dt. for East Holderness, see above *ε3*; (3) cwl. made from wl. furnished by Messrs. R. Stead, F. Ross, and T. Holderness, the three authors of the Holderness Glossary, 532; (4) TH.'s visits to examine (thr- dhr-) and absence of article, 501.

*24. *н6. Holmfirth* (6 s. Huddersfield) nwl. by Mr. A. Beardsell, 40 y., 380.

*30. *н7. Hornsea*, TH.'s examination of (thr- dhr-), 501*b*, *c*.

*31. *н8. Horton-in-Ribblesdale* (19 n-by-e. Clitheroe, La., 21 ene. Lancaster, between Ingleborough and Penygnt Hills) wl. pal. by JGG. from a native, 619.

*31. *н9. Howgill* (8 ene. Kendal, We.) wl. pal. 1876 by JGG. from Mr. Best, a native, who called on AJE. also, 630.

*24. *н10. Huddersfield* (:u:dezfeld, :udhezfil) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 378; (2) wl. by Messrs. Dowse & Tomlinson, and Miss Mercy Hibbard, 380.

*30. *н11. Hull* (1) wn. by TH. 501*b*, *c*; (2) wl. io. by Rev. Canon Simmons, Dalton Holme (:daat'n :oom, :ul).

*31. *н12. Hurst* (8 w. Richmond) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, 548.

31. *ι. Ilkley* (5 nne. Keighley) wl. pal. by JGG. from dictation of Mrs. Best, not used.

*24. *κ. Keighley* (:kiikhli, :kiithli) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367; notes 386; (2) fragments of a cs. pal. in 1887 from a native by TH. 385; (3) wl. pal. by JGG. from Mrs. Foster, 387; (4) wl. io. by Mr. Septimus Brigg, for town of Keighley and up the valley of the Aire as far as Bradley (6 nnw. Keighley), misprinted Bradford, 387.

*31. *л1. Laithkirk* (20 nw. Richmond) cs. and wl. io. by Rev. W. Robinson Bell, vic., interpreted by a cwl. by JGG. pal. from dict., this applies to the nw. horn of Yo. 624.

*24. *л2. Leeds* (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. with notes, 367; notes, 396; (2) refined town form, 396; (3) full wl. written in glossic, 397.

*30. *л3. Leven* (6 wsw. Hornsea) wn. by TH. described p. 501 *b*, *c*.

*30. *л4. Lofthouses*, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 500.

*30. *л5. Lower Nidderdale*, containing Lofthouses (16 nw. Harrogate), Ramsgill (14 nw. H.), Pateley Bridge (11 nw. H.), Greenhow Hill (10 nw. H.),

Dacre (8 nw. H.), cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516.

*24. *м1. Manningham*, suburb of Bradford, wn. by TH. shewing use of (*u*) 365, which Dr. Wright thinks to be a mistake, 389.

*30. *м2. Market Weighton* (:wiit'n) (9 w. Beverley) (1) cs. io. by Mr. J. Kirkpatrick, who also gave specimens; (2) another cs. by Mr. H. Dove; (3) glossic transcription by CCR.; (4) cs. and wl. pal. 1877 by AJE. from reading of Rev. J. Jackson Wray, cs. 501, 502, 517; spec. 497, 498; cwl. 529.

*24. *м3. Marsden* (7 sw. Huddersfield) (1) nwl. by the curate (unnamed), assisted by Mr. R. Bamford, School Terrace; (2) printed specimen sent by Mr. Adshead, then of Pendleton, La.; (3) dt. and wn. by TH. 379, 380.

Marshland, see *Goole* at *g3*.

*31. *м4. Middlesmoor* (14 w-by-n. Ripon) cs. written in gl. by CCR., a portion given under Upper Nidderdale, 544.

*30. *м5. Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 513 (repeated 557, 563), and full wl. also written in gl. by CCR. 523.

*30. *м6. Moors, The*, meaning Whitby, Malton, Pickering (7 n-by-e. Malton), or the east part of North Riding, dt. io. by Rev. J. Thornton, vic. of Aston Abbot, Aylesbury, 519.

Muker, see *Upper Swaledale*, *u5*, below.

*30. *н1. New Malton* cs. written in gl. by CCR. considered a subdistrict of his Mid Yo., see above *м5*, 499 last line, 500, 502, 516.

North Craven, see above, *Burton-in-Lonsdale*, *н4*; *Chapel-le-dale*, *c4*; *Horton-in-Ribblesdale*, *н8*.

*30. *н2. North East Coast*, district defined, p. 500, No. 8, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, 517.

*30. *н3. North Mid Yorkshire*, district defined, 499, No. 3, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 502, notes 515; this is for the ordinary rural speech; CCR. gave also a cs. in refined rural form.

31. *н4. North of Richmond*, refined phase, cs. written in gl. by CCR., apparently as a reminiscence of the pron. of an individual mentioned in CCR.'s Leeds Glossary, p. xiii; being a refined form, it is omitted here, as was the refined form in *н3* above. The peasant speech of which this was a refinement was probably the same as that of Laithkirk above, *л1*. It is

made remarkable by the frequent use of (ə) as (əʊt nət tə bi rəq əv sə'iken ə pəʊnt əz dhis) ought not to be wrong of=on such a point as this, (ləə'in st'ritit ət wəəl liqth ətap' ə)t' grəə'und tloos biv)t' uus dəər iv iz gəə'ud səəndə kəət dəə'un ət kəənər ə jən ləən) lying stretched at whole length atop of the ground close by the house door in his good Sunday coat at corner of yon lane.

*24. o. *Osset* (4 w. Wakefield) wn. by TH 365.

Pateley Bridge, see *Lower Nidderdale*.

30. P. *Pocklington* (12 e-by-s. York) (1) wl. io. by Miss Lucy Singleton, Great Givendale House; (2) full wl. io. by Dr. T. Wilson, more than 60 y.

Ramskill, see *Lower Nidderdale*, 15 above.

*31. r1. *Richmond* wl. io. by Mr. George Bell, noticed p. 544a.

30. r2. *Ripon to Thirsk* (taking parts of CCR.'s Mid and North Mid Yo., above m5 and n3), wl. io. by Mrs. Lloyd, Hazelcroft, Ripley (7 s. Ripon).

24. r3. *Ripponden* (5 sw. Halifax) wn. by TH. from two shepherds.

24. r4. *Rossington* (4 se. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. J. W. Scarlett, rect.

*24. r5. *Rotherham*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 367, 404.

24. r6. *Roundhay* (3 ne. Leeds) nwl. by Mr. F. M. Lupton, 27 y. from birth.

*24. s1. *Saddleworth* wl. io. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 380.

*31. s2. *Sedberg* (31 w. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from dict. 559, 563, 598.

30. s3. *Selby* (10 nw. Goole) pc. from Rev. F. W. Harper, vic.

*24. s4. *Sheffield* (1) cs. so. by Prof. Parkes, procured through JAHM. and friends, 367, 405; (2) notes on vowels, 405.

30. s5. *Skeffling* (4 se. Patrington, near Spurn Head) wl. io. from Rev. H. Maister, vic., all his life.

*30. s6. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* (16 wnw. Whitby) dt. io. with long notes by Mr. I. Wilkinson, read to me by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Stanghow (3 sse. Skelton), 519, 521.

*31. s7. *Skipton* (8 nw. Keighley) (1) cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts, 544; (2) dt. pal. 1887 by TH. 548.

*24. s8. *Slaithwaite* (4 sw. Huddersfield), see 377, var. i.

*30. s9. *Snaith* (6 w-by-s. Goole) (1)

wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Norman, 533; (2) pc. from Rev. C. E. Stores, vic.

*30. s10. *South Ainsty*, defined 499 No. 2, cs. written in gl. by Mr. R. Stead and pal. by AJE. 499, 502, 514 No. 2.

*30. s11. *South Cleveland* district defined 500, cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516 No. 7, the n. Cleveland has been spoiled dialectally by the iron works.

24. s12. *South Ofram* (1½ se. Halifax) wn. by TH. has only (u) as noted, 365.

*30. s13. *Sutton* (3 nne. Hull) dt. io. by Mr. E. French, then of the lead works, 167 Church St., Hull, see Ch. f. 522.

*30. s14. *Swine* (5 nne. Hull) wn. by TH. from a native of Hull, who had resided 20 or 30 years at Swine, alluded to, 501 b, c.

24. r1. *Thornton* (5 n. Halifax) wn. by TH.

24. r2. *Tickhill* (7 s. Doncaster) pc. from Rev. Charles Bury, vic.

*31. v1. *Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*24. v2. *Upper Cumberworth* (6 sse. Huddersfield) dt. and wn. pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. 380.

*31. v3. *Upper Mining Dales*, i.e. Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. v4. *Upper Nidderdale*, cs. written in gl. by CCR. extracts given, 544.

*31. v5. *Upper Swaledale* or *Muker* (16 w-by-s. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from many natives 557 (where it is called *Upper Swaledale*), 563, 595 (where it is called *Muker*), extracts 544, and cwl. also by JGG. 619; JGG. likewise gave a translation of *Launce and Speed*, which was transcribed into his own gl. by CCR. and re-rendered by JGG. 1878, but as the example is a bad one it is not given.

*31. v6. *Upper Wensleydale* or *Hawes* (20 wsw. Richmond) cs. pal. 1876 by JGG. from a native, 557, 563, 596, all No. 3 under *Hawes*.

30. w1. *Waghen* or *Wawne* (4 se. Beverley) wl. io. by Rev. G. Wilkinson, 35 y.

*24. w2. *Wakefield* wn. by TH. incorporated with a cwl. deduced from Mr. W. S. Banks's printed *List of Words*, 401.

*30. w3. *Washburn River* region, lying between the Wharfe and the

Nidd, remarkable for use of (th) for def. art., cs. written in gl. by CCR. 500, 502, 516, all No. 6.

*30. w4. *Whitby* (1) dt. and. wl. both io. by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, druggist, author of the *Whitby Glossary*, dt. 519, 521, cwl. 527; (2) dt. io. for this included in the Moors, by Rev. J. Thornton, 519, 521*d*.

*24. w5. *Windhill* (3 n. Bradford)

dt. pal. by AJE. from Dr. J. Wright, native, 389.

York Ainsty, see *South Ainsty* above s10.

30. y. *York City* refined speech, used by tradespeople and best class of inhabitants of rural market towns; cs. gl. by CCR. and Mr. Stead, but omitted as not being genuine dialect, see remarks on Leeds refined form, 396.

41. Ma. = Isle of Man, 3 places, all in D 23, Var. ii.

*23. κ1. *Kirk Christ Lezayre* (2 w. Ramsey) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of a native, and wn. 361, 363.

*23. κ2. *Kirk Christ Rushen* (4 w. Castletown) dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of natives, 361, 363.

23. κ3. *Kirk Patrick* (2 s. Peel) wn. by TH. from dict. of Mrs. E. Corphey, b. 1855, native, wife of informant for Kirk Christ Lezayre.

*23. p. *Peel* dt. and wn. in 1881 by TH. from natives, 361, 363.

Wales.

36 places in D 2, 3, 13, 14, 28, or in no district.

Observe "aqCB." means "Answers to Questions respecting the Celtic Border." 0 means, not considered in this book, because the peasants do not habitually converse in English.

43. BR. = BRECONSHIRE.

4 places in D 13.

13. B1. *Brecon*, aqCB. from Rev. D. Griffith, vic.

*13. B2. *Breconshire*, eastern or English-speaking part, with w. He. wl. by Mr. R. Stead, see Folkestone, Ke. 178.

13. B3. *Builth* (13 n. Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. A. J. Coore, vic.

13. c. *Crickhowel* (12 ese. Brecon) aqCB. from Rev. B. Somerset, rect.

45. CM. = CARMARTHEN.

1 place in no district.

0. c. *Carmarthen* cs. and wl. of Welsh-English of 1830 by the late Mr. W. Spurrell, author of a Welsh-English Grammar and Dictionary.

47. DN. = DENBIGHSHIRE.

4 places, 3 in D 28, 1 in no district.

28. c. *Chirk* (9 ssw. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. T. H. Simpson, vic.

*28. h. *Holt* (5 ne. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. H. Wray, vic., note from Mr. E. French (see Sutton, Yo.), and wn. by TH. 458.

0. R. *Ruabon* (5 sw. Wrexham) aqCB. from Rev. M. Edwards, vic.

*28. w. *Wrexham* aqCB. by Rev. D. Howell, vic., and wn. by TH. 458.

48. FL. = FLINT.

8 places, 5 in D 28, 3 in no district.

*28. B1. *Bettisfield* (6 sw. Bangor, detached) wn. by TH. from a native, 456.

*28. B2. *Bretton* (3 sw. Chester, main) wn. by TH. 458.

0. F. *Flint*, aqCB. from Rev. E. Jenkins, vic.

*28. H1. *Hanmer* (5 wsw. Bangor, detached) wn. 456, and dt. pal. by TH. from a native, 452, and dt. io. by Mr. T. Bateman, of Arowry, a hamlet in Hanmer, and letter from Rev. M. H. Lee.

*28. H2. *Hawarden* (6 ese. Flint, main), aqCB. from Rev. S. Gladstone, rect., dt. io. from Mr. Spencer, schoolmaster, and wn. by TH. 458.

28. H3. *Hope* (5 se. Mold, main) aqCB. by Rev. J. Rowlands, vic.

0. M. *Mold* (6 s. Flint) aqCB. by Rev. Rowland Ellis, vic.

0. N. *Northop* (3 s. Flint, main) aqCB. by Rev. T. Williams, vic.

49. GM. = GLAMORGANSHIRE.

3 places, 1 in D 3, 2 in no district.

*3. G. *Gowerland*, dt. io. and note from Rev. J. D. Davies, 13*b*, 35.

0. L. *Llantrissant* (10 nw. Cardiff) aqCB. from Rev. J. Powell Jones, vic.

0. M. *Merthyr Tydvil*, aqCB. from Rev. John Griffith, rect.

51. MG. = MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

9 places, all in D 14.

14. B1. *Berriew* (3 nw. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. Joseph Baines, vic.

14. B2. *Buttington* (2 ne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. J. Lewis, vic., and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis.

14. F. *Forden* (3 n. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. J. E. Vise, vic.

14. G. *Guildfield* (2 n. Welshpool) aqCB. and note from Rev. D. Phillips Lewis, vic.

14. K. *Kerry* (2 ese. Newtown) aqCB. from Rev. W. Morgan, vic.

14. L. *Llandrinio* (8 nne. Welshpool) aqCB. from Rev. E. B. Smith, rect.

*14. M. *Montgomery*, aqCB. and letter containing much information on the CB. from Rev. F. W. Parker, rect. 14b, 183c.

14. S. *Snead* (5 se. Montgomery) aqCB. from Rev. G. O. Pardoe, rect.

14. W. *Welshpool*, aqCB. from Rev. J. S. Hill, vic.

52. PM. = PEMBROKESHIRE.

4 places all in D 2.

*2. R. *Rhôs and Daugledly Hundreds*, the two sw. peninsulas of Pm. (1) Rev. J. Tombs, rect. of Burton (3 n. Pembroke) sent me a dt. 32, printed lecture and notes; (2) Mr. F. T. Elworthy sent notes, 34; (3) notes from Mr. E. L. Jones, master of Brooklands School, Sale, Manchester, native of Tenby, 34; (4) dt. from dict. by Mr. W. Spurrell, 32, with specimens of Narberth Speech, 34; (5) notes from Ven. Archdeacon Edmondes, of Warren, 34.

53. RD. = RADNORSHIRE.

3 places in D 13.

*13. B. *Boughrood* (18 sw. Presteign, at the extreme s. of the county) aqCB. from Ven. H. de Winton, Arch. of Brecon and vic. 179.

13. L. *Llanddewi Ystradenny* (11 wsw. Knighton) aqCB. from Rev. L. A. Smith, vic.

13. N. *New Radnor* (7 sw. Presteign) aqCB. from Rev. J. Gillam, rect.

Scotland.

39 places in D 33 to D 42.

54. AB. = ABERDEENSHIRE.

3 places in D 39.

*39. A. *Ab.* generally (1) numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726; (2) sentences from the same, 777.

*39. B. *Buchan* district, (1) Ruth, chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from dict. 698, No. 3; (2) nwl. by Dr. Findlater, 779; (3) words selected from J. Alexander's *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk*, 779.

*39. C. *Cromár* district, MS. phonetic account by the late Mr. Samuel Innes, died about 1866, given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge in 1872, partly read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison, native of Tarland, in Cromár, servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, and fresh from Tarland, who knew Mr. Innes by name; (1) his account of the pron. 766 to 768; (2) his examples, *The Meeting*, 769; *Yule-tide*, 770; *The Fight*, 773; Notes, 775.

56. AY. = AYRSHIRE.

6 places in D 35 and 36.

*35. A. *Ayr*, Ruth, chap. i. pal. by

Dr. Murray in his DSS. p. 240, with cwl. from it, 698 No. 2, 742.

*36. C. *Coylton* (6 ese. Ayr) (1) cwl. io. representing the district of Kyle, 742; (2) dt. io. with notes pal. by AJE. 731, both by Rev. Neil Livingstone, Free Church, Manse. This might be put to κ2.

*35. κ1. *Kilmarnock*, phonetic transcription of Burns's *Tam o' Shanter* by Messrs. Thomas Lang (then of Kilmarnock), Carstairs Douglas, R. Giffen, and others, pal. with notes by AJE. 731-741. This might be put to κ2.

*35 and 36. κ2. *Kyle*, (1) W. Simson's words (printed) 742; (2) a word from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

*36. N. *New Cumnock* (15 ese. Ayr.), Burns's song of *Duncan Gray*, written 1847 by me in my extended phonotypic alphabet of that year, from the dict. of John Lowe, and pal. from the original, 748.

*35. O. *Ochiltree* (:oo·kh'ltri) (11 e. Ayr) nwl. by Mr. D. Patrick, 1877, then in Edinburgh, but knowing the dialect "all his life," 28 y., 742.

57. BA. = BANFFSHIRE.

1 place in D 39.

*39. K. *Keith*, by Rev. Walter Gregor, native, see 683, No. 6, (1) cs. written io. and pal. by Dr. Murray, 684, 695; (2) cwl. pal. from Mr. Gregor's dictation by AJE. 779 to 785; (3) notes and phrases dictated at the same time as (2), 777 to 779.

58. BW. = BERWICKSHIRE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. C. *Chirnside* (9 wnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed) by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce (15 w. Wigton, dt. and nwl. in io. pal. by AJE. from indications, both 726.

60. CS. = CAITHNESS.

1 place in D 40.

*40. W. *Wick* (1) cs. pal. 1874 by AJE. from dict. of Mr. A. Meiklejohn and Revs. J. Sinclair and R. Macbeth, 683, No. 7, 684, 696; (2) wd. from Miss C. G. Hamilton.

64. DF. = DUMFRIESSHIRE.

1 place in D 36.

*36. T. *Tynron* (14 nw. Dumfries) notes and lw. in 1868 by Mr. James Shaw, 749.

65. ED. = EDINBURGHSHIRE OR MID
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. E. *Edinburgh* (1) cs. pal. by JAHM. from dict. of Mrs. Ch. Murray, native, 683, No. 3, 684, 695, 726*d*; (2) Lothian sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 724; (3) numerals from the same, 726; (4) Central Scottish from Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 144 to 149, may belong to D 34, 35, 36, or any part of Mid Lowland, as the words are not distinguished, 727.

67. FI. = FIFESHIRE.

2 places in D 34 and D 37.

*34. F. *Fifeshire* generally, (1) sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 725; (2) numerals from the same, 726.

*37. N. *Newburgh-on-Tay* (8 wnw. Cupar) dt. io. with notes by Rev. Dr. Alex. Laing, 752.

E.E. Pron. Part V.

68. FO. = FORFARSHIRE.

3 places in D 38.

*38. A. *Arbroath* cs. written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson, pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, 683, No. 5, 684, 695.

*38. B. *Brechin* nwl. by Mr. J. Guthrie, Royal Bank of Scotland, 25 y., 760.

*38. D. *Dundee* (1) dt. pal. 1881 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, then of Whitelands, 758, with notes and phrases from the same, 759; (2) notes by Mr. G. Clarke of the West End Academy, 760.

69. HD. = HADDINGTONSHIRE OR EAST
LOTHIAN.

1 place in D 34.

*34. L. *Linton* (5 ne. Haddington) cs. io. by Mr. J. Teenan, really gen. D 34, almost identical with 684, No. 3, Edinburgh.

71. KC. = KINCARDINESHIRE.

1 place in D 38.

*38. G. *Glenfarguhar* (11 w-by-s. Stonehaven) from Mr. J. Ross, M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native, (1) notes, 756; (2) dt. so. 758; (3) nwl. with aq. and long explanations, 760.

73. KB. = KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE
(:kirkuu·bri).

1 place in D 36.

*36. K. *Kirkpatrick-Durham* (:kil-pee·trik) (5 n. Castle Douglas) nwl. by Rev. W. A. Stark, 6 y., 749.

74. LK. = LANARKSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. G. *Glasgow and Clydesdale* generally, (1) Clydesdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 730, 742; (2) wl. io. by Mr. John Alexander, then of Glasgow (:gleske), 50 y., 742.

77a. OR. = ORKNEY.

forming one county with Shetland, here separated as 77b, and placed after Se. = Selkirk, because they have been placed in separate districts; 1 place in D 41.

*41. S. *Sanda*, northern isles, the residence of Mr. W. Traill Dennison, who in 1880 published his *Orkadian Sketch Book*, out of which has been

taken *Paety Toral's Travellye*, with the pron. corrected by himself vv. in Aug. 1884, p. 791 to 802, and he also wrote and dictated to me vv. his translation of *John Gilpin* into older Orkney speech, June, 1888, p. 802 to 811.

78. PB. = PEEBLES SHIRE.

1 place in D 34.

*34. P. *Peebles* co. generally, numerals from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 726.

79. PR. = PERTH SHIRE.

1 place in D 37.

*37. P. *Perth*, or neighbourhood, (1) dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Misses Miles, Pollar and Kidd of Whitelands in 1881; (2) words from *Enga* pron. by the same, both 753.

80. RF. = RENFREWSHIRE.

1 place in D 35.

*35. L. *Lochwinnoch* (:lokh·enñakh) (12 sw. Renfrew, misprinted 6 sw. on p. 747) words and phrases contrasted with Ochiltree, Ay. by Mr. David Patrick, 747.

82. RX. = ROXBURGH SHIRE.

5 places in D 33.

*33. H. *Hawick* (1) pron. abstracted from Dr. Murray's DSS. 710 to 713; (2) cs. written in pal. by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, native, 682 No. 2, 684, 694; (3) Ruth, Chap. i. pal. by Dr. JAHM. from his DSS. p. 241, Teviotdale 698, No. 1; (4) Teviotdale sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, 714; (5) numerals from the same, 726; (6) Scotch Hundredth Psalm, from Dr. JAHM.'s DSS. 715; (7) South Lowland cwl. from DSS. increased by communications from Dr. JAHM. 716 to 721; as all of these are based on Dr. Murray's authority, they are all classed under his native place.

*33. L. *Liddesdale Head*, near Thorlishop (12 s-by-e. Hawick), cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Jackson, 75y., 721.

33. R. *Roxburgh Town* (17 nw. Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. D. Ross, then of Milburn, but 25 y. from birth; not intended for publication and not printed.

33. T. *Teviotdale Head* (8 se. Hawick) cwl. pal. by JGG. from Mr. Linton, Lewisburn, Plashetts (24 nw. Hexham, Nb.), 20 y., not intended for publication and not printed.

33. Y. *Yetholm* (:jaath'm) (8 se. Kelso, 1 m. from the Nb. b. on the road to Wooler, a great gypsy settlement) from dict. of Mr. T. Kirkup, M.A., native of Wooler, 15y., for 4 of which he was a pupil teacher in Yetholm, (1) a wl. partly corrected in pal. by AJE. from his dictation; (2) dt. pal. by the same from the same; neither used, see p. 655 d.

83. SE. = SELKIRK SHIRE.

*33. *Selkirk* (:sælkrik, :sælkrit) wl. pal. by JGG. from dict. of Mr. J. Mitchell, of Howgill Castle, Milburn, We., native, but 25 y. absent from Scotland; not printed.

77b. SD. = SHETLAND.

4 places in D 42; this forms one county with 77a Orkney, which see after 74 Lk.

*42. D. *Dunrossness*, southernmost point of mainland Sd. (1) cs. written in io. by Mr. David Cogle, fisherman, native of Cuningsborough, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 683 No. 8, 684, 696; (2) in print "Shetland Fireside Tales by G.S.E." (Mr. G. Stewart, of Edinburgh, native of Dunrossness), given me by Mr. Cogle, 818.

42. L. *Lerwick*, (1) Parable of the Prodigal Son in Sd. speech, written in io. by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Lerwick, and pal. by me from dict. of Miss Anna B. Malcolmson, 816; (2) nwl. by Mr. A. L. of which the principal words were pal. by me from the dict. of Miss A. B. M. 818.

42. S. *Shetland* generally, (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Mr. A. Grant, and sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) "A Shetland Letter" communicated to me in MS. by Prince LLB., and translated by Mr. A. Laurenson, but as it has not been read to me, I have not used it; part of it is printed in the 'Zetland Directory and Guide,' 1860.

*42. U. *Unst* (1) MS. Glossary of words collected by Dr. L. Edmondstone with the pronunciation of several marked by Walker's symbols, belonging to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who lent it to me; (2) in print 'The Parable of the Sower,' Matth. xiii. 3-9, translated in 1858 by Dr. LE. for Prince

LLB., and communicated by him with Annotations to the Philological Society of London, 20 June, 1878, p. 817.

86. W_G. = WIGTOWNSHIRE.

2 places in D 36.

*36. G. *Glenluce* (glɛnlyy₁s) (15 w. Wigton) nwl. by Rev. George Wilson,

Free Church, Glenluce, who went over every word with his deacon, James McCulloch, 68, native, whose father kept up the dialect well, 749.

*36. s. *Stranraer* (25 w-by-n. Wigton) es. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Messrs. W. Boyd, M. Armstrong, and R. Caddow, 683, No. 4, 684, 695, 749.

Ireland.

117. W_X. = WEXFORD. CO.

1 place in D 1.

*1. F. *Forth and Bargo* baronies,

letter from E. Hore, and from printed matter by Rev. William Barnes, pp. 25-30.

VII. ALPHABETICAL INFORMANTS LIST AND INDEX OF ALL THE NAMES MENTIONED IN THIS TREATISE.

This consists of two distinct parts given for convenience in one alphabetical arrangement. The first is a reverse index to the Alphabetical County List VI., enabling the reader to refer back from the informant's name to his contribution. The name in roman letters is followed by the usual two-letter abbreviation of the name of the county in italics with *M*, *W*, *S*, *I* prefixed if it belongs to the Isle of Man, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland. This refers at once to the Alphabetical Counties List, VI., which is arranged first in countries, and then in counties. Then follows the initial, numbered if necessary, which refers to that given under the name of the county in VI., and immediately points out the place, whence the information was derived, and whence all the necessary particulars can be found. When more than one county is referred to, a — is interposed.

The second part contains those names which are not introduced in VI. because they could not be conveniently referred to a specified place in a county. These for distinction are printed in italics with generally an indication of the matter for which any name is cited, and the page where it will be found. When the name also belongs to the first part, only the indication is printed in italics.

The names of all persons or books mentioned in my treatise from which I have directly derived information are thus given—errors excepted. The names of those from whom my informants derived their knowledge, though occasionally given in the text, are generally not inserted in this list, although there are a few exceptions, as no rule could be conveniently observed in inserting or omitting them.

The names of some of the books used are also given, and it may be assumed that I have consulted every important book on dialects that has appeared (p. 5*b*), although not specially named. These I did not consider it necessary to specify. See the Bibliography published by the English Dialect Society and its own publications. The peculiar character of this treatise consists in unprinted and hitherto uncollected sources of information on which it is founded, and it is to those from whom I procured it that this Alphabetical List mainly relates.

A

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Adcock, Miss M. A. <i>Le.</i> | <i>of Agriculture in the Co. of Ayr</i> , 729 <i>a</i> . | Allen, Grant, 'Are we Englishmen?' 9 note. |
| *s. | <i>Akerman's 'Hornet and Beetle,'</i> pal. 51 to 54. | Allen, Miss. <i>Le.</i> *B4. |
| Adshead, G. H. <i>Yo.</i> m3. | Alexander, J. <i>SLk.</i> G.— | Allen, T. <i>Nb.</i> *s1. |
| s1. | and see <i>Gibb, SAb.</i> s. | Allen, Rev. T. T. <i>Du.</i> D. |
| <i>Agricola's wall</i> , 22. | <i>Alfred King</i> , 2. | Allnutt, W. H. <i>Ox.</i> o. |
| Ainger, Rev. Dr. <i>Nb.</i> R. | Allen, Ven. Archd. <i>Sh.</i> | Auchmaty, Rev. A. C. |
| <i>Aiton, W. General View</i> | P2. | <i>He.</i> L5. |
| | | Anderson, W. J. <i>SFo.</i> A. |

- Anonymous, vic. *Co.* l1.
 — vic. *Du.* A2. —
 rector. **Es.* R. — vic.
He. A. — vic. *Li.* B3.
 — servant. *Li.* *E.
 — passenger. *Nf.* *N5.
 — vic. *Ox.* H2. —
 curate. *Yo.* M3.
 Anstey, Mary. *Dv.* *I1.
 Arden, Mrs. Douglas. *Li.*
 H1. S8.
 Arnold, M., his pron. of
 'fate,' 33b.
 Armstrong, Rev. E. P.
Li. S5.
 Armstrong, M. *SWg.* S.
 Ashby, G. *Nf.* K1.
 Atkinson, Mrs. *Cu.* C1. —
We. T. — her assistance
 for *Edenside names*,
 555d, 603c.
 Atkins, A. H. *Bu.* C2.
 Atkinson, W. *Cu.* P. —
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side names, 603c.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. *La.* D.
 Atkinson, Rev. J. C. *Yo.*
 D1.
 B
 Bainbridge, J. *Cu.* E. —
 his assistance for *Eden-*
side Names, 603c.
 Baines, Rev. J. *WMg.* B1.
 Baird, H. = Nathan Hogg,
 156d, 158c, 159d.
 Baker, R. S. *Nf.* N4.
 Baker, Rev. R. S. *Np.* H4.
 Ballard, H. *He.* *M.
 Baldwin, Rev. I. N. *Nt.*
 M4.
 Bamford, R. m*Yo.* M3.
 Banks, Mrs. L. *La.* M1.
 Banks, W. S. *Yo.* *W2.
 Banting, W. B. *Be.* *H1.
 Banton, Rev. P. *Np.* D3.
 Barclay, Rev. D. *Ht.* S4.
 Barkas, T. P. *Nb.* *N1.
 Barlow, Rev. J. M. *Sr.* E2.
 Barnard, Mrs. J. *Ht.* S3.
 Barnes, Rev. W. *Do.*
 *W3. — *IWx.* F. printed
 25, 26, 30 — on f, v, and
 s, z in S. 38 to 41.
 Bartlett, Rev. W. A. *Ss.*
 W3.
 Batchelor, T. *Bd.* *B.
 and his 'Orthoepical
Analysis, 204–209 (all
 in print).
 Bateman, T. *WFl.* H1.
 Baumann, H. his *London-*
isms, 230.
 Beardsell, A. *Yo.* *H6.
 Beeby, Miss. *Bu.* *W1.
 Beesley, T. jun. *Ox.* *B1.
 Beesley, sen. *Ox.* *B1.
 Begge, Miss. *SFo.* D.
 Beke, Dr. on 'v, w,' 132.
 Bell, A. M. *SAb.* A. —
SEd. E. — *SFi.* F. —
SLk. G. — *SPb.* P. —
SRx. H. — his 'Visible
Speech' sentences, 714,
 724, 725, 730, 777, and
Numerals, 726. — revises
Buchan version of Ruth,
 698b.
 Bell, G. *Yo.* *R1.
 Bell, Miss H. *Le.* W.
 Bell, Rev. H. *Cu.* R.
 Bell, Jacob, *Nb.* K.
 Bell, Miss M. A. *La.* *C8.
 Bell, Rev. W. R. *Yo.* *L1.
 Bellows, J. *Gl.* B1. —
La. P3.
 Bennett, Rev. Canon, *Wl.*
 M.
 Bennett, E. *St.* E2.
 Benton, Mr. Ph. *Es.* *S1.
 Berin, Rev. H. *Ke.* F1.
 Berkeley, Rev. S. H. *Dv.*
 M2.
 Bewick, R. *Nb.* *W2.
 Best, — *Yo.* H9.
 Best, Mrs. *Yo.* I.
 Bewly, E. S. *Ha.* A. —
Sf. S2.
 Bigge, Rev. J. F. *Nb.* *S2.
 Bingham, Rev. Canon,
Do. B1.
 Birch, Rev. G. *Bu.* E.
 Birket, W. his help for
Edenside names, 603d.
 Blason, T. *Li.* *B4.
 Blenkinsopp, Rev. E. L.
Li. S10.
 Blythe, Rev. J. *Nb.* A2.
 Bogg, T. W. *Li.* *L3.
 Bolingbroke, Mrs. F. H.
Bd. M.
 Bonaparte, Prince L. — L.,
 his help, 5. — *Gl.* ā =
 (ii), 64. — on *Nb. burr*,
 643a, 644a. — *Be.* *H1.
Bu. C2, C3, L. — *Es.*
 *S1. — *Gl.* B1. — *Ha.*
 *C1. — *He.* *D2 *E H
 *L4 M R W2. — *Ht.* B1
 B3 G2 H4 K L1 L2 *R
 T W2. — *La.* P3. — *Mi.*
 *E W. — *Mo.* *L. — *Nf.*
 K1. — *Sr.* L. — *Wa.* S3.
 — *Wo.* *D2. — *Yo.* D3.
 — *SSd.* S U.
 Bower, Rev. A. *Li.* U2.
 Bowness, R. *La.* C8.
 Boyd, W. *SWg.* S.
 Bradley, Rev. E. *Ru.* S.
 Bradshaw, Mrs. jun. *Ox.*
 B1.
 Brain, J. *Ox.* *D.
 Brandreth, E. L. obtains
Jane Morrison's help,
 764c.
 Brigg, S. *Yo.* K.
 Breechen, Rev. J. *Ru.* W.
 Brewer, W. *Be.* *C.
 Brickwell, Rev. E. *Bd.* H2.
 Broadley, Rev. Canon, *Do.*
 B3.
 Brockie, W. *Du.* S8.
 Brooke, F. C. *Sf.* U.
 Brooke, T. *Yo.* A.
 Brooks, Rev. T. W. D.
Bd. F.
 Broughton, Rev. R. *Ha.*
 S1.
 Brown, Rev. A. H. *Es.*
 B4.
 Brown, J. *Bd.* A.
 Brown, Jo. *We.* K1.
 Brown, Rev. T. *Sf.* H.
 Brown, W. H. *Ht.* R.
 Browne, Rev. H. *Wo.* E1.
 Brune, Mrs. Prideaux.
Co. P1.
 'Brut y Tywysogion,' on
 the *Flemings in Pm.* 24.
 Buck, Rev. G. P. *Nf.* N5.
 Buckle, Miss. *Nf.* *M2.
 Buckley, Rev. Jo. *Wl.* S3.
 Buller, Rev. R. *Co.* L3.
 Bulman, Rev. G. P. *Du.*
 S5.
 Burgiss, G., with T. and
 J. *He.* *L4.
 Burne, Mrs. *Sh.* N1.
 Burnell, Dr. A. C. *Ha.*
 W1.
 Burningham, Rev. T. *Nf.*
 N5. — *Sr.* C1. — *Ha.*
 example about 1828, p.
 96d. — on *Sr.* and *Ss.*,
 108c.
 Burns, R., *Tam o' Shanter*,
pal. 732. — *Duncan*
Gray, pal. 748.
 Burton, Sir F., on 'de =
 the' in *Ke.* 132.
 Bury, Rev. T. W. *Li.* A1.
 Bury, Rev. Ch. *Yo.* *T2.

Butler, Betty, *La.* c1.
 Butler, T. *La.* D.
Butler, Tobias, recites
Forth speech, 28.
 Buttenshaw, Mrs. *Bd.* E.

C

Caddow, R. *SWg.* s.
 Cadogan, C. H. *Nb.* R.
 Calland, Miss. *Ke.* s4.
 Cameron, Rev. A. A. *Be.*
 *H3.
 Campbell, Mrs. G. M. E.
Wl. c5.
 Campbell, Rev. W. *Be.* K.
 Campbell, Rev. W. A.
Hu. H3.
Campbell, Id. his 'Life
of Judge Hale,' 64.
Carr, W., on the Nb. burr,
father of Mrs. Ferschl,
 651a.
 Carrol, Rev. T. *Hu.* H2.
 Carthew, G. A. *Nf.* *E.
 Cartlege, Rev. C. A. *Du.*
 *B2.
 Casartelli, Rev. J. C. *La.*
 M1.
 Castle, Rev. E. *Yo.* c2.
 Cattell, T. E. *Ru.* c.
 Chamberlain, J. H. *Le.*
 L1.
 Chamberlain, Rev. J. S. F.
Ht. G3.
 Chamberlain, Mrs. (form-
 erly Miss Sweet) *Wo.* T.
 Chamberlain, Rev. T. B.
Nt. N3.
 Chambers, Rev. W. I.
Li. N2.
 Chandler, H. *Ru.* U.
 Chandler, T. H., jun.
Wl. A.
 Chandler, T. H., sen.
Wl. s1.
 Chapman, Miss E. *Np.*
 N2.
 Charlesworth, Rev. J. R.
Sr. E1.
Chauver, his 'Strothir,'
 547.
 Cheales, Rev. H. J. *Li.*
 *F3.
 Cheese, Rev. F. *Yo.* H1.
 Christie, Rev. C. M. *Sm.*
 C5.
 Clarke, A. Y. O. *Do.* *C.
 Clarke, G. *SFo.* D.
 Clarke, S. *Ss.* W1.
 Clarke, Rev. T. *We.* L.
Clarke, Mrs., her (E'ipren)

as compared with her
grandmother's (E'ipren),
genesis of Eastern (E'i),
 196d.

Clay, Rev. E. K. *Bu.* G.
 Clay-Ker-Seymour, Mrs.
Do. *C *H.
 Clayton, Rev. C. *Du.* s7.
 Cleverley, W. *Be.* s1.
 Close, Rev. R. W. *Hu.* P.
 Clough, J. C. *Ch.* A1.
 Cockman, Mr. and Miss.
Li. G3.
 Cockshall, Rev. J. S. *Li.*
 B5.
 Cogle, D. *SSd.* D.
 Coker, Rev. C. *Ox.* *F2.
 Cole, Miss. *Ss.* K.
 Coleridge, Miss E. *Mi.*
 H1.
Collins, Rev. J. 35.
 Collins, Miss. *Be.* s1.
 Colfox, T. A. *Do.* B4.
 Conway, Rev. R. *Hu.* A.
 Cooke, J. H. *Gl.* B1.
 Cooper, Major C. *Bd.* T3.
 Cooper, Rev. L. *Ru.* E.
 Coore, Rev. A. J. *WBr.*
 B3.
Cope, Sir W. H., his 'Ha.
Glossary,' 99.
 Corphey, Mrs. E. *Ma.*
 K3.
 Cosbey, Rev. C. *Du.* s7.
 Cottee, Rev. W. A. *Li.*
 K3.
 Couch, T. Q. *Co.* L2.
 Coulter, Mrs. *La.* M2.
 Coward, Messrs. *Cu.* c1.
 Cox, Miss. *Bu.* H2.
 Crabtree, J. *Yo.* H2.
 Crate, Rev. E. H. *Es.*
 *S2.
 Creighton, Rev. M. *Nb.*
 *E.
 Cross, T. H. *Co.* *C2.
 Crossman, Rev. C. D.
Sm. H.
 Croucher, Miss. *Ke.* *C1.
 Cullen, Rev. J. *Nt.* R1.
 Culley, N. T. *Nb.* *W5.
 Cullingford, J. N. *Es.*
 *G4.
 Cumberland, T. *La.* F3.
 Cunnington, J. *Np.* O.
 Curgenven, Rev. T. H.
Np. B4.
 Curteis, Miss Bessie. *Ss.*
 L1.
Cust, Hon. and Rev. H.
C., his destruction of

dialect at Hathg
Cockayne, Bd., 209.
 Cusins, Rev. F. T. *Li.* N1.

D

Dalton. *Du.* *H2.
 Darby, Miss A. M. *Ss.*
 *M.—her description of
 (R), 131.
 Darlington, T. *Ch.* *B2
 M1.—his *Folkspeech of*
South Ch. 698.
 Daubeny, C. *Sm.* *C4.
 Daunt, Rev. E. S. T.
Co. s6.
 Davey, E. C. *Be.* *W1.
 David, M. H. *Nb.* A1.
 Davies, J. *He.* H.
 Davies, Rev. J. D. *WGm.*
 *G.
 Davis, C. *Sf.* *O.
 Davis, Rev. J. B. *St.* s1.
 Davis, J. W. *Sh.* *L3.
 Davis, Mrs. *Dv.* B3.
 Dawes, Mrs. *Sm.* L.
 Dawson, Bernard. *Li.* s4.
 Dawson, W. H. *Nb.* *N1.
 Day, Miss C. M. *Nf.* K3.
 Dayman, Rev. P. D. *Co.*
 P3.
 Dennison, W. T. *SOr.* s.
 DeWinton, Arch. *W Rd.* v.
 Digby, Rev. C. T. *Nf.*
 *W2.
Dickens's London Speech,
 228.
 Dickinson, Rev. F. B.
Mi. *A.
 Dickinson, F. H. *Sm.*
 B3. s1.
 Dickinson, W. *Cu.* c1 w.
Dickson J. R., on the Nb.
burr, 642.
 Dingle, Rev. J. *Du.* *L1.
 Dixon, W. *Nb.* *W3.
 Dobson, —. *Nb.* *H3.
 Dormer, J. M. *Wa.* *C3.
D'Orsey on London errors
of speech, 226.
 Douglas, Carstairs. *SAY.*
 K1.
 Dove, H. *Yo.* M2.
 Dover, J. *We.* c2, o.—
his assistance for Eden-
side names, 603.
 Downes, Miss. *Np.* *H2.
 Dowse, J. P. *Yo.* *H10.
 Drake, Rev. R. *Ke.* *S6.
Drury, Rev. W. on the
disuse of Manx, 360.

Dunn, Rev. J. W. *Nb.* w1.
 Durrant, Rev. R. N. *Ha.* w2.
 Dymond, R. *Dr.* E.

E

Earle, Rev. J. *Sm.* s2.
 Ebdon, Miss M. E. *Hu.* g5, *s2.
 Ebsworth, Rev. J. *Nt.* e1.
 Eden, Rev. J. P. *Du.* s4.
 Edlington, J. S. *Nb.* *s2.
 Edmondson, Ven. Archd. *W Pm.* R.
 Edmondstone, Dr. L. *SSd.* U.
 Edwards, Rev. H. P. *Mo.* c1.
 Edwards, Rev. M. *W Dn.* R.
 Eel, Rev. G. *Yo.* e2.
 Egglestone, W. M. *Du.* *s7.—'his Bessy Podkins' for Weardale, *Du.* 617.
 Eley, Rev. W. H. *Ss.* e3.
 Ellis, A. J. *Cu.* D.—*Db.* d1.—*Dr.* H.—*Li.* E.—*Nf.* *s5.—*Nb.* M.
 Ellis, Miss C. *Le.* B3.
 Ellis, T. J. *Sr.* H.
 Ellis, Rev. Ro. *W Fl.* M.
 Ellison, Rev. C. C. *Li.* B6.
 Ellwood, Rev. T. 20.—on 'at' and 'to' forming the infinitive, 550.—*Cu.* *A.—*La.* *c8 D U.
 Elmes, Rev. F. *St.* B3.
 Elvington, Rev. T. W. *Es.* g6.
 Elworthy, F. T. *Sm.* B2 *w2.—*W Pm.* R.—on f, v and s, z initial in *S.* 38 to 41.—version of *Ruth*, chap. i., 698.
 Emeris, W. R. *Li.* l3.
 'Enga,' author of, 753.
 Evans, Rev. C. J. *Nf.* o2.
 Evans, Rev. J. *Sh.* w6.
 Evans, Dr. A. B., on -en, 461d.
 Evans, Dr. S., on verbs in -en, 463.
 Evans, Miss, her 'Molly and Richard,' 34.
 Everard, C. H. *Nf.* *B3.

F

Fagan, Rev. H. S. *Co.* s5.
 Falconer, Rev. W. *Ht.* *B6.
 Farmer, Rev. J. *Nt.* s2.
 Farr, W. W. *Hu.* *I.
 ffarington. *La.* B6 *L3.
 Fauquier, Rev. G. L. W. *Np.* w7.
 Faunthorpe, Rev. J. P., *Principal of Whitelands Training College, who, with the students, greatly helps me*, 4.—*Dr.* l1.—*Li.* s3.
 Fearon, Ven. Archd. *Ss.* c2.
 Featherstonehaugh, Rev. W. *Du.* *E2.
 Ferschl, Mrs. *Nb.* *N1, see Carr.
 Field, W. *St.* w5.
 Fielding, T. *La.* *B1 B3 c4 H4 o1 s1 w4.
 Findlater, Dr. *SAb.* B.
 Findley, *Le.* l1.
 Firth, Miss M. A. *Sr.* o.
 Fisher, Dr. H. *La.* B2.
 Fleming, Rev. H. R. *Ha.* c2.
 Florence of Worcester on *Flemings in Pm.* 24.
 Forby, Rev. R., examination of his pron. of *East Anglia with Rev. Ph. Hoste*, 269 to 272.
 Ford, Rev. C. H. *Du.* *B3.—on the *Nb. burr*, 644b.
 Foster, G. B. *Nb.* *B1. *T.
 Foster, Mrs. *Yo.* K.
 Fowler, Rev. J. J. *Li.* w2.
 Fowler, J. K. *Bu.* A G.
 Fowler, R. R. *Bu.* *A.
 Foxlee, Miss. *Ht.* w3.
 Foxley, Rev. J. *Nt.* N2.
 Frampton, Miss. *Gl.* t1.
 Francis, Miss. *Ss.* e2.
 Francis, Mrs. *Wa.* T.
 Freeman, Rev. J. M. *Ch.* H.
 French, E. *Ch.* *F.—*Yo.* *s13.—*W Dn.* H.
 Frere, Rev. H. *Nf.* D2.
 Froude on *Australian Speech*, 237.
 Furness, Miss E. *Np.* *P2.
 Fynmore on v, w. 143a.

G

Galbraith, C. *Sm.* B1.
 Geraldus Cambrensis on *Flemings in Pm.* 24.
 Gibb, Johnny, J. Alexander, author of, *SAb.* B.
 Gibson, A. C. *Cu.* P.
 Giffen, R. *S Ay.* K1.—revised *Dr. Murray's Ay. Ruth*, 698, and *AJE's "Tam o' Shanter,"* 732.
 Gill, Alex. old *Li. Speech*, 310c.
 Gillam, Rev. J. *WRd.* N.
 Gladstone, Rev. S. *W Fl.* H2.
 Godfrey, Mrs. *Be.* *H2.
 Goodchild, J. G. a chief helper, 4.—Line 7, p. 20d.—Line 8, p. 21b.—Line 10, p. 22a.—on (u, r) 291d, 294b.—his paper on 'Traditional names of Places in Edenside,' 539, 602.—observes 'stone dyke' n. and s. of Kirk Oswald, 555.—on the *Nb. burr*, 643.—*Ch.* A1.—*Cu.* *B1, *B3, *c1, *E, *K, *L1.—*Du.* *s2.—*Mi.* *B.—*Nb.* *F, *K.—*Sm.* w3.—*We.* *c1, *c2, *K1, *K2, *L, *M, *O, S, *T.—*Wl.* *c2.—*Yo.* *B4, *C3, *C4, *D2, *H8, *H9, I, *K, *L1, *s2, *U5, *U6.—*SRx.* L, R, T.—*S Se.* S.
 Goodchild, L. on the *Nb. burr*, 643a.
 Goodman, Rev. J. P. *Hu.* K1.
 Goodenough, Rev. R. W. *Nb.* w3.
 Gostle, Rev. J. *Nf.* t4.
 Graham, Mrs., for *Edenside names*, 603c.
 Grainger, Rev. J. *Bu.* *P.
 Granige's use of (th), 19a.
 Grant, A. *SSd.* S.
 Grant, J. B. *Sf.* F.
 Gray, Rev. Ch. *Nt.* B3.
 Gray, Rev. R. H. *Du.* w2.
 Grece, Dr. C. J. *Sr.* W.
 Green, Rev. C. E. *Nb.* *E.

Green, Rev. J. R. *Yo.*
h5—his *Celtic border*
and location of *Anglo-*
Saxon tribes, 8 to 12—
his *Making of England*,
182c.

Gregg, J. C. *He.* *L1.

Green, Miss. *Dr.* M1.

Green, Miss. *Le.* N.

Green, W. H. *He.* R.

Green, Rev. J. W. *Ch.* *M.

Greenwell, Rev. Canon.
Dn. c1.

Gregor, Rev. Walter.

SBa. K—his *Barryshire*

Glossary, 683, No. 6.

Grice, Rev. W. *Wa.* s2.

Griffith, Rev. D. *WBr.*
B1.

Griffith, Rev. J. *Ht.* s2.

Griffith, Rev. J. *Wgm.* M.

Griffith, R. D. *WBr.* B1.

Griffith, S. *Gl.* K2.

Griffiths, Mrs. S. *He.* *M.

Gunn, G. M. *Nb.* *B2.—
on the *Nb. burr*, 643.

Gupta on *English coronals*,
42a.

Guthrie, J. *SFo.* B.

H

Hadley, G. S. *Np.* *E1.
Hadrian's wall, 22.

Hale, Judge, called (iii) in
Gloucester, 64c.

Hall, Rev. G. Rome. *Nb.*
*B3.—on the *Nb.* (w1),
638c.

Hall, Dr. S. T. *Db.* w4.

Hallam, T., a chief helper.

4.—*Lines* 1 and 2, pp.
16, 17.—on *M.* and *E.*

'r', 182c, 190b.—special
work in *Es.*, 221.—on

(u_o), 291c.—on verbal
plural in -en in the

Fylde, 352d.—on (u, u)
in s. *Yo.* 365.—on *Mid-*

land negatives with
omitted 'not', 461d,

470c.—on the presumed
(thr-, dhr-) in *Holder-*

ness, 501.—*Bd.* *D G s1
s2 t2 u.—*Be.* w3.—

Bu. *A *B2 *C1 s1 w1
w2.—*Ch.* c1 *C3 E *M P

*s1 s2 w1 w2 *w3 *w5.
—*Ch.* A1 *A2 *A3 A4

*B1 B3 *B4 B5 *C1 C2 *E
*F *G *H1 *H2 K L M1

M2 *M3 M5 *N1 N2 N3

*P *s1 *s2 *s3 s4 *T *W.

—*Co.* G.—*Db.* *A1 *A2

*A3 *A4 *B1 *B2 *B3 *B4

*B5 *B6 *B7 B8 *C1 *C2

*C3 *C4 *C6 *C7 C8 *C9

D1 *D2 *D3 *D4 *D5

*E1 *E2 *E3 *F1 F2 *G1

*G2 G3 *H1 *H2 *H3

*H4 *H5 *H6 *I1 *I2 L

*M1 *M2 M3 *M4 *M5

*O *P *Q *R1 *R2 s1 *s2

*s3 *s4 *s5 *T1 *T2 T3

*U *w1 *w2 *w3 *w4.

—*Es.* *B3 C G1 *G4 *G5

*G7 H N *P2 *s3.—*Gl.*

A1 *B2 B3 B5 B6 *B7 C1

C2 *E F G H1 H2 L M *S T1

T2 *W.—*He.* D1 *H L2

*L3 *L4 *M *R s1 s2 w1.

—*Ht.* *A2 B2 B4 *B5 H1

*H3 *H5 *H6 s3 *s4 *w1.

Hu. G1 G3 *G5 *H3 H5

K2 L O s1 *s2 s4 s5.—*Ke.*

K.—*La.* A1 *B1 B3 *B4

*B5 *C1 *C2 *C3 *C5

*C6 *C8 E F1 *F2 G1 *G2

H1 *H2 *H5 *H6 *H7

*K *L1 *L3 *L4 *N2

*O1 *O2 *P1 P2 *P3

*P4 P5 Q B1 *R2 *s3

s4 *s5 *U *w1 *w2 *w3

*w5 *w6 *w7.—*Le.* A

B1 B5 E *G I *L1 *L2

*M1 M2 T.—*Li.* *B2 B7

*L2 *L3 *s6 *s9 *s12.—

Mi. *L.—*Nf.* *A B1

B2 *B4 *D1 *D3 *E F G1

*G2 H1 *H2 H3 *H5

*H6 *K2 *M1 *M3 *N1

N2 *N3 *N5 *O1 *s1 *s2

s3 s4 *s5 *T1 *T2 T3

w1 w3 w4 *w5 *w7

*w8.—*Np.* *A1 *A2

*B1 B2 *B3 *B4 *C1

*C2 D1 D2 *E2 F *G H1

*H3 *H6 I1 *I2 L1 *L2

*L3 *N1 *N2 *O *P1

*P2 *R *s1 s2 *s4 *s5

*s6 *T2 *T3 *w1 *w2

*w3 *w4 *w5 *w6 w8

*w9 *Y.—*Nt.* *B2 *B4

*E1 E2 K *M1 *M2 *N1

*N4 *s1 *w2.—*Ox.* *B1

*B2 *D E *F1 *H1 I *L1

L2 M O s2 T *W.—*Sh.* B1

B2 B3 *C1 C2 C3 C5 C6

C7 *E1 *E2 H1 *H2 *I L2

*L4 *M1 *M2 M3 *N1 N2

O P1 *s1 s2 *T *w1 *w2

*w3 w4 *Y.—*St.* *A1

A2 B4 *B6 *B7 *C1 *C2

C3 C4 *D1 D2 *E1 *F1

*F2 *H1 *H2 *H3 *L1 *L2

L3 *L4 *L5 L6 M O *R s1

s2 s3 s4 s5 *T1 *T2 *T3

U2 *w1 *w2 *w3 *w4

*w6 *Y.—*Sf.* *G1.—

Ss. B1 B3 L2.—*Wa.*

*A1 *A2 B1 *B2 *B4

*B5 *C1 *C2 *K1 *L

*N *P1 *P2 s1 *s3 *T

*W.—*Wl.* K P.—*Wo.*

*A *B1 *B2 B3 *C *D1

D3 *E2 E3 *G1 *G2 H1

H3 K *M *s1 *s2 *s3 s4 T

*W.—*Yo.* *B2 B3 B5 *B7

*C1 C5 *E4 *G1 H2 H4

*H5 *H7 *H11 *H12 *K

*L3 *M1 *M3 *O R3 *s4

*s7 s12 *s14 T1 *U2 w2.

—*Ma.* *K1 *K2 K3 *P.

—*W Dn.* *H W.—*W Fl.*

*B1 *B2 *H1 *H2.

Hallward, Rev. J. L. *Ht.*

G1.

Hamilton, Miss C. G.

Sly. K2.

Hamond, Rev. P. F. *Mi.* s.

Harden, Rev. H. W. *Nf.*

H4.

Harkness, *Cu.* c1.

Harper, Rev. F. W. *Yo.*

s3.

Harris, Rev. A. E. *Ke.*

s5.

Harris, D. H. *Dv.* B1.

Harris, Miss. *Gl.* *s.

Harrison, Miss E. P. *Du.*

*E1.

Harrison, W. *La.* *s2,

*w4.

Haslam, Rev. G. *Yo.* B6.

Hatton, Rev. T. *Hu.* s5.

Havergal, —. *He.* v.

Haviland, Miss. *Wo.* H3.

Hawkins, Miss. *Sh.* F.

Hawtrej, Rev. H. C. *Ha.*

N2.

Haydon, Rev. G. *Yo.* H3.

Hayne, Rev. L. G. *Es.*

*B2.

Healey, T. *La.* *B5.

Heightley, R. *Du.* *K.

Henderson, Rev. J. *Nb.*

A3.

Hetherington, J. N. *Cu.*

C2.

Hibbard, Miss Mercy. *Yo.*

*H10.

Higden, R. on *Flemings*

in *Pm.* 24d.

Hill, Miss A. *Co.* *c1.
 Hill, Rev. E. J. *Es.* *P2.
 Hill, Rev. J. S. *WMg.* w.
 Hill, R. *Bd.* *B.
 Hindson, —. *We.* s.
 Hirst, Miss E. *Le.* E.
 Hoare, Rev. G. T. *Sr.* g2.
 Hobhouse, Ven. Arch. *Co.* s4.
 Hodge, Rev. W. H., *his b. of w. Co.* 156b.
 Hodges, B. *Ke.* *M2
 Hodgson, Rev. J. F. *Du.* w1.
 Holderness, T. *Yo.* *H5.
 Holland, R. *Ch.* m4.
 Holme, Rev. C. *We.* A o.
 Homfray, C. A. *Sm.* w1.
 Hooke, Rev. D. *Nt.* B1.
 Hooper, Rev. S. H. *Yo.* D5.
 Hope, Rev. R. D. *Cu.* 12.
 Horv. E., *on Forth and Bargo pron.* 25, 26.
 Hoste, Rev. Ph. *Nf.* *s2.
 Hoste, Rev. G. C. *Sf.* B1.
 How, Rev. W. *Sh.* o w5.
 Howe, Rev. J. *Wa.* K2.
 Howchin, Rev. W. *Nb.* *H1.
 Howell, Rev. D. *WDn.* w.
 Hunt, Mrs. A. *Du.* *12.
 Hurst, Rev. Dr. Blythe. *Du.* *A1 T2.
 Hussey, Rev. C. J. *Ke.* D.
 Huth, A. *Ss.* B2.
 Huth, L. *Ss.* P.

I

Innes, S. *SAb.* c.

J

Jackson, Miss G. *Sh.* *c1. n1.
 Jackson, —. *SRx.* L.
 Jarman, J. Abbot. *Dv.* n1.
 Jenkins, Rev. E. *WFl.* F.
 Jenkins, Rev. J. *Li.* F2.
 Jenkyns, Rev. J. *Np.* T1.
 Jenner, H., *citations respecting the Flemings in Pm.* 24c.
 Jewan, Rev. J. J. *Sr.* c3.
 Johnson, Rev. A. *Li.* F4.
 Johnson, Rev. J. *Sm.* n1.
 Johnson, Miss L. H. *Wl.* *T.

Johnston, Rev. J. *Li.* H2.
 Johnston, G. *Hu.* A.
 Jones, Rev. C. W. *Sf.* *P.
 Jones, E. L. *Wpm.* R.
 Jones, J. *Gl.* G.
 Jones, Joseph. *He.* H, *M.
 Jones, Rev. J. P. *Wgm.* L.
 Jones, Miss Whitmore. *Ox.* c2.

K

Kay, Rev. W. S. *Du.* K.
 Keble, Rev. T. *Gl.* B4.
 Keith, Mr. *Nf.* K3.
 Kelly, Rev. E. *Ss.* E1.
 Kemm, Miss. *Ru.* o.
 Kendall, Rev. W. *Do.* *E1.
 Kent, Mrs. Saraita. *Es.* G2.
 Kersley, Rev. Canon. *Nf.* c.
 Kidd, Miss. *SPr.* P.
 Kinsman, Rev. Preb. *Co.* T.
 Kirk, E. *La.* G2, P 2.
 Kirke, Rev. Dr. R., *on the Nb. burr,* 644a.
 Kirkpatrick, J. *Yo.* *M2.
 Kirkup, T. *Nb.* *W5.—*SKx.* Y.
 Kitching, Rev. W. V. *Sf.* G2.
 Kitton, Rev. E. *Nf.* R.
 Knatchbull-Hugessen, H. *Ke.* *F1.
 Knight, R. S. *Wa.* *A2.
 Knowles, Rev. E. H. *Cu.* s.

L

Lackington's 1817 *London Errors of Speech*, 227.
 Laing, Rev. Dr. A. *SFi.* N.
 Lake, —. *Mi.* H2.
 Lang, Thomas. *SAy.* K1.
 Lang, Rev. W. F. *Dashwood.* Dr. 12.
 Langstaff, J. W. *Yo.* s6.
 Langston, —. *La.* B6.
 Latham, Dr. R. G., *on Folkingham Speech,* 299d.
 Laurensen, A. *SSd.* L. s.
 Law, Rev. A. *on 'fv, sz,' initial,* 38 to 41.—*Wl.* *C3.
 Law, —. *Yo.* c3.

Lee, Rev. S. *Ha.* B.
 Lee, Rev. M. H. *WFl.* H1.
 Lees *on the Nb. burr,* 643a.
 Leigh, P. *Ha.* *s2 *w3.
 Leonard, B. *Be.* *s2.
 Leslie, H. *Du.* *c2.
 Lewes, Rev. J. M. *Nt.* M3.
 Lewis, Rev. S. S. *Es.* G2.
 Lewis, Rev. D. Ph. *WMg.* B2 G.
 Lewis, Rev. J. *WMg.* B2.
 Linton, —. *SRx.* T.
 Little, H. J. *Ch.* *W3.
 Little, J. W. *Nf.* *M1.
 Livingstone, Rev. Neil. *SAy.* c.
 Llanover, Lady, *Mo.* *L.
 Llewellyn, Rev. J. C. *Mo.* P.
 Lloyd, R. R. *Ht.* *s1.
 Lloyd, Mrs. *Yo.* R2.
 Lockton, Rev. Ph. *Np.* s3.
 Lomb, Dr. *Nf.* *N5.
 Long, Rev. R. *Du.* B1, s1.
 Love, J. *SAy.* N.
 Lowe, Rev. R. L. *St.* B5.
 Lower, M. A. 108d.
 Lowman, Miss. *Ke.* s3.
 Lowther, Rev. G. P. *Wl.* o.
 Lumsden, Sir P., *for Jane Morrison,* 764c.
 Lupton, F. M. *Yo.* R6.
 Luscombe, Mrs. *Nf.* *K3. *N5.
 Lyall, W. *Nb.* *N1.
 Lyon, Rev. S. E. *Ha.* *E.

M

Macbeth, Rev. R., *collects speakers for Wick and Stranraer,* 683, No. 7. *SCs.* w.
 MacBurney *on Australian speech,* 237–248.
 MacCartie, Rev. J. *Du.* G.
 MacKean, Rev. W. S. *Li.* F1.
 Macray, Rev. W. D. *Ox.* *D.
 Maister, Rev. H. *Yo.* s5.
 Maitland, T. F. *Be.* *w2.
 Malcolmson, Miss A. B. *reads Shetland to me,* 683d.—*SSd.* L.

- Maldon, Rev. M. D. *Bu.* s2.
 Malet, Rev. C. *Ht.* A2.
 Malleson, W. T. *Sr.* c4.
 Mallett, Miss C. M. *Sf.* *s1.
 Mangin, Rev. E. N. *Nb.* w4.
 Margesson, Rev. R. W. *De.* w2.
 Markham, Rev. C. W. *Li.* s1.
 Marshall, Rev. F. C. *Ox.* A.
 Marsland, J. *La.* *s5.
 Martel, A. W. F. *Sr.* L.
 Martin, Rev. H. A. *Nt.* L.
 Martin, Rev. R. M. *Sr.* c2.
 Martin, Miss. *Gl.* *c2.
 Martin, W. *Co.* s7.
 Mason, W. *Hu.* p s3.
 Maule, Rev. G. *Li.* t1.
 Mearns, Jas., on the *Nb. burr*, 643a.
 Meiklejohn, A. *Scs.* w.
 Mello, Rev. J. M. *Db.* B7.
 Mercier, Rev. J. I. *Gl.* k1.
 Meredith, —. *Mo.* L.
 Merivale, his b. of *wCo.* 156.
 Metcalfe, W. *Yo.* c5.
 Meyers, J. H. *Mi.* E.
 Michel, Dan, on 'f', s z' initial, 38 to 41.—has no 'de' for 'the' in *Ke.* 131d.
 Michel, Gen. *Do.* *C.
 Middleton, Rev. H. *Db.* *c5.
 Middlemas, R. *Nb.* *A2.
 Miles, F. *Nt.* *B2.
 Miles, Miss. *Dv.* s1.
 Miles, Miss. *SPr.* P.
 Miles, Mrs. *Nt.* *B2.
 Milford, Rev. R. N. *Wl.* E.
 Miller, Rev. E. *Wa.* *B6.
 Milner, G. *La.* m3.
 Milner, Rev. J. *Du.* *M1.
 Mitchell, G. *Sm.* *M3.
 Mitchell, J. *SSe.* s.
 Mitcheson, T. *Nb.* *N1.
 Molyneux, Rev. W. *Ss.* T.
 Moor, E., 'Suffolk Words,' *cwl.* from, 286.
 Moore, Rev. E. M. *Np.* L2.
 Moore, Rev. J. W. *Sh.* *H3.
 Moore and Moore, Messrs. *Hu.* R.
 Morgan, Rev. H. *Gl.* c4.
 Morgan, Rev. W. *WMg.* K.
 Morrison, Jane. *SAb.* c.
 Mouatt, P., on the *Nb. burr*, 642d.
 Mulgrave, *Ld.*, in *Forth and Bargy*, 25c.
 Munn, Rev. J. R. *Ss.* A.
 Murray, Dr. J. A. *H.*, helps with my es. 1d.—draws Celtic border in Scotland, 8c, 14.—names of his helpers for *CB.*, 14c.—partly anticipates *Line* 7, p. 20.—his b. of England and Scotland not *Line* 10, p. 21.—on the *Nb. burr*, 643.—his *DSS.* 681.—his Scotch Hundredth Psalm, *pal.* 715.—*Cu.* c1.—*Yo.* s4.—*SAb.* B.—*SAY.* A.—*SEd.* E.—*SFo.* A.—*SRx.* H.
 Murray, Mrs. Ch. *S.Ed.* E.
 Mylins, F. J. *Wa.* *E.
- N
- Napier, Rev. J. W. *St.* s6.
 Nicholson, Rev. H. J. *Hu.* G4.
 Norman, Rev. M. O. *Le.* H.
 Norwood, Rev. J. W. *Yo.* s9.
 Noye, W. *Co.* *P2.
 Nutt, Rev. C. H. *Sm.* E.
- O
- Ormsley, Rev. E. R. *Du.* H1.
 Owen, Rev. T. *Es.* B1.
 Owen, Rev. W. *Wl.* D.
- P
- Paige, —. *Do.* s3.
 Paige, J. *Dv.* H.
 Paley, Rev. F. *Np.* U.
 Pardoe, Rev. G. O. *WMg.* s.
 Parish, Rev. W. D. *Ss.* s.
 Parisian *uvular r*, 642b.
 Parker, Mrs. A. *Be.* c s1 s2.—*Db.* H3.—*Ox.* B2 E H1 H3 I L2 O W.
 Parker, Rev. F. W. *WMg.* *M.
 Parker, G. *Bu.* M1.
 Parkes, Prof. *Yo.* s4.
 Patrick, D. *SAY.* o.—*SRf.* L.
 Paul, C. Kegan. *Do.* s2.
 Payne, —. *Cu.* c1.
 Peacock, E. *Li.* *B7 s4.
 Peacock, R. B., Song of Solomon, Chap. ii. in Lonsdale s. of the Sands, 550d.
 Pearce, Rev. T. *Do.* E2.
 Pearson, —. *La.* U.
 Pearson, Rev. H. H. *Db.* N.
 Peck, Rev. E. A. *Hu.* H4.
 Peckham, Rev. H. *Ss.* c1.
 Peckham, Miss. *Ke.* s2.
 Peniston, Miss A. B. *Co.* s1.
 Perkins, J. *Cb.* *c2.
 Pertwee, Rev. A. *Es.* *B5.
 Philip, Rev. H. B. *Es.* *G7.
 Philip and Son's maps, 7.
 Picton, Sir J. A., on *Forth and Bargy*, 27.—*La.* w5.
 Pinder, Rev. N. *Ox.* *G.
 Piper, Miss A. M. F. *He.* *E.
 Pitmen's pit talk, 650c'.
 Pocklington, Rev. R. *Nt.* w1.
 Pollar, Miss. *SPr.* P.
 Poole, J., 25, 29.
 Pope, Rev. G. *Nt.* R2.
 Postlethwaite, W. *Cu.* K.
 Pott, Ven. Arch. *Be.* E.
 'Potter,' a misprint for 'Trotter' on p. 66, lines 1 and 2.
 Potts, Rev. C. Y. *He.* *L1.—*Du.* *s6.
 Potts, Taylor. *Du.* *s8.
 Powell, —. *St.* H2.
 Powley, Miss Mary. *Cu.* L1.—her assistance for Edenside names, 603.
 Powley, J. *Yo.* B4.
 Pratten, Rev. W. S. *Cu.* H.

- Preston, R., *his Bradford poems*, 391*d*.—*his remarks on dialectal orthography*, 388*d*.
 Price, S. *Ke*. c2.—*Sm*. *m3.
 Price, Rev. N. E. *Sh*. l1.
 Prior, Dr. R. C. A. *Sm*. m2.—*Wl*. c4.
 Procter, Rev. F. *Nf*. w6.
Proctor on the Nb. burr, 643*a*.
 Pryor, M. R. *Ht*. w4.
 Pulman, G. P. R. *Dv*. A.—*Sm*. A c6 *m1.
 Purley, Rev. E. C. *Hu*. g2.
 Purton, Major. *Wl*. p.
 Pyke, T. *Du*. *s6.
- R
- Ragg, Rev. F. W. *Bu*. m2.—*Ke*. w.—*Sh*. c4.
 Randolph, H. *Sm*. m2.
 Raven, Rev. Dr. J. J. *Nf*. *g3.
 Rawlings, W. J. *Co*. *m1 p2.—*his b. of w. Co*. 156*b*.
 Rea, J. F. *Nb*. d.
 Reade, H. St. John. *Np*. o.
 Reeve, W. N. *Le*. l1.
Richardson, Dr. F. 22.—*Nb*. *h2.
 Richings, Rev. A. C. *Ht*. b3.
 Ridge, Anne. *Dv*. *c1.
 Ridge, T. H. *SAb*. c.
 Ridgway, M. *Yo*. d3.
 Ridley, Rev. W. H. *Bu*. h1.
 Ridley, T. D. *Nb*. *w1.
 Roberts, Rev. A. C. *Ht*. w4.
 Roberts, *Sm*. w3.
 Robinson, C. Clough, a chief helper, 4*b*.—on (th) for 'the,' 19.—on (u) in *sYo*. 365*b*.—on *Yo*. *dialectal orthography*, 403.—*Yo*. *B5 *p3 *h2 h10 *K *L2 *L5 m2 *M4 *M5 *N1 *N2 *N3 N4 *R5 *S7 *s11 *t1 *t3 *t4 t5 *w3 y.
 Robinson, Rev. C. J. *He*. w2.
 Robinson, F. K. *Yo*. *w4.
- Robinson, J., *his assistance for Edenside names*, 603*c*.
 Robson. *Du*. *c1.
 Robson, J. *Ph*. on the *Nb. burr*, 642*a*.
 Robson, E. C. *Du*. s8.
 Rock, W. F. *Dv*. b1.
 Roderick, J. W. *Ht*. f *w1.
 Rogers, Rev. S. *Co*. g.
 Rogers, T. *Co*. *s2.
 Rogers, W. H. H. *Dv*. c2.
 Rolf, Rev. C. T. *Ke*. *s1.
Roscoe, Mrs., for Manx, 361*b*.
 Rose, Rev. W. F. *Sm*. *w4.
 Ross, —. *Sm*. *c1.
 Ross, D. *SRx*. r.
 Ross, F. *Yo*. *h5.
 Ross, J. *SKc*. g.
 Rossiter, J. *Sm*. c7.
 Rothwell, Ch. *La*. *B3.
 Rowlands, Rev. J. *WFl*. h3.
 Royds, Rev. C. T. *La*. h3.
 Rummy, Rev. J. W. *Ke*. r2.
 Rundell, J. B. *Co*. *m2. —*Dv*. b2, d.
 Rust, Rev. J. C. *Cb*. s3.
Russell, very Rev. C. W., on Flemings in Pm. 24.
- S
- Sadler, Miss. *Wo*. *s2.
Sala, G. A., on Australian Speech, 237.
 Sale, Rev. T. T. *Ht*. a1.
 Sayers, Miss A. *Ss*. *c2.
 Sayers, Miss J. *Sr*. o.
 Scarlett, Rev. W. *Yo*. r4.
 Scoones, Rev. W. D. *Bu*. l.
 Scott, A. *Nb*. *r.
 Scott, Rev. G. H. *Nt*. g.
 Scott, Rev. W. A. *Du*. s3.
 Seaman, Rev. C. E. *Ha*. n1.
Seward, Wm., his dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale, Yo., pal. by JGG. 608.
 Sewell, Rev. H. *Sf*. y.
Septimius Severus's wall, 22.
 Sharley, Rev. G. *Nf*. i.
- Sharpe, J. W. *Sr*. g1.
 Shaw, James. *SDf*. t.
 Shelly, J. *Dv*. *p2.—*La*. c7.
 Shröer, Prof. *Ha*. *A.
 Simmons, Rev. Canon. *Yo*. h11.
 Simpson, Rev. R. *Du*. t1.
 Simpson, Rev. T. H. *WDn*. c.
 Simson, W., *pron. of Kyle, Ay.* 729, 742.—*SAY*. k2.
 Sinclair, Rev. J. *SCs*. w.
 Singleton, Miss L. *Yo*. p.
 Skeat, Rev. W. W. *Cb*. c2 p.—*Es*. t.—*Ht*. s3. —*Or*. e.
 Skudamore, Rev. W. *Nf*. d2.
 Slade, Miss. *Ox*. *s1.
 Slatter, Rev. J. *Be*. s3.
 Slow, E. *Wl*. w.
 Slyfield, Miss J. *Sr*. s.
Smart on London errors of speech, 227.
 Smith, Rev. A. C. *Wl*. y.
 Smith, Cecil. *Sm*. t.
 Smith, C. R. *Ha*. w2.
 Smith, Rev. E. B. *WMg*. l.
 Smith, H. *Li*. h4.
 Smith, Rev. J. *Do*. b2.
 Smith, Rev. L. A. *WRd*. l.
 Smith, Rev. S. A. *Cb*. c3.
Smith, Sir T. on Li. speech, 310.
Smith, W. C. obtains Dunrossness cs, 683.
Smith, W. H. and Son's maps, 7.
 Somerset, Rev. B. *WBr*. c.
 Sowell, Rev. C. R. *Co*. s3. —*his b. of wCo*. 156.
 Spencer. *WFl*. h2.
 Spicer, R. H. S. *Dv*. n1.
 Spurrell, W. *Wcm*. c.—*W.Pm*. r.
 Standing, —. *Li*. a3.
Stanford's maps, 7.
 Stanning, Rev. J. H. *La*. l2.
 Stanway, L. *St*. s1.
 Stark, Rev. W. A. *SKb*. k.
 Stead, R. *Ke*. f2.—*Yo*. *E3 *H5 *s10 y.—*WBr*. *B2.—on (u) in *Yo*. 365.

Steel, Rev. J. *Bd.* h1.
 Steel, Jo. *We.* k2.
 Stewart, G., 'Shetland
Fireside Tales, 814.
 Stockdale, J. *La.* n1.
 Stockdale, J., *Song of*
Solomon chap. ii. in
Lonsdale n. of the
Sands, 550.
 Stone, W. G. *Do.* w1.
 Stores, Rev. C. E. *Yo.* s9.
 Streatfield, —. *Ke.* *m1.
 Stuttard, H. *La.* *c7.
 Sweet, Dr. H. 2. — *his*
'Romie,' 99b.
 Sweet, Miss (now Mrs.
 Chamberlain). *Wo.* t.
 Swift, Rev. G. *Nt.* m5.
 Swinburne, A., *on the*
Nb. burr. 642c.
 Sykes, Dr. J. *Yo.* *d4.

T

Tancoek, Rev. O. W.
Do. s1.
 Tarver, Rev. J. *Bu.* *t.
 Taunton, Rev. T. B. *Dv.*
 n2.
 Taylor, Rev. Hugh. *Nb.*
 *t.
 Taylor, J. *Dv.* w2.
 Taylor, Rev. R. *Du.* m2.
 Taylor, Tom. *Du.* s8.
 Teenan, J. *SHd.* b.
 Tenney. *Dv.* *d.
 Tennyson, Lord. *Li.* s8.
 Thackeray's, *W.M. London*
Footman's Speech, 229.
 Thomas, Rev. D. G. *Hu.*
 h1.
 Thompson, G. *Nb.* *a2.
 — *Alnwick Vowels*, 668.
 Thompson, Rev. H. *Sm.*
 c2.
 Thompson, Rev. Dr. W.
 H. *Yo.* g3.
 Thornton, Rev. J. *Yo.* m6.
 Thorold, Mrs. W. *Dv.*
 w1.
 Thynne, Rev. A. B. *Wl.*
 s2.
 Till, G. *St.* a3.
 Timmins, S. *Wa.* b3.
 Titley, Rev. R. *Le.* b2.
 Titmouse, J. *Ha.* s1.
 Tollemache, Hon. and Rev.
 H. F. and Miss. *Np.*
 h5.
 Tollet, Miss E. *St.* b2.
 Tombs, Rev. J. *WPM.* r.

Tomline G. H. *Wa.* s3.
 Tomlinson, Rev. C. H.
Be. *d.
 Tomlinson, G. W. *Yo.*
 *h10.
 Trapp, Rev. B. *Bd.* t1.
 Tregellas on Cornish in-
 tonation, 171.
 Trotter, Miss (misprinted
 Potter on p. 66). *Gl.*
 *a2.
 Trotter, R. D. (misprinted
 Potter on p. 66). *Gl.*
 *c3.
 Tuer's 'Cockney Almanac,'
 229.
 Turner, Miss. *Wo.* h2.
 Tyler, Rev. O. B. *Sm.*
 n2.

U

Underwood, Rev. W. D.
Ss. w2.

V

Vallancey, Dr., 25 to 27.
 Viles, E. *St.* *c4.
 Vise, Rev. J. E. *WMg.* f.

W

Wakefield, Miss. *Dv.* p1.
Walker on London errors
of Speech, 227.
 Walker, Rev. J. *Nb.*
 *w2.
 Walker, Rev. J. *Sf.* b2.
 Walker, J. W. F. *Ox.* i.
 Walker, Miss. *Cb.* *w4.
 Walker, Rev. Percy C.
Cu. b2.
 Wallis, Rev. W. M. *Be.* b.
Walsh. 25d.
 Ward, Rev. H. *Yo.* *h5.
 Ware, Rev. W. W. *Yo.*
 b1.
 Warleigh, Rev. H. S. *Gl.*
 a1.
 Warner, Rev. R. E. *Li.*
 s7.
 Watkins, Rev. M. G. *Li.*
 b1.
 Watson, Rev. J. S. *Le.* c.
 Watt, Rev. R. *St.* c3.
 Wayte, Rev. G. H. *Wl.*
 c1.
 Wayte, Rev. W. *Wl.* c1.
Weller, Sam, his 'we,'
 132.

West, Rev. C. F. *Ox.* c1.
 Westmacott, Miss. *Sm.*
 b3 s1.
 Wharton, Rev. J. C. *Mi.*
 w.
 Whateley, Rev. J. *Es.* e.
 Wheck, Miss S. *Bd.* *r.
 Whitelands Training Col-
 lege, *great assistance*
from the Principal, Rev.
J. P. Faunthorpe, 4
Teachers, Misses Adcock,
Kemm, Mallett and
Martin, and 28 Students,
Misses Beeby, Begge, H.
Bell, Buckle, Calland,
Chapman, Cockman, Cox,
Croucher, Firth, Foxlee,
Francis, Furness, Harris,
Hill, Hirst, Kidd, Low-
man, Miles, Peckham,
Pollar, Sadler, A.
Sayers, J. Sayers, Sty-
field, Turner, Wheck,
and Wing, see these
names.
 Whitaker, Jo. *Mi.* e.
 White, Rev. F. W. *Li.*
 c3.
 White, Rev. G. H. *Dv.*
 s1.
White, Ned, a yarn, 666.
 Wigram, Rev. W. *Ht.* f.
 Wilcocks, Rev. H. S.
Dv. s2.
 Wilding, Rev. J. *St.* v1.
William of Malmesbury
on Flemings in Pm. 24.
 Williams, Rev. T. *WFl.*
 n.
 Williams, Mrs. *Li.* a2
 b8 c1 g4 g5 h3 h5 k1
 k2 l1 l3 s2 s3 s11 t2
 v1 w1.
 Williams, Rev. Wadham.
Sm. b2.
 Williams, Rev. W. J.
Li. g1.
 Wilkinson, Rev. G. *Yo.*
 w1.
 Wilkinson, I. *Yo.* s6.
 Wilshire, C. W. *Ht.* h7
 w3.
 Wilson, Rev. G. *SBw.*
 c.—*SWg.* g.
 Wilson, T. *Ht.* *h2.
 Wilson, T. D. *Yo.* p.
 Wilson, Rev. W. *Du.* r.
 Wing, Miss. *Es.* *m.
 Winter, G. *Sm.* c3.
 Wiseman, J. F. T. *Es.* *p1.

Wolf, Lady. <i>Ha.</i> *c1.	Wray, Rev. J. Jackson. <i>Yo.</i> m2.	Wyatt, J. <i>Bd.</i> *B—Bu. b1.
Wood, Mrs. Willoughby, <i>St.</i> *b1.	Wright, Rev. Canon. <i>Li.</i> c2.	Wyer, N. W. <i>Do.</i> *w2. — <i>De.</i> E.— <i>Es.</i> I.
Woodrall, G. <i>Es.</i> g3.	Wright, J. <i>Nb.</i> *H3.	Wykes, C. H. <i>Np.</i> l2.
Woodhouse, Rev. G. H. <i>Nl.</i> F.	Wright, Rev. J. <i>Wo.</i> v.	Wyld, J. <i>Du.</i> *b1.
Woodhouse, R. <i>He.</i> *D2.	Wright, Dr. J. <i>Yo.</i> m1	Y
Woof, R. <i>Wo.</i> *D2.	*w5.— <i>on</i> (u) in <i>South Yo.</i> 365c.	Yarranton, Rev. A. <i>Sm.</i> sl.
Worfold, Rev. J. N. <i>Yo.</i> E1.	Wright, Rev. J. P. <i>St.</i> N.	Yeats, Dr. J. <i>Mo.</i> *c2.
Wray, Rev. H. <i>WDo.</i> *H.		

VIII. TABLE OF DIALECTAL PALAEOTYPE.

The palaeotype laid down in Part I. pp. 1 to 12, even when extended as in Part IV. pp. xii to xiv, proved insufficient for the differentiation of the minute shades of sound heard in dialectal speech. Hence it became necessary to construct an entirely new table.

All sounds are represented by “old letters,” whence the name palaeotype *παλαιοὶ τύποι*, but in order to obtain signs enough these ancient types embrace 1) direct small or “lower case” roman as (e), 2) the same “turned” as (ə), 3) the direct italic and small capital (e E), and 4) their inversions ‘ə ə’, and sometimes even black letter as (f f) A few “digraphs” are also admitted, especially with *h*, as (th sh), a hyphen preceding the *h* when it is not initial, but has to have its usual sense. ‘Modifiers’ are extensively employed as in (e^l, e., u^l, u^h, A, k^l, t^l t^h), etc. These alter the value of the preceding letter in a definite direction, and are explained hereafter separately, and also in conjunction with the modified letters. All these letters, digraphs, and modified forms are then arranged in alphabetical order by the ordinary large capital letters which are not otherwise phonetically employed. The letter A, for example, refers to all modifications of the type a and its diphthongal combinations as (a, a^l, a₁, a., a_R—ah, aA, a^li, a^lu, a^ly,—a, əh,—A, A^l,—v, vūu).

No attempt is here made to give any phonetic theory, for which see much of Part IV., and also my article on SPEECH SOUNDS in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1888, vol. 22, pp. 381-390, which uses palaeotype, and my *Speech in Song* (Novello, or *Pronunciation for Singers* (Curwen), both of which use glossic. But as a matter of convenience I prefix the table of Mr. Melville Bell’s vowel system reduced to pal. and numbered.

MR. MELVILLE BELL’S *Visible Speech* Vowel Table.

n narrow, *w* wide, *nr* narrow round, *wr* wide round.

TONGUE HEIGHT.	TONGUE BACK.				MIXED.				TONGUE FRONT.			
	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>nr</i>	<i>wr</i>
HIGH	1 æ	2 ɐ	3 u	4 u	13 ɣ	14 ɣ	15 ɥ	16 əh	25i	26i	27i	28 y
MID	5 ɛ	6 a	7 o	8 o	17 ə	18 ah	19 əh	20 əh	29e	30e	31ə	32 ɛ
LOW	9 ɛ	10 a	11 A	12 ə	21 əh	22 ə	23 əh	24 əh	33E	34ə	35əh	36 əh

These will be spoken of as Bell’s No. 1, 2, 3, etc., though the numbers are mine, and merely annexed for convenience of reference, and to shew in the briefest manner the position of the tongue and lips assigned by Mr. Bell.

Quantity.—(1) *Vowels.* Six grades of length are recognised. Very short as (ă ǣ), ordinarily short as (a ə), medial length, lying between short and long, as (â æ'), long as (aa əə), drawled as (aâ əə'), extremely long as aaa əəə. Ordinarily only two lengths are written, short and long, as (a aa). To indicate a succession of two shorts of the same kind introduce the break as (a|a). TH. has always recognised the medial length as (â), and in all his numerous contributions to this book medial vowels abound, greatly to the exclusion of long (p. 316). Hence to him, and those who agree with him, the long vowel (aa) represents a much longer sound than it does to me. In s.Lowland the vowels are generally medial, and when lengthened are very long, thus *thief* *thieves* are (thif thiiivz'), which might be written (thiif thiiivz), but for convenience are usually written (thif, thiiivz). Similarly in Italian and Spanish, the vowels are ordinarily of medial length, and may be emphatically shortened or lengthened according to the feeling of the moment, without disturbing signification.

(2) *Consonants.*—Some consonants, as (s, f, z, v), can be continued indefinitely, and in point of fact are generally lengthened in the pause. As a rule this is not noticed in writing. But TH. constantly marks it, see p. 316, and all the examples in D 21, D 26, (pp. 317-329, 426-447). See also Dr. Sweet's observations, IV. 1145. In this case, if the final consonant is voiced, as (hiz), the buzz is often not continued very long, but is followed by an indefinitely long hiss, thus (hizs') as (hiz') would be uncomfortable to the speaker. If the final consonant be a mute, it cannot be lengthened, but is only suspended, that is, the organs of speech are retained in their positions, and a silence ensues until the position is ordinarily released on flatus, or another vowel, thus (stop') properly means a silence after (p), but would ordinarily imply the release on flatus as (stop'p'). Sometimes, however, even when final the mute is neither suspended nor audibly released, and would then be marked thus (stop:). Between two vowels the mute is thus usually split up, thus *stopping* is pron. as (stop'iq), with no pause between the end of the first or beginning of the second syllable, really (stop:piq), or a suspension may be inserted as (stop'piq), which is not usual in English except in compound words as *hoppole* (hɒp'pool), but not (hɒp'p'pool). When a different consonant follows, only the first glide on to the (p) is heard, as *upshot* (əp:shot). In all these cases, except in special phonetic discussions, I avoid the use of the mark of suspension. But the suspended (t') for *the* is always marked, p. 317b.

In the following list only the short vowels and the short consonants are given as headings, but examples to both short and long vowels are often annexed.

Diphthongs.—Two or more different vowels written in juxtaposition are to be pronounced in separate syllables, as (keəəs) chaos, but they are usually separated in some way, as (kee|əs, kee|əs). When however they glide on to one another, one of them bears an acute accent, as (ái), and the two form a 'diphthong,' and similarly three vowels form a triphthong, as (éau). The combination in each case consists of a single syllable. The vowel bearing the acute accent has then the principal stress. Occasionally each element may have equal stress, and then two acute accents are used, as (íá), distinct from (í|a, ía, íá), but even in this case there is felt to be only one syllable. When the vowel with the stress is long, the acute is placed on the first of the two representative letters, as (áai), and when it is medial, the medial grave accent fuses with the diphthongal acute accent into a circumflex, thus (á'i, becomes (âi), which type will be constantly found in TH.'s contributions below. As English printers have usually only (â é í ô ú ä é í ó ü) with acute accents, the acute accent for other vowels is placed after the vowel, as (ə'i, əə'i), and the grave is printed after it separately, as (A'i, A''i). It is sometimes convenient to indicate the class of a diphthong without completely analysing it. Thus we may not know whether (ə'i, ái, âi), were the diphthong really uttered, but may be sure that it was something like one of them, then (a'i) is used, the acute accent being separated, and the second element indefinite. Similarly (a'u, o'i, i'u, a'y, a'v, e'v, i'u, i'v, o'v, u'v) are employed for unanalysed diphthongs, the (') being separate from (a, e, i, o, u); but this meaning of the separate acute accent is confined to the case when it follows (a, e, i, o, u). Hence ái, a'i must be strictly distinguished, the first diphthong being thoroughly analysed and definite, the second entirely unanalysed

and indefinite, but forming a class; (ə'i) however is also an analysed form, the accent being separate through a typographical necessity. As a rule only unanalysed diphthongs are given in the following list, though the principal analysed forms will be found in their proper places.

The length of the first element of a diphthong is generally very material. It is usually short, as (âi), but occasionally lengthened, as (âi, âai), generally with an appreciable difference in pron. or meaning. But the length of the second element does not alter the character of the diphthong, any more than the length of the final consonant alters the value of the syllable. TH., however, generally marked the quantity of the second element as medial when he observed it to be lengthened, as (âi). I have usually not retained this lengthening, considering it quite inessential, and arbitrary, being in fact constantly admissible in the pause, without any intention to alter the sound, see p. 316.

Elocutionary alterations and intonation are mostly left unmarked, but an inverted period before a word indicates *emphasis* corresponding to the usual *italics*; thus, he told *me*, *he* told me, became (hî toold ·mii, ·hii toold mî). In monosyllables emphasis generally conditions some alteration of sound.

* * * The long phonetic discussion on received pron. in Part IV. pp. 1090 to 1167 will be regularly cited, and pp. 1265 to 1357 should also be consulted.

When the numbers of pages referred to are above 1000 they are in Part IV., when under 1000 they are in this volume,—unless the number of the part is specially added. The italic letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* annexed here and elsewhere indicate that the passage referred to is in the first, second, third, or fourth quarter of the page: and if the page is in double columns, unaccented letters refer to the first, and accented to the second column. The reader will find it convenient to mark the quarters of pages on a separate piece of paper cut the length of the printed matter, excluding the head-line, and after folding in half, and then again in half, and lettering it, apply it to the book; it will be found to save much time in finding a passage in pages so crowded with matter as those of this book.

The mode I have adopted, and found to work well in writing is as follows: The small roman letters are written as usual. The small italic letters are once underlined as usual. The small capitals, instead of being doubly underlined as usual, are written as ordinary letters with an acute accent below, as *ȧ*=*æ*, except when they have tails, and then a stroke is written above as *ȧ* *ǡ*=*ȧ* *ǡ*. Black letters are doubly dotted below. The turned letters are thus represented

Turned	a	c	e	ε	ɛ	f	j	r	l	l	m	v	œ
Printed	u	o	ə	ɛ	ɛ	f	j	r	l	l	m	v	œ
Written	ε	ρ	ə	ȧ	ǡ	f	r̄	r̄	l̄	l̄	m̄	v̄	œ̄

A. (a a¹ a₁ a₁ a₁ a_R—ah aΔ a'i a'u a'ȧ—a ah—A A¹—v vūu).

(a) Bell's No. 6 short (a) in German *mann*, and perhaps in English *chaff*, *lass*, *ask*, *bath*, *dance*, 1148; medial (ā) comimon in Midland *that*; long (aa) in *ah*, *father*, *mamma*, *part* (the *r* not sounded), 539c.

(a¹) a higher form of (a) approaching (æ). This is generally used in place of (ah) as more suggestive, but it has not the certain position of the latter, 695a.

(a₁) between (a, a), used especially by JGG., see 539c, generally confused with (a), but JGG. considers that it differs in quality from the short of *a* in *father*.

(a) or (a) with an advanced tongue, 1147c, between (a, æ), and not

materially different in effect from (ah, a¹), 601b.

(a₁) semi-nasal form of (a), mild nasality, often heard in American long *i*, as *I find* (āi i tā ind).

(a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (r), 42b.

(ah) Bell's No. 18, not materially different in sound from (a¹, a), used principally for an affected thinness, 1148c. Sweet makes it the sound in *eye*, *better*, but the last is not usual in educated speech.

(aa) a conventional form for French *chant*, but (a) is altered in quality by the altered position of the uvula in nasalisation, see (A) p. 86* below, and 1123d.

(a'i) unanalysed diphthong used where the first element has not been determined; when analysed it may take

the forms in (ái, áí, á'í, æ'í, æ'í, ø'í, æ'í, ø'í, áí), and the first element is sometimes lengthened, 1100, col. 2. It may even be nasalised as (á.í). Five forms are heard in D 38, 757c, d, see also D 25, var. iv. p. 410.

(a'u) unanalysed diphthong, used where the second element approaches (u) and the first element has not been determined; it may take the forms in (áu, áu, á'u, æ'u, æ'u, ø'u, æ'u, ø'u, á'u, á'u), 1153, col. 2.

(a'y) unanalysed diphthong where the second element approaches (y) or French *u*. The first element may vary, as in (a'í, a'u). We find (áy), 53b'.

(a) Bell's No. 10 between (a, A), 1116c, 1152d'.

(ah) Bell's No. 23, is to him the Irish *sir*, and first element of the Irish *I*, and the oral element of French *en*; Sweet gives no example.

(A) Bell's No. 11, *all*, *bawl*, an (a) approaching to (o), 1116 col. 1, 1122 col. 1, and 539d.

(A¹) or (A) with a raised tongue, not unlike (o), 353a, b.

(æ) Bell's No. 2, as *a* in *parental*, *China*, the commonest form of unaccented indistinct vowel, frequently serving as the second element of a diphthong, 1122b', 540d. Bell's examples are *dungeon*, *motion*, *conscious*, *abandon*, *cupboard*, *avoir-dupoise*, *honour*, *bellows*, sb. Sweet gives no example, but uses Bell's No. 17, my (æ), in this sense finally.

(æu) a form of (uu) heard perhaps in the north, 636d, No. 640.

Æ. (æ æh).

(æ) Bell's No. 34, the rec. English short vowel in *bat*, which approaches closely to (æ); and is generally replaced by (a¹, a, a) in dialects; long in the local pron. of Bath (: bææth).

(æh) Bell's No. 36, which he hears in the first element of Cockney *out* and *L. I'll*; and Sweet in open German *Götter*. I can give no example.

B. (b b, bh).

(b) *bee bay bow, glee b, babe baby*, a voiced (p), 1113.

(b,) a kind of defective (m) said to exist in We. 1113d, 560, No. 13.

(bh) German *w*, Hungarian *v*, modern

Greek *β*, (v) uttered without touching the upper teeth with the lower lip, 1101 to 1103.

C. (o, oh, o'í).

(o) Bell's No. 12, common English short *o* in a closed syllable, *hop hob hot hod hock hog*, unused in most of Europe, where it is replaced by (o); very like (A), which is also peculiarly English, but verging towards (o), 1116, 540c. The symbol (o) is used because the small cap. (o), which would naturally have been used, is too like the lower case (o).

(oh) Bell's No. 24, which Bell conceives as Cockney *ask* and Irish *not*. Sweet gives no example. AJE. does not know the sound.

(o'í) educated form of *boy toy joy*, occasionally (A'í, AA'í), 1117b.

D. (d d d,—dj dh dh, dw—D dj dh).

(d) in *do rod plodding pleading*, the tip of the tongue at a sensible distance behind the gums, English 'coronal' (d), voiced form of (t), 1095, 1113.

(d) French and general continental *d* with the tip of the tongue advanced to the gums, alveolar *d*, 1095, heard in some English dialects, but almost only before (r, r°), which then become (r, r°), 542b.

(d,) retracted (d), the tip of the tongue brought as far back as possible without reversion, so that its *edge* (not underside) touches the palate, and the tongue forms a spoon-shaped hollow at the back part, a mild form of reversion, 41d.

(dj) contraction for (dzh, dzh) or (djzhj), heard in *judge*, 1154b', 542, usually analysed as (dzh), as it was in the three first Parts of E.E.P.

(dh) the tongue brought fully against the teeth in English, the *th* in *they breathe*, *tything*, 1098a, 1122a'.

(dh,) the (dh) with the tongue somewhat retracted, Spanish *d* in *Madrid*.

(dw) labialised (d), an attempt to utter (d) and (w) simultaneously, 1115, col. 2, frequent English *dwel*, generally confused with (dw).

(D) reverted (d), that is, (d) spoken with the underside of the tongue against the palate, 1095, 1096, 42, see (d,).

(Dj) = (Dzh) or reverted (dj), 41.

(dh) the under part of the tip of the tongue brought against the teeth, theoretically assumed to exist in D 4, see 41.

E. (e e¹ e₁ e^c—éu éév éii éi e_Δ
 éuu éu—e e¹ e₁—ee^E ééi ee^j
 é¹a₁ é¹i¹—E E₁—E^e E^u—ə ə¹
 əh—ə ə¹ ə₁ əh—ɛ ɛ¹ ɛ_R—ɛ¹i
 ɛ¹o ɛ¹u).

(e) Bell's No. 30, as I hear it from educated southern Englishmen in *bet*, *bed*, *pen*, 1106, col. 1, 539*d*, generally replaced by (ɛ) provincially. Bell considers that it is used only in unaccented syllables, and that (ɛ) is the sound in accented syllables. Sweet agrees with me. The long form (ee) as in *fair*, *care*, *pear*, but only before *r* in received English, sounding (féer, kéer, péer).

(e¹) the tongue of (e) being raised, hence approaching closely to (e), 1107, col. 2

(e₁) the tongue of (e) being lowered, approaching closely to (ɛ), hardly distinguishable from (ɛ¹), 1107, col. 2.

(e^c) an indistinct form of (e) approaching (ɐ), but reminding the hearer of (e), 721*b*, *c*.

(év) common provincial fracture, differing only in length from the next.

(éev) real sound of *air* without the trill, (év) is also common provincially, see (e).

(éii) the (e) very short and the (ii) long, 538*c*, 595*b'*, considered by the natives as (ii) parallel to (i₁i).

(éi) common diphthongising form of (e).

(e_Δ) French *vin*, see (Δ), p. 86*.

(éuu) the (e) very short and the (uu) long, 538. l. 3 from bottom, a substitute for (uu), see also 556*c*, parallel to (éii).

(éu) a mincing form of (a'u) common in D 9, p. 137*d*, and London.

(e) Bell's No. 29, when lengthened, is the sound in *name* without any *vanish*, Fr. *fee* long, *été* short, 1107. Murray considers it opener than Fr. *fee*, 710, No. 4. The long sound must be distinguished from (ee^j) with the *vanish*.

(e¹) the tongue of (e) raised, and hence approaching closely to (i), 1107, 683*b*, 756*c*, and scarcely distinguishable from (i₁), 595*b*.

(e₁) the tongue of (e) lowered, approaching closely to (e), 1107, 683*b*, 697*c*.

(ee^E) a low form of (ee) or (ee) tending towards (ɛ), usually written (ee₁), 682, last line.

(ééi) more distinctly ending with (i) than London (ee^j), 1108*d'*, 1109.

(ee^j) the London (educated) long (ee) with the 'vanish,' the diphthong ending in an indefinite approach to (i), which is not of constant value, 1111, col. 1.

(e¹a₁) this diphthong is here usually written (i₁a₁), 542*a*.

(é¹i¹) a diphthong scarcely distinguishable from (i₁i), which is here generally written, 541*c*.

(ɛ) Bell's No. 33, the Fr. *bête* short, Italian open *e*, common short English *e* in closed accented syllables in provincial, and as some hold in rec. sp., see (e) above, and 1106*c*.

(ɛ₁), a still deeper form than (ɛ), but not yet quite (æ), 1108*c*, 711, No. 6.

(ɛ^e) a variation of (ɛ) in the direction of (e) for which (e₁), or lowered (e), is used, 683*b*, No. 3, 1.

(ɛ^u) a very common form of (a'u) heard in D 10 and D 19, pp. 146*a*, 277*b*, 278*c*, 279*d*, 287*d*.

(ə) Bell's No. 17, the fine *u* of an educated Londoner in closed accented syllables as *cut up*, replaced provincially by (ɛ), 1094, col. 2. Bell conceives it to be French *que*, which I take as (ə). Sweet has German *Gabe*, which I conceive as (ɐ). Murray cannot distinguish open unstressed (e, ə), 683*a*. I do not really distinguish unstressed (ɐ, ə).

(ə¹) an (ə) raised towards (i), 146*b*.

(əh) Bell's No. 21, he puts down as "provincial *sir*," and Sweet simply as *sir*; I do not know it as different from (ɛ).

(ə) Bell's No. 31, Fr. *eu* in *peu* as distinct from *eu* in *peuple*, which is (œ); it does not seem to occur precisely in English, but only in some variant written (ə₁), 146*c*, 541*a*. Bell conceives (ə) as Fr. *une*, which I take as (y) and Sweet as (ɪ).

(ə¹) a higher form of (ə), 711, No. 12, 721*b*, *c*.

(ə₁) a deeper variant of (ə), but not quite (œ), 146*c*, 541 under (əə), 595*a'*.

(əh) Bell's No. 35, which he gives to French *beurre* (but this seems rather (œ) to me), and Sweet to Swedish *för*.

- (a) Bell's No. 5, the ordinary deep provincial form of the natural vowel in accented close syllables, as *cut*, *bud*, 1094, col. 2, but Bell and Sweet consider it to be the received form, which I take as (ə).
- (a¹) a higher form of (a), supposed to be the Scotch, 711, No. 8.
- (a_R) the simultaneous pron. of (a) and (r), 42.
- (aⁱ) a very common provincial form of the diphthong (aⁱ).
- (a^o) a diphthong beginning with open lips for (a), closing gradually to the position for (o), 73*b*. par. 9.
- (a^u) one of the commonest provincial forms of (a^u), not very distinguishable from (óu).

F. (f fh ꝑ).

- (f) a hiss with the lower lip against the upper teeth, sometimes replaced by (ph), in which the teeth are not touched, 1099*b*.
- (fh) lips and teeth as for (f), back of tongue as for (u), Bell's theoretical form of NL. *f* used for *wh*, 758*a*.
- (ꝑ) a modifier used in (tꝑ dꝑ = t^{sh}, d^{zh}), to indicate an approach to (tj dj), and also somewhat laxly in (kj gj) to represent the Sanscrit explodent form of (tꝑ dꝑ), supposed to occur in English, 1119*c*, *d*.

G. (g gꝑ—gh gj gjh grh—gw gwh g).

- (g) as in *gag*, *gig*, *fagging*, 1113, 1154*a*.
- (gꝑ) the sonant form of (dy) existing in Sanscrit, and by Godwin recognised in English, 1119, col. 1.
- (gh) guttural buzz, the back of the tongue coming close to the soft palate, as in German *Tage*; not English.
- (gj) an attempt to pronounce (g) and (i) simultaneously, palatalised (g), at one time very common in received sp., now almost disused, except in the word *girl* (gjæɫ).
- (gjh) palatal buzz, German *könige*, distinct from (gh), often confused with (j), but not an English sound, and not even used in L. where (kjh) is common.
- (grh), the uvula is flapped during the pron. of (gh), Ar. *ġ*, often heard in Holland, but repudiated by better speakers, very like the Nb. *burr*, see (r).

- (gw) an attempt to pron. (g) and (u) simultaneously, labialised (g) heard in *guano*, 1115, col. 1.
- (gwh) labialised guttural buzz, tongue for (gh) and lips for (u), German *Buge*, not an English sound, though (*kwh*) occurs in L.
- (g) retracted (g), that is with the contact between the back of the tongue and soft palate as near the throat as possible; as JGG. considers that (κ), the mute form of (g), is used in D 4, p. 52. v. 23, 24, 25, and p. 57, No. 773, he should have admitted (g) in p. 51, v. 4 (*bæ'cænet*) bayonet; but the use of (κ, g) in English seems very questionable; (κ) is common in Arabic ج, but (g) is unknown.

H. (h 'h 'h h hh ꝑ[h]).

- (h), (1) when not initial and not preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as in (*thin*, *dhæ*, *shii*, *vizhæn*) etc., *thin*, *the*, *she*, vision, is a modifier, so that it must be considered as forming part of the same letter as the preceding sign; (2) when initial or preceded by a hyphen or turned period, as (*hii*, *põt·ha'us*, *mis·hæ·p*) *he*, *potthouse*, *mishap*, it is a new letter representing the unanalysed aspirate of which (h hh ꝑ[h]) are analysed forms, 1130*b'*.
- ('h) voice, is contracted to (') when sufficiently unambiguous, and then represents any obscure, indefinite, and short voice sound, 1128*c'*.
- ('h) flatus, audible but unvoiced breath, 1128*b'*, contracted to (') when following another letter, as (*top'*) *top*.
- (h) jerked utterance of following vowel or flatus, 1130*b'*; before a vowel the singer's aspirate, or entirely voiced Indian aspirate, 1134, 1138*d*.
- (hh) contraction for (h'h) or jerked flatus, not necessarily prominent, the usual theoretical aspirate, 542*b*, *c*.
- (ꝑ[h]) a smartly jerked emission of flatus or strong aspirate, 1130*c'*.

I. (i i i'a—i i, i¹ i'—ii iꝑ₁—i₁ i₁'—i₁á₁ i₁e¹ i₁i—i₁₁—I).

- (i) Bell's No. 25, the long (ii) is common on the continent, and is supposed to occur in *eat*, *tea*, *meeting*, but here is frequently simply (ii); the

short (i) in closed accented syllables is not recognised as English, and is replaced by (i); even in open short syllables (i) is rare, 1098*c*, 540. It occurs however in L. 710*c*.

- (i) very short sound of (i), the vocal form of (j), 53*b*, par. 3, diphthongising with the following vowel, regular Welsh form.
- (i'a) unanalysed form of a common dialectal diphthong, varying as (i₁ā₁, iā, iē, iiv), the last being the rec. sound of *ear* when the *r* is, as usual, not trilled, 1099*c*.
- (i) Bell's No. 26, in: *it*, *bib*, *pin*, *silly*, the regular sound of English short *i*, 540, but TH. uses (i) when it occurs in open unaccented syllables, considering the tongue to be somewhat retracted, 316*c*; Bell makes no such distinction; Sweet considers *pity* to have (i₁).
- (i) a sign used by TH. explained 316*c* not distinguished by me from unstressed open (i), which see.
- (i¹) a high form of (i), which I cannot distinguish from (i).
- (i') SL. close form of (iē), 710, No. 3.
- (ii) inchoant diphthong, (i) commenced too deep as (i) and gradually raised to (i) during speech, 293; this is the Midland form and seems to be what Sweet writes *ij*, which he analyses as (i¹i) for received English.
- (i'y₁) a diphthong arising from beginning (y₁) with the mouth too open, heard in D 19, p. 261*a*.
- (i₁) a lowered form of (i) lying between (i, e), which Sweet hears in *pity* and is common dialectally.
- (i₁') L. close (iē) as written on 682*d*, No. 3, usually written (i').
- (i₁ā₁) a peculiar northern fracture, in which both elements are distinct, 542*a*.
- (i₁e°) JGG.'s form of (i'), 721*b*, *c*.
- (i₁i) here the first element is deeper than (i) and approaches (e), so that JGG. often wrote (e¹i¹), which see, 541*c*; it differs from (ii) in being nearer (ei).
- (i₁i₁) doubly lowered (i), representing the sounds generally written *i* in Ab. which sound to me among (i, e, ə, ɐ, ɐ), fully discussed in 767, see also 695*d* and 756*d*.
- (i) Bell's No. 27, which he assigns to German *über* and Sweet to French *lune*, both of which I take to be (y).
- J. (j 'j—J jh—r).
- (j) a modifier, indicating that the preceding consonant is palatalised, or that an attempt is made to pronounce (i) simultaneously with it, as in (kj, gj, lj, nj), 1115. Sweet calls this palatalisation "front modification," because he terms (i) a "front vowel."
- ('j) indefinite palatalised voice, heard in the 'vanish' of (ee'j) for long *a* in the pause, 1111, Sweet writes *ei* and analyses (éi₁).
- (j) the true consonantal sound in *ye* yield yet yacht, German *j*, the true consonantal form of (j), 1149*d*, 542*c*.
- (jh) the palatal hiss of (j) heard, at least occ., in *hew hue Hughes huge Hume*, but often replaced by simple (j), not unlike (gjh, kjh), 1149, col. 2.
- (r) the Midland gentle *r* described in 293*d* and 294, not materially different from (r_c, r°) and other imperfect, because unflapped or untrilled, forms of (r), see under R.
- K. (k kj kh kj kjh kw kw'h κ).
- (k) common guttural mute in *cake*, *sack*, *picking*; there is a habit sometimes of jerking out the following vowel as (κhəm) come, heard in Ireland and Germany, 1140*d*, and some insist on slight flatus intervening as (k[həm]), which regularly occurs in the pause as (sæk[h]) = (sæk') sack, neither practice is generally heard from educated speakers.
- (kj) explodent form of (tj) as conceived by Mr. Godwin and found in India, 1119*c*.
- (kh) the German *ch* in *ach*, still heard in Lowland Scotch and occ. in Northern English.
- (kj) palatalised (k), or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (i) simultaneously, 1115.
- (kjh) palatalised hiss, an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (i) simultaneously; German *ich*, *recht*, heard in Lowland, 542*c*, 711*d*, not to be confounded with (jh) or with (sh, shj).
- (kw) labialised (k) or an attempt to pronounce (k) and (u) simultaneously, usual *qu* in *quality*, *quantity*, *equalise*, *question*, 1103, col. 2, 1115.
- (kw'h) an attempt to pronounce (kh) and (u) simultaneously, final in German

auch, *buch*, and initial in Lowland Scotch, written as initial *quh*, 1115*b*', 711*d*.

(κ) retracted (k), see (α), p. 81*.

L. (l 'l l—lh, lhh, lj—l lh—
[—L—T]).

(l) common English *low*, *lie*, *owl*, *aisle*, *dwelling*, 1146*c*, 542*c*, the tip of the tongue resting on the hard palate some way from the gums, coronal (l), and the sides of the tongue slightly flapping.

(l') syllabic (l), the voice being sustained during position, this notation is adopted as clearer than Bell's (ll) or my equivalent (l'). Compare (lit'l, littl, lit'l').

(.l) alveolar (l), the tip of the tongue resting on the gums, common continental *l*, 542*c*.

(lh) flated (l), that is, with flatus substituted for voice, generated in some dialects, and supposed by Bell to occur regularly before (p t k), as (helhp) or (hellhp, mellht, millhk) help, melt, milk, 542*d*.

(lhh) unilateral (lh), the breath being ejected from the right side of the tongue only, as in Welsh *llall*.

(lj) palatalised *l*, an attempt to pronounce (l) and (i) at the same time. Italian *gl* may be generated in English million as (mɪl-lj-ʃən), 1115.

(l) the Polish gutturalised barred *l*.

(lh) the flated (*l*).

(l) the gradual glottid, the edges of the glottis being open when beginning to speak and gradually closing, 1129*c*'.

(L) reverted *l*, the under part of the tongue being turned to the palate generated by action of preceding (r), 42*d*, and sometimes used independently, 143*c*.

(r) glottal *r* peculiar to Danish, but held to have been heard in the Cockney speech by Donders, 1099*c*'.

M. (m 'm mh κ).

(m) an orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (p), 1148, col. 2; the tongue should obstruct the cavity of the mouth as little as possible, or (n, q) may be generated, for which the opening of the lips is not necessary.

(m) syllabic (m) in schism chasm

(siz'm kæz'm); this symbol preferred as more distinct than Bell's (mm) or my (m'), 1148*d*' and 1108*d*.

(mh) flatus passed through the nose while the mouth is in the position for (p), thought by Bell to occur before mutes, but not heard by me, 1141*a*, 1148*c*'.

(κ) turned small capital m, a lip trill with compressed lips, a defective utterance of (r) usually taken for (w); 665, line 1, formerly written (w) or turned m.

N. (n 'n n—nh nj—n).

(n) orinasal resonance of voice while the mouth is in the position for (t), as in *no*, *own*, *manner*, 1095, the mouth is generally open, but it is not necessary that it should be so, see (m).

(n) syllabic (n) so written in preference to Bell's (nn) and my (n') for lengthened (n), in *open*, *sunken* (oɒp'n, səŋk'n), 1108*d*.

(.n) the alveolar continental *n* with the tip of the tongue quite on the gums, 1095*c*'.

(nh) flatus through the nose and in the mouth in the position for (t); this was once used initially for *kn* throughout England, and is still so used occ. in Cu. 542*d*.

(nj) palatalised (n), an attempt to pronounce (n) and (i) at the same time, Italian and French *gn*, Spanish *ñ*, Portuguese *nh*; may be generated in English (ən-nj-ʃən) onion, 1151, col. 2, see (qj).

(N) reverted (n), the mouth being in the position for (r) during the orinasal resonance, generated by a preceding (r) in D 4 and D 11, see 42.

O. (o o_u—oh óov o_Λ ow—o o_u
o¹—oh oo'w).

(o) Bell's No. 8 Italian open (o), different from, but often confused with (ə), and common in our dialects, 540*c*.

(o_u) may indicate an endeavour to pronounce (o) with the lip aperture of a (u), see 1116*b*', and may occur in dialects; it might also be written (ow) on Sweet's principle of 'overrounding.'

(oh) Bell's No. 20, conceived by Sweet as French *homme*, which I hear as (o), conceived by Bell as American

stone, which I hear as (o), and Lowland note, which I also hear as (o). Bell considers it to be unaccented o in history, victory, which seems to me pedantic.

(óov) a compound dialectal fracture, the rec. pron. of *oar*, with vocalised r, now usually called (AA'e), and formerly quite (óov), 1099a'.

(oA) conventional sign for Fr. *on*, see (A).

(ow) see (ou) above, and (w), p. 86*.

(o) Bell's No. 7, as long in *owe*, *no*, *go* without the 'vanish,' see (oo'w), it is not found short in accented closed syllables in English, it resembles the Italian close o, and may certainly be used for it, 1152, 540.

(ou) the tongue as for (o) with the lip rounding as for u, 682d, No. 2, generally written (u₁).

(o¹) an (o) with a raised tongue and rather more closed lips, and hence closely resembling (u), so that (u₁) is generally written in diphthongs, 541d, 683b, No. 3, 1.

(oh) Bell's No. 19, conceived by him as Fr. *homme*, see (oh) and when nasalised as (ohA), French *on*. Sweet gives no example.

(oo'w) or (oo) with the vanish, that is, with a tendency as it is lengthened towards (u, u), 1152, col. 1, conceived as (óou) and often written (óu) which to me altogether perverts the sound. Sweet writes *ou* and analyses (óow) = (óou₁).

(E. {œ œ₁—œA—œ œ'u—œ œ—œ}).

(œ) Bell's No. 32, intermediate to (o, e), Fr. *eu* in *veuf peuple*, German short ö in *böcke*, distinct from (ə) or *eu* in *peu*, and German long ö in *Goethe*; thought to occur in English, 541b, but this is doubtful.

(œ₁) a variant of (œ) greatly resembling (u_o), and similarly used as a transition from (u) to (æ) in Nb. 638c, see also 721c.

(œA) the Fr. orinatal *un*, but the analysis cannot be properly made on account of the modification of the oral cavity by releasing the uvula; to an Englishman it sounds rather as (æA), that is, (æ) with Fr. nasality.

(æ) Bell's No. 1, the sound heard on opening the mouth wide while pronouncing (u), 292c.

(æ'u) results from commencing (u) with

too wide an opening of the lips, see 292c. TH. writes (ú_ou) for this sound.

(æ) Bell's No. 22, in *first erst third*, when r is entirely lost, not materially different from (æ), but with a somewhat more provincial effect, 1156, most noticeable in diphthongs. (æ'i, æ'u) the forms of (a'i, a'u) in D 4, p. 65a, (æ'y₁) the form of (a'u) in D 11, p. 156d, 158c.

(œ) Bell's No. 9, which he hears in L. *up*, and Sweet in Cockney *park*; I once imagined it was the D 4 sound in *first*, which I afterwards wrote (f' R_ost) and now write (færst), 42c. I do not know the sound. I take the L. *up* to be (æp), see the words on 718 under U:.

(æ) a form of (æ) with the sound of (AA) running through it, continually spelled *aw* by dialect writers, 43c, under O'.

P. (p—ph).

(p) as in *pope*, *stopping*; it may be initially (p_h, p_f, p_h) and finally in the pause (p') with, or (p') without, a recoil, see 1111, col. 2.

(ph) the flated form of (bh), the breath as it is usually emitted for cooling hot liquids, used for (f) in Hungarian, and possibly = mod. Gr. φ.

Q. (q—qj qj).

(q) nasal resonance of voice in the position of the tongue for (k) which excludes oral resonance, 1123c; the lips are usually open, but this is not necessary, as oral resonance is entirely prevented.

(qj) the probable Sanscrit form which is confused generally with (nj), 1124d, corresponding to (kj, qj).

(qj) palatalised (q) is by some conceived as the proper French pron. of *gn*, which I take to be (nj) as it certainly is in Italian.

R. (r .r r r, r^o r^o r_o r_o—rh
rh rh,—r r_o—rw—R R_o
R_o—Rh—r—r).

(r) a sharp beat produced by allowing emitted voice to flap the tip of the tongue, and this is the true 'trill' as heard in Italy, in Scotland, in Wales, and in Sh.; the strength and length of the beat vary much, but when there is no beat, there is

some substitute, as (r_o), now common. Enumerated kinds, 294. Simple (r) is constantly written for any kind, and the particular kind is often specified in a note, but is not always known; but real (r) is the exception in English.

(r) strongly flapped L.-Scotch (r).

(r) the tip of the tongue advanced quite to the gums, during the flap, used after (t) in dialects.

(r) with retracted instead of reverted tip of the tongue, which approaches the hard palate; the tongue however retains the spoon-shaped hollowness of (r) towards the throat, 41*d*; (r) has usually been printed instead of (r).

(r^o) the Northern buzzed r , described 542, last line but one.

(r^o) the same as (r^o), but with the tip of the tongue advanced towards the gums, used after (t) in Northern dialects.

(r_o) the buzzed r of the East of England, the tip of the tongue almost in the (d) position, but not touching the palate, a mere imperfect (d); a degradation of (R , R), at times very difficult to distinguish from (v), 109*sb*, 189*c*, 222*a*.

(r_o) advanced alveolar (r_o) used after (t) in dialects.

(rh) flated (r), flatus instead of voice being used to produce the trill; it probably does not occur in English.

(rh) flated (r).

(rh) flated (r) a milder form of (rh), which is usually written, 42.

(r) uvular r , the beat or interruption of sound being produced by the flapping of the uvula, which is brought to lie over the top surface of the tongue; it is possible to make this trill very hard, and even metallic as in Paris, 642*b*; its usual effect is like (gh).

(r_o) the uvular rise, a stiffened uvula which does not flap as in (r), 642*c*.

(rw) the (r) labialised, by bringing the lips nearly into the position for (o), the full Nb. *burr*, of which there may be several kinds, 641*d*.

(r) reverted (r), the under surface of the tip of the tongue turned to the hard palate, and the flap indistinct and less sharp than for (r); some deny that it is ever trilled, 23*b*, 41, apparently combined with vowels (α , a , Δ), etc. 42*b*.

(r_o) untrilled (r), this form is chiefly

recognised by natives who consider that (r) is never trilled, because the effect of the trill is so different from that in (r), 23*b*, 53*a*.

(r_o) the syllabic (r_o) for which (αR) is usually written, 42.

(rh) flated (r), the common initial r in D 4, p. 42*a*.

(r) Irish r written ($_{,r}$) on 1232*c*.

(r) permissive (r), that is, where r is written, either (v) or (vr) may be pron., but the first is more usual, 1099*c*, 1153*a*, 189*c*.

S. (s s sh shj $_{,sh}$ srh sh).

(s) common s in *see*, *cease*, missing, 1104*c*, a pure hiss, with no voice.

(s) the tongue for (s) is advanced close to the gum in making the hiss in *cats*, 1105*a*, line 3; LLB. hears this, and not (t_s) in the Italian *z*.

(sh) 'concave swish,' hiss with the tongue retracted and hollowed, in *she*, *leash*, *wishing*, 1117 to 1121.

(shj) 'convex swish,' the upper surface of the tongue is convex to the palate; this seems to be the High German s in *st*, *sp* initial, where 'concave' (sh) with a hollow upper surface of the tongue is not admissible; (tj) may be taken as ($tjshj$) as well as ($t_{,sh}$).

(sh) an advanced (sh), which may be heard in *catch* ($kæ_{,t,sh}$), written ($kæ_{tj}$), where LLB. hears only ($_{,sh}$), 1117 to 1121.

(srh) voiceless Polish *rz*, tongue in the position for (sh) and the tip slightly trilled, 295*a*, line 4.

(sh) 'reverted swish,' made with reverted tongue, that is, (sh) as affected by a preceding (r), 41*c*.

T. (t t' t $t_{,}$ — tj th th , tj tw — t — tj th).

(t) as in *taught*, *tatting*, with the tendency in some speakers to (th , tj , $t_{,h}$) when initial, 1095, and (t') final in the pause, 1111, col. 2.

(t') suspended (t) used for the definite article in the North, 18*b*, 20*b*, especially considered, 317*b*.

(t) alveolar t , with the tip of the tongue against the gums, used before r , then pron. (r), in many English dialects, 542*b*, see (d).

($t_{,}$) retracted (t), see ($d_{,}$), 41*d*.

(tj) as in *cheese*, *catch*, *hatching*, a contraction for ($t_{,sh}$, $t_{,sh}$) or ($tjshj$), see (dj), 1154*b'*, 542*b*.

- (th) dental hiss, as in *thin breath pith nothing*, the tongue fully against (not between) the teeth, 1097*d*.
 (th₁) alveolar hiss, the tongue on the gum, Spanish *z*, scarcely distinguishable from (th).
 (tj) palatalised (t), an attempt to utter (t, i) at the same time, 1115.
 (tw) labialised (t) as in *twine*, an attempt to utter (t, u) at the same time, 1115.
 (τ) reverted *t*, with the under surface of the tongue against the palate, 42*c*.
 (τj) reverted (tj) formed of (τsh), 41*d*.
 (th) an attempt to say (th) with the under surface of the tongue against the teeth, 41*c*.

U. (u ü—u u' u¹—u_o u_c u_o—
 uh úu—u₁ u₁' ú₁á₁ úu₁ə
 ú₁u—u).

- (u) Bell's No. 3; when long as (uu) in *too food pool*; it does not occur short in an accented closed syllable in English, but often occurs short in an open unaccented syllable as influence *to-day to-night*, 1097*d*, 540*d*; found medial in L. (bùk) *book*, see (úu).
 (ü) very short diphthongising initial (u) used where (w) is now employed, 1103, 543*b* under (w).
 (u) Bell's No. 4, the common short *oo* in an accented syllable, *full good*, distinctly different from (u), 1114*c*, where read (u₁) for (u_o).
 (u') the form in which (u₁') is usually written, 711, No. 10.
 (u¹) a higher form of (u) almost (u), 53, par. 8, 554*c*.
 (u_o) peculiar Midland transition sound from (ə) to (u), described, 291*c*, and compare, 292*a*, 365, 554.
 (u_o) the sound of (u_o) with the tongue more advanced.
 (ú_ou) TH.'s sign for my (æ'u), 292*c*, used on 327, under O'.
 (uh) Bell's No. 16, which he assigns to unaccented *-ure* and American *do*, but Sweet to *value*.
 (úu) Midland inchoant diphthong commencing with (u) and passing on to (u), probably Sweet's *uw*, which he analyses as (úuw), that is (u) passing into an 'overrounded' (u), see (ú₁u).
 (u₁) a low form of (u), scarcely distinct from (o¹) the high form of (o), which see, 291*c*, 389*b*, 540*d*. For a long time I confounded this with (u_o) under one sign and hence some errors in

Part IV., thus (u) on p. 1107*d*, 1114*c*, should be (u₁).

(u₁') a peculiar fracture heard in D 33, so written on 682*d*, but written (u') on 711, No. 10.

(ú₁á₁) a Northern fracture similar to (i₁á₁), 542*a*.

(úu₁ə) JGG.'s form of (u'), 721*c*.

(ú₁u) Northern inchoant diphthong commencing with (u₁), almost (o¹), and ending with (u), 494*c*, 541*d*, 595*b*.

(v) Bell's No. 15, Bell and Sweet both consider it to be Swedish *u*; it may be conceived as (y) with more flavour of (u) in it.

V. (v Δ).

(v) the voiced form of (f), a buzz, with the lower lip firmly placed against the teeth, the despair of Germans who use (bh), 1101, col. 2.

(Δ) written like Greek η, the sign of French nasality; the four French nasals in *an vin un on* are conventionally represented by (aΔ eΔ oΔ oΔ), but the relaxation of the uvula necessary for nasalisation prevents any exact reference of oral to orinal nasal vowels, 1123, col. 2.

W. (w wh wr^o w 'w wj).

(w) a peculiarly English buzzed consonant with nearly closed lips, which are compressed in the middle but inflated on each side by the emitted voice, the back of the tongue raised as for (u); the side inflations distinguish (w) from (bh), and the buzz from (ü), 1091 to 1094; used for (v) in some dialects, 132*b*, 143*a*.

(wh) flated (w), that is, with unvoiced breath through the same position, which makes next to no hiss, only a blow, see the long discussion, 1125 to 1145, 543*c*.

(wr^o) initial *wr* still heard among old people in the North, 543*c*, the oldest form was perhaps (rw) or labialised (r).

(w) mark of labialisation, that is, of closing the lips more or less during the sound, or holding the position of the previous letter, as in (kw, gw, tw, dw), that is, an attempt to pronounce (w) at the same time with (k g, t d) respectively; it may also be used with vowels to indicate greater labialisation, or more than the normal closure of the lips, thus (ow) = (o_u), which see.

(^ow) the indefinite voice sound (^h) labialised, which therefore approaches to (u) and forms the 'vanish' of (oo), see (oo^ow), and 1152, col. 1.

(w_j) palatalised labialisation, or an attempt to pronounce (u, i) or (y) with the preceding letter, as (nw_ji) or (ny_i), French *nuit*, 1115*a*'.

Y. (y y₁—y y₁—Y).

(y) Bell's No. 28, the sound of French *u*, German *ü*, which are perhaps not quite the same, lying intermediate between (i) and (u). The presumed transitional sound from (u) to (y) is (æ'u). Perhaps pure (y) does not occur in our dialects.

(y₁) a modification of Fr. *u* in a direction not precisely ascertained, admitted in D 10, p. 146, D 11, p. 156*d*, and D 19, p. 261*a*.

(y) Bell's No. 14, said by Melville Bell to be heard in the last syllable of *houses* and *-shire*, a peculiar sound used in 540*b*, and stated to lie between (i, v), compare (i₁₁); it is commonly transcribed (i₁) by me, see 756*d* and 767*c*.

(y₁) a variant of (y), the value not precisely ascertained, 560*a*.

(Y) Bell's No. 13, Russian **Ѣ** (Jery) according to Bell, and Welsh *u* according to Sweet.

Z. (z z—zh zh zh_j zrh—zh).

(z) the buzz of (s) produced by laying on the voice in the (s) position, as in *zany* his whizzing; often preceded when initial by an (s) in German as (szii) *sie*, and followed by an (s) in the pause in English as (hizs) *his*, 1122*c*' 1104*d*.

(z) the voiced form of (s), which see, according to LLB. the voiced Italian *z* generally taken as (d_jz).

(zh) the buzz of *sh*, initial in Fr. *je* (zhə), in English occurs only between two vowels as in *division*, *measure*, and where it has been recently developed except in S. dialects, 40*d*, 1118.

(zh) advanced (zh), this may be the second element of (d_j) usually assumed to be (dzh), 1154*b*'.

(zh_j) voiced (sh_j), convex tongued (zh), this also may be the second element of (d_j).

(zrh) voiced Polish *rz*, the tongue as for (zh) and the tip trilled, 295*a*.

(zh) reverted (zh) with the under surface of the tip of the tongue against the palate, occurs in (d_j=dzh), 41*c*.

Numerals (¹ ₁ ₁₁ _ε ⁴ ⁵ ₂).

(¹) with a higher tongue, or appreciated as a higher sound, 1107.

(₁) with a lower tongue, or appreciated as a deeper sound, 1107, often used as a mere diacritic.

(₁₁) doubly lowered, see (i₁₁) p. 82*.

(ε) is used for the Arabic **ع** or bleat which it greatly resembles in shape; it is produced in the glottis, and may be considered as an exaggerated catch or (i).

(⁴) rounding by palatal arches, as in a parrot's (p¹u's) puss, 1114*d*'.

(⁵) with pursed and protruded lips, 158*c*, 322*d*.

(₂) unilateral palatal click used to start a horse with in England, usually spelled *cl'ck*; there are several other clicks represented by turned numerals, or by aid of ‡ below, 725, No. 17.

Points (, ; ' : . . ' ' ' —.
.. : : :).

(') preceding a vowel, the clear glottid, 1129*d*'.

(;) the check glottid or Arabic hamza, regularly used when a word begins with a vowel in German, not usual in English, 1130, 725*d*, 730*d*, used instead of musical accent in Danish.

(') indicates the absence of glide or recoil after a mute, see p. 77* on length of consonants.

(:) after a vowel or syllable, denotes secondary stress; before a word indicates that it would begin with a capital letter in received spelling.

(.) period, before any letter, indicates that it receives a peculiarly vigorous utterance; it is only used in phonetic discussions as (r) Lowland *r*.

(.) after a vowel or syllable, denotes primary stress, and before a word emphasis, as (tə prize'nt v pre'z'nt) or (tə prizen't v prez'nt) to present a present.

(') after or before another consonant, =('h), that is, voice in its simplest form independent of the position of the organs; in former Parts much used where (v) is now written by preference, see ('l, 'm, 'n).

(') after another consonant =('h),

THE EXISTING PHONOLOGY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this treatise is to determine with considerable accuracy the different forms *now*, or *within the last hundred years*, assumed by the descendants of the same original word in passing through the mouths of uneducated people, speaking an inherited language, in all parts of Great Britain where English is the ordinary medium of communication between peasant and peasant. This limitation excludes those parts of Wales and Scotland where Celtic is habitually spoken by the natives. Ireland has also been excluded, except in the south-east of Co. Wexford—an old English colony—because it has otherwise a comparatively recently imported speech. The exact limits are marked on the Map by the CB or Celtic border, and traced in words below. Of course the oldest form of English existent within these limits was itself imported from North Germany, modified by Old Norse and subsequently Old Norman, which was a form of Old French modified by Old Norse. And equally of course the immigrants aboriginally spoke differently, so that there was not really one original form for any word within the whole limits thus described.

To solve this problem perfectly every word used by native peasants in every part of the country should have its pron.¹ observed and written phonetically. But this was obviously impossible. Hence a selection of typical words had to be made. Before investigating it was naturally impossible to make a proper selection, but without some sort of selection no investigation could have been commenced. At first I tried any collections of words I could obtain. Then finding how vague, defective and redundant these were, with the help of Dr. J. A. H. Murray, author of DSS. and editor of the new English Dictionary, I constructed in 1873 a *Comparative Specimen* (referred to as cs. and given in the Preliminary Matter No. III.), containing at least many typical words and constructions, run into sentences. This then I endeavoured to get “translated” into the idiom and pronunciation of the place.

¹ See list of abbreviations in frequent use, pp. 4* and 6*.

Constantly complaints came to me from correspondents in different parts of the country that "our people don't speak so." Of course they did not. That was inevitable, and indeed intentional. But the intention was also to have the idiom corrected, at the same time that the pron. was assigned, and this was seldom attempted. Notice of my attempt was given in the *Athenæum* and *Academy*, and numerous ladies and gentlemen who were familiar with dialectal speech gave me their assistance. But there was great difficulty in expressing their meaning through lack of phonetic knowledge. Fortunately many were able to give *vivâ voce* readings, and most kindly laboured hard to make me understand the sounds, while I wrote them in palaeotype. Their names and work are recorded in the Alphabetical County List in the Preliminary Matter No. VI. In other cases I endeavoured by written questions to obtain a clue to the sounds. But this was heavy and laborious, and the result was not satisfactory on the whole, although the versions of my cs. thus obtained were the nucleus of my work.

Finding that the words I wanted particularly were often ingeniously avoided in the translations given, and that the idiom presented great difficulties, in Sep. 1877 I got out *Word Lists* (referred to as wl.), following the order and etymology in Dr. Sweet's *History of British Sounds*. This step indicated a further advance in the conception of the problem. The Wessex, or literary Saxon form of King Alfred's time, was now, where possible, adopted as the language of comparison, even for those Midland and Northern regions, where different forms of Low German were originally spoken. In some instances of course this comparison could not be made, and the word had to be referred to a Norse or French form, or classed as of unknown origin. We had now a standard of comparison. The problem then assumed this form, *given the Wessex vowels* (or consonants, but the vowels were most important) *of certain words, to find their dialectal equivalents in different parts of the country*, and this is the form under which its solution is attempted in this treatise. The order and classification used by Dr. Sweet, proving inconvenient for rapid reference, I subsequently modified this list, and it finally assumed the form of the Classified Word List (referred to as cwl. as distinct from the preceding wl.) given in the Preliminary Matter No. V.

With this wl. I gave a list of the principal sounds to be observed, with their glossic representation and a number attached. I regret to say that these proved useless and confusing. I could seldom rely upon the figures given. Some unfortunate misprints, arising from extending the list of sounds, increased the perplexity of many correspondents, and the result was that where I was unable to obtain *vivâ voce* or palaeotypic information, I had the same difficulty as before in interpreting the informants' orthography (here referred to as io.), and occasionally the still greater difficulty arising from the wrong use of numbers. Still I managed to obtain a very considerable amount of local information from all parts of the country by means of these wl., over which many of my

informants gave themselves an immense amount of trouble, for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. About 1700 of these lists were sent out, chiefly to the clergy in those parts of the country from which information was most needed, and of these about 500 were returned with some though often very little information.

In 1879 I tried the use of a much shorter specimen called the Dialect Test (referred to henceforth as dt.), containing only 76 independent words, which exemplified all the principal classes, or rather would have done so if my informants had not constantly avoided or changed some of the important words. This dt. with the words numbered and the original notes designed to draw my informants' attention to the points of the investigation and to record the pron. to a considerable extent without having to acquire the use of a systematic orthography, is given in the Preliminary Matter No. IV., and has been of much service.

These three modes of obtaining information were necessarily addressed to educated people who did not speak dialect naturally, and hence had only more or less observed what was said, and imitated it as well as they could. They all spoke "received speech" (abbreviated to rs.) in "received pronunciation" (abbreviated to rp.), and endeavoured more or less successfully to impart their impressions of dialectal pron. (abbreviated to dp.) by means of "received orthography" (abbreviated to ro.). Here were many possible sources of error. 1) The sounds may have been wrongly appreciated. 2) The sounds may have been wrongly imitated. 3) The rp. adopted by my informants may have been different from my own, for there is no such thing as a uniform educated pron. of English, and rp. or rs. is a variable quantity differing from individual to individual, although all its varieties are "received," understood and mainly unnoticed. 4) There are many dialectal sounds which are not recognised at all in rs. and which hence required more than ro. to represent, so that my informants frequently used combinations of letters which are not in ro., and these they generally did not attempt to explain or frankly declared to be inexplicable. 5) There was my own conjectural interpretation of my informants' orthography, which was at first very venturesome and unsatisfactory to myself. The hours, days, and sometimes months and years which I have spent over endeavouring to avoid these sources of error would be in themselves sufficient to account for the delay in completing this treatise.

But why not go to the peasantry at once? Why not learn from word of mouth, so that the errors would be limited to the writer's own appreciation? Where possible, this mode of obtaining information has been followed. But I have myself been able to do so in very few cases. There are many difficulties in the way. First the peasantry throughout the country have usually two different pron., one which they use to one another, and this is that which is required; the other which they use to the educated, and this which is their own conception of rp., though often remarkably different from it, is absolutely worthless for the present purpose.

If I, having no kind of dialectal speech, were to go among the peasantry, they would of course use their "refined" speech to me. I have therefore not attempted it. But I have occasionally been able successfully to obtain information from domestic servants, from railway porters, and principally, through the kind cooperation of the Principal, from the students at Whitelands Training College in Chelsea. These last were young women generally about twenty years old, fresh from the country, who, though they now spoke rs. very well, had been from earliest childhood accustomed to the speech of their own districts, or had learned that of other districts by long teaching of natural dialect speakers in national schools. To the interest taken by the Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, the Principal, in my work, the help from the teachers themselves, and the willing assistance of the students, I am indebted for information which has cleared up many difficulties and helped me to fill up many gaps.

But my chief aid in this way has come from three important sources. 1) Mr. C. Clough Robinson (henceforth referred to as CCR.), author of a Leeds Glossary, and subsequently of the Mid Yorkshire Glossary (the latter published by the English Dialect Society), a natural dialect speaker, acquired my glossic in personal interviews with me, and was of the utmost assistance in phonetically rendering the pron. of South and Mid Yo.

2) Mr. J. G. Goodchild (henceforth referred to as JGG.) a Londoner, who had been many years employed on the Government Geological Survey, and had thus been constantly in the society of dialect speakers, having acquired a knowledge of my palaeotype (verified by many personal interviews between us), was able to furnish me with wonderful phonographs, so to speak, of the pron. in Cu. We. and nw. Yo., which he had again and again verified by the speakers themselves.

3) Mr. Thomas Hallam (henceforth referred to as TH.), a native of n. Db., a natural dialect speaker, for many years a book-keeper in the Canal Department of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Offices at Manchester, having acquired the use of my palaeotype in great perfection, as verified by many personal interviews between us, has rendered me the most important services in the Midland Counties, La. Ch. Db. St. in especial, and in various other counties of England, as will be seen in the lists Nos. VI. and VII. given in the Preliminary Matter. His position in connection with the Railway Offices gave him facilities for travelling over these regions, and as he has been helping me for fully twenty years, there has been time for collecting and imparting great stores of information. His method of proceeding was this. On arriving at a station he would inquire where he could find old and if possible illiterate peasants, whom he would "interview," gaining their confidence, and then noting their peculiarities of pron. in his note books (now more than lxx. in number, a goodly Septuagint), using palaeotype, which he wrote most accurately. In the same books he entered all passing pron. which he heard, forming the "words noted" (abbreviated to wn.), which are so frequently referred to hereafter,

reduced to the form of my cwl. Also, making acquaintance with native dialect speakers, he obtained numerous es. and dt., most of which are given below, and thus enabled me to illustrate dialectal pron. in a most unexpectedly accurate manner over about 22 counties; for the exact enumeration see the Alphabetical County List, and Informants' List in the Preliminary Matter, Nos. VI. and VII.

A large number of the names there recorded recall to me long correspondence or lengthy personal interviews, and I beg to return to all my informants grateful thanks for their help, which has made my work possible.

Finally I wish to record my obligations to H.I.H. Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte (henceforth referred to as LLB.), who, though he was able only on one occasion to take down a portion of a es. in pal. himself, yet procured me many versions of the es. from others, and a large amount of incidental dialectal information. To him I owe especially my first conceptions of a classification of the English Dialects, and he has been throughout a warm sympathiser and a ready helper. Possessing a large collection of English dialect books, consisting of various specimens, besides those versions of the Song of Solomon made for himself, and all the best glossaries, with many of his own notes in travelling, he allowed me to examine them all, and abstract what was needed, so that I was made thoroughly acquainted with all that had been done before, and saw how necessary it was to treat of the pron. separately.

To clothe all these sources of information in a proper garment, which would admit of accurate comparison, a sufficiently copious phonetic alphabet was necessary. The palaeotype used in Parts I. to IV. of EEP. was of course adopted. But the direct investigation of living speech has rendered numerous additions or modifications necessary. Hence I have considered it advisable to prefix to this treatise a new table of Dialectal Palaeotype (in the Preliminary Matter No. VIII.), containing all the signs employed in this treatise in an order which can be readily referred to, so that no reader can have any difficulty in ascertaining the value of any symbol he meets with. Great peculiarities will generally be specially explained where they occur, and in the Table of Dialectal Palaeotype (which for that purpose has been printed last) references will be given to these explanations. The use of pal. of course requires much careful study to understand it thoroughly and read it easily, but I must assume that this work will be used by readers who are prepared to study. There is no help for it. If the sounds were merely uttered to them without being fixed by signs, they would forget or confuse them immediately. I do not add a general treatise on phonetics. Much can be gathered from the discussions in Part IV. of EEP., and a condensed account of the theory of phonetics, with a long list of my palaeotype symbols, drawn up by myself, will be found in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 22, or part 86, pp. 381-390, published 1887.

There is so much difficulty in limiting the conception of a

dialect, so as to distinguish it from a language, that I have thought it best not to attempt distributing the English language into precisely defined dialects, but to take the range of country where English is acknowledged to be spoken by peasants to one another in some one or other of its forms, and then to divide it into districts where the form of speech can be tolerably well defined. Hence the first thing is to lay down the limits assumed for English as against Celtic. This is a division of entirely unrelated languages, differing in sound, vocabulary, grammar and history. But this is the only case in which all these four points will have to be considered. This is a treatise on the existing phonology of the English dialects, meaning simply peasant speech. Hence, when the area of English is once determined, the geographical divisions must depend mainly, if not always, entirely on pron., with the least possible admixture of considerations founded on vocabulary and grammar (indicated in the note appended to the cwl. in Preliminary Matter No. V. p. 25*), and none at all on history.

The first broad points in the phonology of English which struck me were the treatment of Wessex U and U' (capital letters will always be used, as in the headings of the cwl. in the Preliminary Matter No. V.), of the letter R, and of the definite article. To my surprise I found that the lines separating these different treatments could be traced completely across the country from sea to sea, and hence I obtained TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, which form the first broad phonetic distribution of English speech. I had hoped indeed that they would form the basis of the ultimate districts. But I gradually found that this was not the case, so far as the treatment of U, U' was concerned, for reasons which will be best explained hereafter; but in other respects the transverse lines do really limit divisions and districts.

Then by tabulating and comparing, especially by means of the cwl, I obtained SIX DIVISIONS, with sufficiently distinct differences and characters, to which I give the geographical names of Southern, Western, Eastern, Midland, Northern, and Lowland, the last being almost entirely in Scotland. The characters by which these are distinguished will be given in detail hereafter.

Then commenced the more difficult task of separating these Divisions into such DISTRICTS as had a considerable claim to be considered uniform in the pron. they used, and were sufficiently distinct from their neighbours. The difficulty was to make these districts wide enough, by resolutely refusing to be led away by small differences. Properly speaking there is no uniformity. Not only will a practised ear tell the village in a district from which a speaker hails, but a more accurate examination will shew that families in the same village do not speak exactly alike, nay, that the individual members of the same family will have generally some differentiating peculiarity. My information, however, seldom went into such fine details, although that obtained from Messrs. Goodchild and Hallam often reaches the stage of individualism. My first attempts almost always erred in making the districts too

small, but finally I left very few small districts, because, among other reasons, of the difficulty in determining their boundaries with the information at my command, and contented myself with mostly large districts, in which I recognised VARIETIES only roughly located, and not always accurately or completely characterised.

The result of this has been to divide the whole country into 42 numbered districts, of which 21 contain 89 varieties. In eight of these varieties I have even distinguished 19 subvarieties. Thus stated, the distribution appears rather complex, but the complexity will disappear on examination. The whole of these 10 Transverse Lines, 6 Divisions, and 42 districts, with the Celtic Border, are clearly shewn in the little maps of England and Scotland, drawn from my instructions by Messrs. George Philip and Son, and given with this treatise, and the Key to these maps in the Preliminary Matter No. II. indicates the position of the varieties and subvarieties. In the subsequent pages each District and Variety will be considered in the order of their numbers, and their numbers will be placed at the head of the pages. Hence the reader, after having consulted the map which gives him the number of the district, and the key which shews the number of the Variety, can immediately turn to the page containing the information.

In the course of tracing the boundaries, or of giving the information, I shall have frequently to refer to places whose names are not on the maps here given, and indeed are often difficult to find on any but the large maps of the Ordnance Survey. But it is necessary that the reader should have a good conception of their situation on the little maps which have the districts marked on them. This is effected thus. Take the village of Harrold referred to as "Harrold, Bd. (8 nw. Bedford)," that is, Harrold (not on the map) is in Bedfordshire, 8 miles to the north-west of the town of Bedford (which is on the map). Any series of county maps will then enable the reader either to find the name or the exact locality. I have found G. Philip and Son's penny county maps of England and Scotland very useful, but they are not on a uniform scale. W. H. Smith and Co.'s maps (on the uniform scale of 4 miles to the inch) will enable the reader to follow all the boundaries of districts here given. Stanford's Railway map of three miles to the inch, and the Ordnance maps, may be further referred to if necessary, but Philip's and Smith's are the most convenient, as I have found by extensive use.

This geographical distribution, which was not possible until information had been obtained from all parts of the country, and the limitation of the investigation to phonology now existing either in absolute use of living people or in their memories, form the two distinctive characters of this treatise. It was necessary for this purpose to localise information, and hence to reject almost all printed books, which generally refer to very vaguely defined or, more accurately speaking, undefined areas. This localisation, except when I could secure the assistance of my three chief informants, was very difficult to procure. No doubt many local

readers will object to some of my lines of demarcation, or to the sounds themselves attributed to certain classes of words. This is really inevitable. I have not swept the country, and most of my brooms so far as I went were not of perfect construction. I can only say that I have done my best, and at my advanced age, after twenty years' work on the subject, the main point was to secure what had been gained, and leave corrections to future workers.

The present plan of this enlarged treatise, as distinguished from that in Chap. XI. § 2, No. 3, which has been cancelled, is as follows.

At the commencement is placed a quantity of Preliminary Matter, paged with a star, as 1*, 2*, etc., to which the reader will have constantly to refer.

The contents already sufficiently indicated consist chiefly of the means for procuring information, the geographical representation of the dialectal districts by maps, with their key, the lists of my informants, and the table of Dialectal Palaeotype.

In the work itself, after this Introduction, I proceed direct to the CELTIC BORDER, which I give in two forms: first, as the late Mr. Green conceived it to be in A.D. 580, after the Low Germans had been in England about 130 years, with his supposed distribution of the different tribes; second, as results from inquiries made by myself in Wales, and Dr. J. A. H. Murray in Scotland. Ireland I consider for present purposes as entirely Celtic, with the exception of the little peninsula containing the baronies of Forth and Bargo in Co. Wexford. This Celtic Border, which is boldly drawn on the maps, will be immediately very carefully described in words, so that it can be readily followed on any maps of Great Britain. It limits to the west and north the country considered in these pages.

After this follows an account of the TEN TRANSVERSE LINES, with a verbal description of the route taken by each, shewing the belts of different pronunciation into which they divide the country.

Then I consider the S. div., giving its boundaries and general character, followed by the districts or D. 1 to 12 which it contains. Each district is treated thus.

It is first numbered and then named. The exact BOUNDARY, as well as it can be ascertained, is next given, followed by the AREA it occupies, expressed in terms of counties or parts of counties. Then come the AUTHORITIES or list of places from which information has been received, with a rough indication of its nature. These names refer to the Alphabetical County Lists in the Preliminary Matter No. VI., which contain detailed information. Then is given the general character of the whole district and an account of each variety. Finally come the ILLUSTRATIONS, consisting generally of cs., dt. and cwl., but occasionally others, where fortune favoured me. The main scientific interest, however, centres in the cs., dt. and cwl., because the different pron. of the same words are thus so easily compared. Occasionally I give many cs. or dt. belonging to one district, and even to different districts, in an interlinear form, which furnishes a remarkably easy method of comparison.

The other divisions and districts are treated in the same way precisely.

Although this has a very complete and systematic appearance, I do not disguise from myself the real incompleteness of the whole exposition and the great desirability of using it merely as a nucleus round which the results of other investigations may be grouped.

Finally there will be a Section on RESULTS, shewing how modern dialectal phonology is related to the ancient Wessex form in particular. This section especially shews the bearing of the present investigation on my complete work. It will necessarily involve the philological question of the alteration of pronunciation in the descent of various languages from one source, for the divisions of English pronunciation are in fact only the illustrations on a small scale which can be observed in actual process of growth, of the changes which in a large scale have been going on within different families of languages throughout the world.

THE CELTIC BORDER.

This is considered under two aspects, ancient and modern. The Ancient is that which divided the immigrant Low Germans from the resident Celts after the first period of conquest had subsided and settlement proper began. The Modern is that now existent.

Ancient.—About A.D. 408 the last Roman forces were withdrawn from Great Britain, and probably in the same year the Low German invaders, who will here be collectively termed Saxons, though they consisted of many different tribes, began to appear. They are however generally credited with having first landed in A.D. 449. These different tribes were constantly fighting with the Celts, but after the battle of *Deorham* (a village near Bath, Sm., overlooking the valley of the R. Severn, A.D. 577), when half the country had been conquered, there was more settlement than conquest, and the different invading tribes rather contended with each other for supremacy, than fought against the “Brut” or Celts. At this time Mr. J. R. Green (*Making of England*, p. 203) apportions the country roughly between Saxons and Celts as follows, by a line running nearly n. to s. from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel. The details of this line are mainly conjectural, and in default of precise information, Mr. Green follows *co. b.* in a great measure. But as the division corresponds to an existing contrast of dialects—on the e. side older Saxon with subsequent Danish influence, on the w. side later Saxon with Celtic influence—it is convenient to describe it, in such a way that it can easily be followed on the maps. This opportunity is also used for localising the various invading tribes to the e. according to Mr. Green,¹ and of giving two groupings of a much later date.

¹ Mr. Green considers that the British were entirely exterminated or driven to the w., so that the population to the e. was purely Saxon. Mr. Grant Allen,

in an article headed “Are we Englishmen?” (*Fortnightly Review*, 1880, vol. 28, new series, pp. 472-487), says (p. 485), “A small body of Teutonic

This ancient Celtic border which, to prevent confusion, is not laid down in the maps, begins on the Firth of Forth on the w. b. of Ed., and passes w. of Pb. and Rx. to w. of Nb. and Du. Along s. of Du. Mr. Green places the s. b. of the *Berenicians* that extended on the e. side n. to the Firth of Forth. On the w. side were Strathclyde in Scotland and the Cumbrians in England.

The old Celtic border then continues first w. of n.Yo., and then through Yo. to the e. of the great forest of Elmete, which extended down to Sherwood in Nt. and Db. It then turns w. and n., and afterwards s. again, in order to run on the n. and w. side of Db., and then to the w. of St., till it had to go suddenly e. in order to skirt the great forest of Arden in Wa.¹ Having done so, it resumes its n. to s. direction, passing through Wo. until it strikes the R.

immigrants descended some time about vth century and onward, to the Eastern shore of South Britain. They occupied the whole coast from the Forth to the Isle of Wight, and spread over the country westward, as far as the central dividing ridge. Though not quite free from admixture with the aborigines, even in this limited tract, they still remained relatively pure in their strongholds, and they afterwards received a fresh Teutonic reinforcement by the Danish invasion. Westward of the central line they conquered and assimilated the aborigines upon whom they imposed their language and laws, but whom they did not exterminate. In the extreme west and in Ireland, the Celts long retained their language and nationality undisturbed. During the middle ages the English people formed by far the most powerful body in the island, and even now they have imposed upon all of it their name and language. But since the rise of the industrial system the Celts have peacefully recovered the numerical superiority. They have crowded into the towns and seaports, so that at the present day only the rural districts of Eastern England can claim to be thoroughly Teutonic. The urban population consists for the most part of a mixed race. Moreover, since intermarriage is now so very frequent, it seems probable that almost all English families, except those of the stationary agricultural class in the East, have some small proportion of Celtic blood. In the upper classes, where numerous intermarriages are universal, this proportion is doubtless everywhere very great. Out of Britain the Celts have it all their own way." And again (p. 487): "We may sum up the result here indicated, in a single sentence:

though the British nation of the present day is wholly Teutonic *in form*, it is largely and even preponderantly Celtic *in matter*." It seemed proper to give these results; but they do not affect this investigation. On the e. people do not speak a language shewing Celtic influence in either grammar or pron. On the w. pron., but not grammar, betrays Celtic influence. This is not an ethnologic treatise. Difference or similarity of language are no guarantees of difference or similarity of race.

¹ *Rosalind*. Well, this is the forest of Arden. *Touchstone*. Ay, now am I in Arden; the more fool I: when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content.—*As you like it*, Act 2, Sc. 4, speeches 6 and 7. Lord Byron, speaking of the soldiers at Waterloo, says: "And Ardennes waves above them her green leaves, Dewy with nature's tear drops, as they pass," *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. st. 27, and the commentator in Moore's ed. 1833, vol. 8, p. 144, says: "The wood of Soignies is supposed to be a remnant of the forest of Ardennes, famous in Boiardo's Orlando, and immortal in Shakspeare's *As you like it*." Probably many schoolboys have thought the same, as I did fifty years ago also. But Arden, joined as a parish with Temple Grafton, is only 5 w. Stratford-on-Avon, Wa., and Henley-in-Arden only 7 nnw. Stratford, and I certainly agree with Sharpe's Gazetteer that this Arden "probably is the true original of Shakspeare's Forest of Arden." It was a forest he was thoroughly well acquainted with, and geography was a trifle to him. Besides, where did "the Duke" of *As you like it* abide?

Severn near Gloucester. It reappears on s. of Gl. opposite the end of the Forest of Dean, and going e. to avoid the great Forest of Selwood, passed on southwards through w.Wl. and e.Do. to the sea near Portland.

The Saxon settlements on the e. of this b. were according to Mr. Green as follows :

Berenicians in Scotland. Nb. and Du. with capital Bamborough (12 ne. Wooler), Nb.
Deirians in Yo. with capital York. The large marsh at the junction of the Ouse with the Humber, and the great forest of Elmete to the w., were uninhabited.

Lindiswaran in Li., except the great marshes near the Wash. The n. of Li. is still known as "the parts of Lindsey."

Snotingas, a tribe of Angles settled on the edge of Sherwood, Nt., and extended to the valley of the R. Soar (say to Loughborough, Le.)

Peesattan or Peak-settlers, a tribe of West Angles, inhabited Db. and were separated both from Yo. and Nt. by Sherwood and Elmete forests.

West Angles, excepting those last mentioned, settled in St.

Gyrwas, or marsh-dwellers, settled w. of the Wash.

South Angles were in s.Np.

East Angles were in Nf. and Sf.

Middle Angles were in Le.

Hwiccas, a West Saxon tribe, settled in Gl. along the R. Severn.

Wilsætan, also a West Saxon tribe, were in Wl.

Gomissas, another West Saxon tribe, settled in the Isle of Wi. and Ha.

Middle Saxons occupied Mi.

East Saxons were in Es. and Ht.

South Saxons in Ss.

Jutes, who are recognised by Mr. Green, although their existence is doubtful, are placed in Ke. The Weald of Ke. and Ss. co. was occupied by the great forest of Andreda, which separated the Kentmen from the South Saxons.

At a later period the Berenicians and Deirians were united as Northymbrians, and one of their kings, Ethelrith, wrested Ch. and s.La. from the Celts, by the victory of Chester A.D. 613. For lack of information Mr. Green leaves these countries under Northumbria, for 62 years (from 613 to 675), till the revolt of Wulhere king of the Mercians—that is, dwellers on the Marc, or border, of Wales answering to our Midlanders—brought them under Midland influence, which their language still shews most strongly, having nothing Northumbrian in it.

In Mr. Green's posthumous work, *The Conquest of England*, 1883, p. 112, there is a rough sketch, entirely unrevised, of the state of England at the treaty of Wedmore (7 w.Wells, Sm.) between King Alfred and Guthrum the Dane, after the battle of Edington (7 sw.Wells) in 878. The Danes then withdrew from Sm. and the sketch-map gives the following divisions :

1. *Bernicia* extends on the e. from the Forth to s. of Du.
2. *Danish Northumbria* covers Lonsdale s. of the Sands m.La. and all Yo.
3. *Danish Mercia* takes in Db. Nt. Li. Ru. Np. forming the districts of the Five Boroughs, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Stamford in s.w.Li. and Nottingham.
4. *Kingdom of Guthrum* comprises Nf., St., Es., Mi., Ht., Bu., Bd., Cb., Hu., in fact all my E.div.
5. *English Mercia* takes all the co. w. of the Danish Mercia and e. of Wales, as far s. as the Avon and Thames, and hence includes Gl.
6. *Kingdom of Kent* occupies all my D 9 = ES.
7. *Wessex* occupies all my D 4 and 5, with the exception of Gl.
8. *West Welsh* is my D 10 and 11.

The second, third, and fourth of these divisions constitute the Danelaw or portion of England then ruled by the Danes.

Finally Mr. Green left another unfinished sketch of a map of the

“great ealdormanries” or lord-lieutenancies (*Conquest of England*, p. 316) which were created from 955 to 988. This map, then, forms a later grouping which must necessarily have had an effect on the dialects and which is therefore reproduced.

1. *Northumbrian Ealdorm* comprising the former Bernicia and Danish Northumbria.
2. *Cumbria* containing Cu.
3. *West-Morlinga Land* containing We.
4. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* from the Ribble La. e. of the Severn through Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl. to the Thames.
5. *The Five Boroughs* (as above explained) replace Danish Mercia.
6. *The Ealdormanry of East Anglia* comprises Nf., Sf., Cb., Hu., Bd., Ht.
7. *The Ealdormanry of Essex* comprises Es., Mi., Ox.
8. *The Ealdormanry of the Eastern Provinces* comprises Ke., Sr., Ss.
9. *The Ealdormanry of the Central Provinces* contains Wl., Ha., and Isle of Wi.
10. *The Ealdormanry of the Western Provinces* contains Sm., Dv., Co.
11. *The Ealdormanry of Mercia* contains s.La., Ch., St., Sh., Wa., Wo., He., and Gl.

These original settlements of the tribes and the various settlements that followed, to which have to be added those resulting from the Danish and Norman conquests, sufficiently account for the existence of great diversities of local speech, and at the same time point to the gradual formation of the divisions S, W, E, M, N here adopted from an actual examination of existing local habits of speech. But it is no part of the work of this book to check the above statements in any way. Whatever their errors may be, they were made conscientiously to illustrate the best general conception that Mr. Green could form, with the aid of the imperfect materials he possessed.

Modern.—The modern Celtic Border in Great Britain, drawn on the map and marked CB., divides those who speak English from those who speak Celtic. But it has here been extended to Ireland so as to include the old colony of Forth and Bargy, which, like sw. Pm. and Gowerland in Wales, was an English settlement from which the Celts were excluded.

The modern CB. therefore begins in Co. Wx., Ireland, and then on the map passes by sea to Pm., Wales, and then by sea to Gm., Wales, then again by sea to Mo., whence through Wales to Fl. Afterwards it passes by sea w. of Ma., but east of the Isle of Arran, to Bute in Scotland, which country it traverses in a ne. direction to Cr., whence it passes again by sea to ne. of Cs., and by sea to the w. of the Or. and Sd. This gives the general run of the line which will now be particularised. The Welsh line was determined by AJE., the Scotch by JAHM.

An English-speaking place is one in which the uneducated, or only elementarily educated people speak with each other habitually in English. The line through Wales, with the exception of the outlying districts in Pm. and Gm., about which there is no trouble, was drawn from the answers of clergymen of the parishes along or near the supposed route in answer to the following questions :

- “1. Is Welsh or English generally spoken by the peasantry about [the place addressed] to one another? 2. If Welsh, where is the nearest English-speaking

place to the east? 3. If English, does it resemble in pronunciation the English of [the neighbouring English co.]? Or is it simply book-English?" To which for s.Wales I added, "4. If mixed, how often have you Welsh services or sermons?"

The complete answers which I received are given in my paper "On the Delimitation of the English and Welsh Languages," originally published in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. v. pp. 173-208, and reprinted in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1882-3-4, Part II. App. II. The names of the clergymen who so kindly assisted me will be found in the Alphabetic County List under the Welsh counties considered. Other particulars will be given when treating of D 13 and 14. Here I simply give the line as accurately as I was able to draw it, beginning with the detached districts, including the Irish portion.

Ireland.—The line which separated English from Irish in the xiith and subsequent centuries, till, in the xviiith, it was merged into the Cromwellian English spoken in the surrounding district where Irish had become disused, begins on the s. coast of Wx., Ireland, at the head of Bannow Bay (13 sw.Wexford), and passes nearly in a straight line to Wexford, following the borders of the baronies (or co. divisions, corresponding to English hundreds, of Bargy in the w. and Forth in the e. This line cuts off a peninsula at the se. angle of Ireland. It then passes by sea across St. George's Channel.

2. *South Wales, Pm.*—The CB. cuts off the two sw. peninsulas of Pm., containing the hundreds of Rhôs and Daugledy (rhoos, dâygledh-y), Pm. I take the line assigned by my informant, Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n. Pembroke), as the probable boundary of the original or very early Saxon colony. It begins at Newgate Bridge (6 ese. St. Davids), the ne. corner of St. Bride's Bay, and proceeds in ne. direction to Ambleston (7 mc.Haverford West, and 1½ ne.Treigarn), and then turns se. to pass by Lawhaden and Narberth (9 e.Haverford West) going in nearly a straight line just e. of Ludchurch (10 ese.Haverford West), to fall into Carmarthen Bay near Amroth (am-roth), 5 ne.Tenby, at the se. extremity of the co. Mr. Tombs says that he thinks no line can now be drawn between Anglicised Welsh and the border of the early colonists, though it was perhaps possible 100 years ago. It will be observed that this line cuts off two peninsulas separated by Milford Haven and the R. Cleddau (kledh-âx). The CB. then proceeds by sea to

3. *The Peninsula of Gowerland*, in sw.Gm. My informant, Rev. J. D. Davies, of Llanmadoc Rectory (14 w.Swansea), says that the following 17 parishes have spoken English for centuries (I merely give the distances from Swansea, direction from w. to sw.): 1, Cheriton 13; 2, Llanmadoc 14; 3, Llangenydd 15; 4, Rhos-sili 16½; 5, Llandewi 14; 6, Knelston 13; 7, Reynoldston 12; 8, Port Eynon 13; 9, Penrice 11; 10, Oxwich 11; 11, Nicholaston 10; 12, Penmaen 9; 13, Lower Llanrhidian 11 (Upper Llanrhidian 8 does not speak English); 14, Ilston 7; 15, Penard 7; 16, Bishopston 6; and 17, Oystermouth 4. These parishes all lie on the peninsula and their inland boundary is therefore part of the modern CB. It starts from the mouth of a streamlet which runs into the Burry River estuary in Carmarthen Bay, 2 s.Penclawdd (penklâur-dh) railway-station, which is 8 wnw.Swansea. The boundary runs up this streamlet over Welsh Moor and Pengwern Moor nearly in a straight ese. direction to Myer's Green, 1 s. Mumbles Station (3 sw.Swansea) on Swansea Bay. The CB. again passes by sea through the Bristol Channel to the estuary of the Usk, Mo.

4. Here the Welsh and English part of the CB. begins.

Mo. Start from the confluence of the Ebbw (ēb-u) and Usk, about 2 s.Newport on the Bristol Channel. Keep on the e. bank of the Ebbw, w. of Newport, e. of Risa (6 nw.Newport), and w. of Pontypool, (10 sw.Tredegar), to the junction of the greater and lesser Ebbw, or Ebbwy-fawr, and Ebbwy-fach (ēb-ux vâur,

eb·uy vakh), and take the e. bank of the lesser Ebbw, leaving Mo. near Brynmawr (branmáur) Br., meaning a 'big hill.'

Br. Proceed nearly n. to just w. of Llangattock and Crickhowell = Welsh Crughywel (kryg·ha·uel). Then go e. of Tretower, on the high ground to the e. of the River Bryn, turning slightly to nw. up to Talgarth (12 sw. Builth), and then probably still on the high ground on the w. of the Wye pass e. of Gwendwr (gwendwr) and Llangynog (lhangā nog), but w. of Builth (by·alht) to the Wye about 3 ne. of Builth.

Rd. Cross the Wye and proceed nearly directly n. through Rd., which is almost entirely English, just e. of the railway, leaving Rhayader-Gwy and St. Harmon's (both about 18 w. Knighton) on the w.

Mg. Continue to go nearly n., leaving Llanidloes (lhanid·lões) (11 sw. Newtown), on w., but Mochtre and Penstrowel (3 and 5 w. and sw. Newtown) on e. Then go slightly ne. by Manafon (8 nw. Montgomery), and Castell Caer Einion (4 wsw. Welshpool), w. of Guilsfield, 2 n. Welshpool, and e. of Llausantffraid (lhan·santffraid) (8 n. Welshpool), but w. of Llandysilio (lhandas·ilio) (7 n. Welshpool), turning n. to enter Sh.

Sh. The line seems to pass directly n. to Llanymynech (lhanamēnek) (5 s. Oswestry), and thence to Oswestry, and on to just w. of Chirk (5 n. Oswestry).

Dn. The line then makes a gentle sweep to the e. and passes e. of Ruabon (rhūabon) to Wrexham, through which it passes and deflects to the ne., but turns more n. as it enters Fl.

Fl. The line passes nearly n. through Fl., leaving Hope (8 se. Flint), on the e., and both Mold (6 s. Flint), and Northop (3 s. Flint), on the w., reaching the R. Dee, at 2 se. Flint, halfway between Flint and Connah's Quay.

The line again passes through the sea w. of I. of Man and e. of the I. of Arran to Bt., and the Gaelic and English b. commences.

Scotland.—The line now traverses Scotland, dividing the existing Gaelic speakers and existing Lowland speakers, that is, speakers of English in Scotland. This was determined by Dr. Murray for his work on "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland" (pp. 231–6), with the assistance of the gentlemen named below.¹ This line gives "the outside limits of the Gaelic, that is, every district is included in which Gaelic is still spoken by any natives, regardless of the fact that English may be spoken by the majority of the people." The following account of this Scotch portion of the CB. was revised by Dr. Murray. The line is traced from s. to n.

Bt. After passing through the sea from Fl., w. of I. of Man, and e. of Arran and Cantire, the CB. commences on land in Bt. and traverses the middle of the I. of Bt. and the adjacent channel.

¹ Rev. Wm. Ross, of Chapelhill Manse, Rothesay, Bt., but a native of Cs., for Cs., and co. n. of Moray Firth and islands and coast of the Clyde.

Rev. Colin Mackenzie, of Ardelach (8 se. Nairn, Na.), and Rev. John Whyte, Moyness (12 se. Inverness, In.), for Na. and El.

Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitsli·go), 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab., and James Skinner, Esq., factor to the Duke of Richmond, for El. and Ba.

Rev. Robt. Neil, of Glengairn, 11 ne. Braemar, Ab. (through Rev. Dr.

Taylor, of Crathie, 9 ene. Braemar, Ab.), for Ab.

Rev. Neil McBride, of Glenisla, 17 nw. Forfar, Fo., for nw. Fo. and adjacent parts of Ab. and Pr.

Rev. Samuel Cameron, of Logierait (6 n. Dunkeld), Pr., Rev. Dr. Macdonald, of Comrie (20 w. Perth), Rev. Hugh McDiarmid, of Callander, Pr., for the adjoining part of Pr.

Rev. W. Mackintosh, of Buchanan (23 wsw. Stirling, for w. Sg.).

Rev. Duncan Campbell, of Luss (12 nnw. Dumbarton, Dm.), on w. coast of Loch Lomond, for the dist. between Loch Lomond and Loch Long.

Ar. The CB. then continues in a ne. direction by the se. coast of Ar., just w. of Dunoon (9 sse Inverary), skirting the Firth of Clyde to Loch Long, through the middle of which it passes.

Dm. The CB. turns e. and enters Dm. just n. of Gorton (17 nw. Dumbarton), and passes e. through Glen Douglas to the w. shore of Loch Lomond at a point 9 nnw. Dumbarton, where it crosses Loch Lomond.

Sg. The CB. enters Sg. just n. of the Rowardennan Inn (19 n. Dumbarton and 22 w. Stirling), and crosses Sg. in an ene. direction.

Pr. The CB. passes se. of the Trossachs to Aberfoyl (7 sw. Callander), and thence to Callander, whence it passes through Glen Artney to Comrie (14 ne. Callander), and crossing Glen Almond, goes just s. of Amulrie (9 nne. Crieff), after which it follows Strath Braan through Birnam Wood to Dunkeld. The line then passes in a nne. direction over Mt. Blair, where the b. of Ab. intersects the b. of Fo.

Ab. Entering Ab. by Mt. Blair the CB. goes in a n. direction to meet the Dee about 4 e. Braemar, and follows the Dee to 2 e. Crathie and Balmoral, and then suddenly turns unnw. to go to Strathdon, also called Invernochtie (7 n. Crathie), when it turns a little nw.

Ba. The CB. enters Ba. about 6 ne. Tomantoul and skirts the R. Livet on the w. to b. of El.

El. The CB. crosses the Spey nearly at right angles (2 s. Inveraven), Ba., which is 12 nne. Tomantoul, and passes through El. in a wnw. direction crossing the Knock of Brae Moray (15 sw. Rothes, El.), and proceeding nw. to Na.

Na. The CB., continuing its nw. dir., crosses the Findhorn R. at right angles, and goes on to Ardelach (8 sse. Nairn), and reaches the Moray Firth about 3 w. Nairn.

Cr. The CB. crossing the Moray Firth cuts off the extreme ne. of Cr. containing the town of Cromarty, and then the line again takes the sea past the e. coast of Ross and Sutherland and part of Cs.

Cs. The CB. reappears on land at Clyth Ness, Cs., 10 ssw. Wick. It proceeds in an undulating line to the n. of Harpsdale (15 wnw. Wick), and through Hallkirk (16 nw. Wick) to the River Forss, which it follows to the sea 5 w. Thurso.

The line then takes to the sea again, leaving the Or. and Sl. groups to the e., and after passing them, ceases to exist.

THE TEN TRANSVERSE LINES.

These are marked by broken lines on the map, except when they coincide with any border marked by a continuous line on the map, and then the broken parts are drawn through this line and at right angles to it in order to shew the coincidence of the two lines. Most of the Transverse Lines during part or all of their course so coincide with other boundaries. They are numbered on the map by numbers in (), corresponding to those used in this description.

LINE 1.—The n. *sum* line or northern limit of the pron. of the word *some*, Ws. *sum*, as (səm) or (səm) in s. England. The pron. (səm) reappears n. of line 8.

Proceed from n., follow the CB. to Chirk on b. of *Sh.*, which enter between Ellesmere *sōm*, that is, which says (səm) (7 ne. Oswestry), and Oswestry *sum*, that is, which says (səm) or (səm). Thence it passes se. running w. of Hordley *sōm* (6 ene. Oswestry) and e. of Whittington *sum* (2 ne. Oswestry), s. of Wem *sōm* (13 e. Oswestry) and Yorton *sōm* (2 sw. Wem) and just w. of Haduall *sōm* (4 nne. Shrewsbury), going s. between Shrewsbury *sum* and Upton Magna *sōm* (4 e. Shrewsbury) to the Severn at Atcham. Then it follows the Severn to the b. of the co.

Wo. On entering Wo. pass just e. of Bewdley (3 wsw. Kidderminster), *mixed sōm* and *sum* but chiefly *sōm*, and Dunley (5 ssw. Kidderminster) *mixed*, and proceed in a se. direction to

Wa. Stratford-on-Avon. Continuing se. to pass just n. of Kineton (8 ese. Stratford) *mixed*, much, *sōm*, through Fenny Compton (probably) to the b. of the co.

Np. Enter *Np.* just n. of Byfield (16 wsw. Northampton) *mixed*, and turn n. to coincide with Line 3 for a little way passing e. of Weedon (8 w. Northampton) *sōm*, and e. of Daventry *sōm* and going through Long Buckley to Watford (18 w. Wellingborough) *sōm* to w. of East Haddon (14 w. Wellingborough) *sum*. Then quitting Line 3, turn ene. passing by Brixworth (6 n. Northampton) and Hamington (5 nw. Wellingborough) both *mixed*, when turn ne. and go between Islip (8 e. Kettering) *mixed* and Thrapston (9 e. Kettering) *mixed* to the b. of the co. about 2 s. Hemington (11 sw. Peterborough) probably *sum*.

Hu. Enter *Hu.* just n. of Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and go just s. of Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) *sōm*. Then, crossing the Great Northern Railway, probably turn ne., passing just n. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon) and enter

Cb. Pass just n. of Chatteris (10 nw. Ely) *mixed* and turning ne. go e. of March and w. of Wisbech *mixed* to the edge of the co., and then proceed by nw. b. of *Nf.* to the sea.

For the line as far as Sawtry I am almost entirely indebted to TH., who with great pains took a phonetic survey of this part of the country. The rest of the route to March and Wisbech and nw. *Nf.* I owe to other informants, checked, however, by TH., as shewn in the next Line 2.

The use of (ə, ɛ) for U is of course a modernism and an encroachment, hence we may expect to find that it is not a sufficient mark of a difference of district, because all other characters may remain and the modern (ɛ) may have only partially prevailed. Also intermediate forms may prevail arising from the encroachment being still incomplete. It will be found that both anticipations are fulfilled.

LINE 2.—The s. *sōm* line or southern limit of the pronunciation of the word *some* as *sōm* (*sum*) in England; for the n. limit see Line 9.

Sh. As far as the se. b. of Sh. lines 1 and 2 coincide.

Wo. Directly that the n. *sum* line enters *Wo.* there is a mixed district s. of it, where *sōm* is more or less frequently heard, and the intermediate *som* (*som*) is also found. It occupies the whole of s. *Wo.*, *Gl.*, and even n. *Wl.* Proceed direct s. from Bewdley, w. of Stourport, to the Malvern Hills, and continue by Redhill or Redmarley d'Abitot to the s. b. of *Wo.*

Gl. Enter about 8 wsw. Tewkesbury, pass more or less to the w. in order to leave Newent (8 nw. Gloucester) to the e., and go s. to Dursley (14 ssw. Gloucester).

Wl. Take a sweep s. of Tetbury (16 s.-by-e. Gloucester) and proceed e. and ne., going s. of Malmesbury (14 w. Swindon) and Purton (4 nw. Swindon).

Ox. Thence go ne. through a corner of *Be.* to Witney (10 nnw. Oxford) and Bicester (11 nne. Oxford).

Bu. Thence pass through Buckingham and w. of Stony Stratford (7 ne. Buckingham) to b. of *Np.*

Np. Going mostly just w. of the border, sweep just s. of Thrapston, and join the n. *sum* line again at the b. of *Hu.*

Hu. and *Cb.* Through *Hu.* to past Sawtry (9 nnw. Huntingdon) the s. *sōm* coincides again with the n. *sum* line, and both pass between Great Gidding (10 nw. Huntingdon) *sum* and Sawtry *sōm*. But then the s. *sōm* line runs eastwards, s. of Ramsey (9 nne. Huntingdon).

Cb. It enters s. of Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and runs ne. to b. of co.

Nf. The line enters *Nf.* just s. of the new Bedford Rivers, at the s. of the Bedford Level, about 24 s. King's Lynn, and pursues rather a winding course through w. *Nf.*, s. of Downham (10 s. King's Lynn) and Swaffham (13 se. King's Lynn), and e. of East Dereham (23 ese King's Lynn), where it turns n. for about 6 m., and then, after running s. of Fakenham (8 s. Wells-on-Sea), turns nw., and falls into the sea between Hunstanton (13 nne. King's Lynn) and Brancaster.

For this line I am wholly indebted to the "phonetic survey" of the adjacent parts made by TH., who has visited expressly numerous villages along the route here laid down (30 places in Norfolk only), and has himself heard the not unfrequent use of *sööm* and similar words between the n. *sum* and s. *sööm* lines, and, especially in Nf., has observed the use of the intermediate *som*. It would be probably quite impossible to determine the line more accurately.

Here we have examples of the incomplete assertion of (ə, ɛ). It will be observed that Line 2 runs in general much further south than line 1. It is only to the n. of line 1 that the old state of things remains, and to the s. of line 2 that the new state has fully asserted itself. The intermediate country between Lines 1 and 2 is *mixed*, with one or the other form of U fully asserted, or *transitional*, a new form, as (som), which indicates the influence of (ə, ɛ) upon (u) being heard. What it is particularly necessary to guard against is the supposition that (ə, ɛ) is the "correct" form because "received"; it is only a modern form. Even in rp. the (ə) has not fully asserted itself, *full* (fʌl) is itself an example; and we find in the (u) regions an apparently perverse habit to say (fæl). The pron. of *full*, and of similar words, is merely a mark of the conflict, which has been left standing.

LINE 3.—The Reverted *ur* (ʀ) line or n. limit of the pron. of *r* as (ʀ) or (r) in England. Sporadically and through natural defects of pron., reverted *ur* (ʀ) may be heard still more northerly, and even to the w. in D 13. But it ceases to be the regular pron. at this limit, and even in D 9 the *ur* (ʀ_o) frequently sinks into the common received vocal *er* (r_o); while in D 6, 7, the tongue is often merely retracted (r_ɪ) or even Midland (ɾ), instead of reverted (ʀ). It is probable that originally the line really commenced at the mouth of Bannow Bay in Ireland, proceeding along CB. to Wexford, and then to Pm. and Gm. But in none of these places can reverted *ur* (ʀ) now be traced with certainty. Hence the line must be taken to begin in England. The map however by the serrated line shews that the reverted *ur* line is supposed to have begun in Wexford.

Gl. Start in England from the mouth of the Wye on the Severn R. and proceed n. by the w. b. of Gl. till you meet the b. of He. just e. of Monmouth.

He. Then run in a nne. direction so as to leave Ross, Ledbury (13 e. Hereford), and Much Cowarne (8 ne. Hereford), on the e. At Much Cowarne turn more to ne., leaving on the w. Stoke Lacy (9 ne. Hereford), Pencombe (10 nne. Heref.) and Bromyard (13 ne. Heref.), which are in D 13, and then turning still more to the e. pass near Whitbourne (7 w.-by-n. Worcester) to the b. of the co.

Wo. Afterwards proceed more n. to Bewdley, then turn e. and pass n. of Kidderminster and s. of Stourbridge, Hagley, Cradley and Selly Oak (3 s. Birmingham), and probably n. of King's Norton to the border of

Wa. Where turn se. and pass n. of Packwood, going e. of Henley-in-Arden and Claverdon, but s. of Warwick and s. of Southam to the b. of

Np. opposite Braunston (13 wnw. Northampton), and pursue that b. to the n. as far as Watling St. by Crick. Then go se. joining the n. *sum* line 1 between Watford and East Haddon, but leaving it at the angle se. of Weedon and passing

just s. of Blisworth to the b. of the co. by Hartwell. Pursue this b. to the s. and w. till just e. of Brackley (17 sw. Northampton) it reaches the b. of

Ox. The line is now so ill known or indistinct that I have been obliged to assume the b. of *Ox.* as its limit to the Thames at Henley, whence it follows the w. and s. banks of the Thames to the sea. Of course through the metropolitan area this line is a mere fiction and shews only what it once *may* have been. In the part adjoining the Thames the reverted *ur* (r) sinks to the vocal *r* (r_o).

The great difficulty of obtaining information renders much of the course of this line rather doubtful. Through Wa. and Np. it has been taken as coinciding with the b. of D 6, which at any rate cannot be far wrong.

LINE 4.—The s. *teeth* line, or s. limit of the use for the definite article of a suspended (t'), commonly written *t'* in dialect books, or of the hiss (th) as heard at the end of *teeth*. It is possible that cases of *tee* (t') occur sporadically just s. of this line by assimilation, as they more frequently occur between lines 4 and 5, but in D 24=e.NM. *tee* (t') is the rule. The word *teeth* is chosen because it contains both (t) and (th).

Ch. Line 4 begins on the Dee, about 2 sw. Chester, and passes just within the s. b. of Ch., e. of Farndon (7 s. Chester) and w. of Malpas (12 ese. Chester), reaching the co. b. at Wirswall (2 n. Whitechurch, Sh.); it pursues the b. for a few miles, but at Burley Dam, 1 s. Combermere Abbey, it passes e. round to the n. of Audlem, then goes s., traversing the ne. horn of

Sh. just w. of Norton in Hales, and turning se. at 12 ene. Stone, enters

St., through which it passes to the e. to Stone, and then sweeps round to Rocester (14 ene. Stoke), on the w. b. of Db., along which it runs to the se.

Db. Just s. of Repton (8 sse. Derby) the line cuts across the tail of Db., which projects between St. and Le., and then runs again along the s. b. of Db. to Nt.

Nt. and *Yo.* The line seems to pursue the w., s., and then the e. b. of Nt. to its n. extremity, after which it pursues the b. of Yo. and Li to the Humber, and then runs along the s. b. of Yo. to the sea. In Nt. (dhu) is the rule, yet not only do (t'), (th) occur, though not frequently, but there is a frequent assimilation, probably of (th) to (s) before (s). See D 27.

LINE 5.—The n. *theeth* (dhiith) line, or n. limit of the use of *the* (dhu, dhi) and the hiss (th) in conjunction with suspended *te* (t') as the def. article, till *the* returns to the north of line 7.

Ma. The line begins at n. of the Isle of Man and proceeds by sea to

La. which it enters at Cockerham 6 s. Lancaster, and passes in an ese. dir. just n. of Over Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) and then follows the b. of La. to about 9 nne. Burnley.

Yo. It then enters Yo. and runs e. apparently to about Burley (8 n. Bradford), where it joins the s. *hoose* line 6 (to be described presently), and follows that line to the w. b. of Li. Then it runs along the w. b. of Li. to the Humber, following line 4 already described.

The whole line from the b. of La. and across to Burley is necessarily very uncertain. But it seems to pass between Skipton on the n. and Keighley on the s., a distance of 8 m., which this line bisects, and hence it is probably not far wrong.

This line is here assumed to be the n. limit proper of the use of

the hiss (th) for the definite article. But n. of this line CCR. says that in former years he has traced this form (th) through the whole of Craven in rare occasional use, which has not influenced any printed account of the dialect. He has also heard of the (th) as being in use east of Skipton, Yo., straggling nearly to Harrogate, although s. of this line it is quite unknown, and he thinks that it exists also a little w. of Ripon. This (th) is by far the most heard about Washbourn River (D 30, 10 es., No. 6, intro.) between Skipton and Harrogate. In all these places except the last, the usage is so slight that it has not crept into print, but in the last it has been printed in a newspaper contribution by Mr. Granige, of Harrogate, a local historian.

LINE 6.—The s. *hoose* line, or s. limit of the pron. of the word house as *hoose* (huus), which is also the n. limit of the pron. of *house* as any variety of (ha'us), of which those in the M. div. are numerous and singular.

Ma. The line begins on the west at sea at the n. of I. of Man, in which the English uses *house*.

Cu. On the mainland, the line begins at the mouth of the Esk R. by Ravenglass (17 sse.Whitehaven), and proceeds s. of that river on the watershed up to the Wry Nose Fell, on the b. of Cu. and We. So close is the division here, that, as I am informed, at Gosforth (5 nnw. Ravenglass) they say *coo* (kūn) and at Bootle (5 sse. Ravenglass) they say *cow* (kóu). But the real Gosforth pron., as we find mostly to the n. of it, may be (úu).

La. The line then follows the Brathay R. on the n. b. of La. to the head of Windermere, and descends down its w. shore to Newby Bridge (7 ne.Ulverston), at its extreme s. It then sweeps round, in a way which has not been accurately traced, but is certainly some distance n. of Cartmell (5 e. Ulverston) *house* and crosses the Winster R., which forms the e. b. of La., probably opposite Witherslack (7 ssw.Kendal).

We. The line probably passes just s. of Witherslack, n. of Milnthorpe (6 s.Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Kirkby Lonsdale (10 se.Kendal) *house*, going in a ne. direction and crossing the Lune R. about Middleton (8 ese.Kendal).

Yo. The line enters Yo. just s. of Sedberg (8 e.Kendal) *hoose*, and n. of Dent (13 ese.Kendal and 4 sse.Sedberg) *house*, which is a very close and sharp div. The line then runs through Garsdale along the Clough R. to the w. b. of the North Riding of Yo., which it probably pursues to the Wharfe R. The line probably pursues the Wharfe R. to Burley (7 ne.Keighley), and then passes just s. of that river, s. of Otley (9 nw.Leeds) *hoose*, and n. of Leeds and Harewood (6 n.Leeds) *house* (háus), and then bending se., passes e. of Aberford (9 ene. Leeds) *house* (haas), and passes w. of Selby *hoose*. Then taking a more s. direction it passes w. of Snaith (6 s.Selby) *hoose*. After this it seems to go nearly s., and passes e. of Doncaster and Rossington (5 se. Doncaster), both *house*, and turning at once to the e. passes probably along the b. of Nt. to the b. of Li. at the s. of the I. of Axholme in the nw. of Li. between the Old Don and the Trent Rivers, in which both *hoose* and *house* (huus hóus) are heard.

Li. The line probably enters Li. about 3 n.Gainsborough, where the b. of Li. turns suddenly to the s. The passage from about Selby, Yo., up to this point has been difficult to trace, but the information is very precise through Li. The line going e. passes n. of Blyton (4 ne.Gainsborough) *house*, and s. of Scotter (7 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, and then passes s. of Redbourne (11 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, and n. of Waddingham (11 ene.Gainsborough) *house*, the last two being adjoining parishes. Then it turns suddenly ne. and passes to the n. of North Kelsey (15 ene.Gainsborough) *house*, and to the s. of Howsham (16 ne.Gainsborough) *hoose*, the last two being also adjoining parishes. Moreover, the North

Kelsey folk look down on the Howsham folk for saying a *coo* (kuu) for a *cow* (kóu), and probably conversely. After this the line proceeds in a ne. direction s. of Uleeby (10 nw. Great Grimsby), and s. of Killingholme (9 nw. Great Grimsby), both *hoose*; but n. of Brocklesby (8 wnw. Great Grimsby) and of Stallingborough, (5 wnw. Great Grimsby), both *hoose*, to the sea, 6 nw. Great Grimsby.

I am indebted for the Li. information to a large number of persons, especially clergymen, whose livings were in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable how little aware those who live only a very few miles off this line are of this great difference of pronunciation. Most Li. people hardly believe that in any part of Li. *hoose* is now said, while Mr. Peacock of Brigg, author of the Manley and Corringham Glossary, did not seem to know that any other pron. but *hoose* was current in Li. And in the neighbourhood of the n. of Nt. I have several times been altogether perplexed by being told that *hoose* was said, when subsequent visits to the place by TH. shewed that this was not the case.

Of course (huus) is the older form, and all the forms of (ha'us) are very modern. Hence the treatment of U' is not sufficient to mark dialects. The transitional form between (uu, a'u) is (ú₁u), which will be discussed in D 31.

LINE 7.—The n. *tee* line, or northern limit of the use of suspended (t') or t', which may be conveniently called *tee*, for the def. art.

Cu. The line commences on the w. in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith, at 13 w. Carlisle, passes just s. of Kirk Bampton (7 w. Carlisle), then turns in a s. dir. as far as about 2 s. of Sebergham (9 ssw. Carlisle), after which it turns ne. and passes e. of Southwaite (7 sse Carlisle) and Coathill (5 sw. Carlisle) to just s. of Fort, where it reaches the Eden R. by Hornsby, up which it proceeds in a se. direction to Kirk Oswald, 14 se. Carlisle, and immediately turns nne., forming an acute angle with its former course, passes over Croglin Fell, when it again bends through sw. Nb., and passing s. of Alston (20 ese. Carlisle), it re-enters Cu., where, after going s. for a little way, it turns e. at Rother Fell (4 s. Alston) to the b. of Nb.

Du. The line enters Du. by the heights on the n. side of Weardale, and passing n. of Stanhope (18 wsw. Durham) and Walsingham (over Skaylock Hill), runs probably to the se. yet n. of Witton le Wear and Bishop Auckland to Merrington (6 s. Durham), and then sweeps to the e. and afterwards ne. past Bishop Middleham (7 sse. Durham) and Trimdon (8 se. Durham), but n. of Sedgfield (10 sse. Durham), passing along the Skern R. to the railway, when it turns suddenly n. and passes w. of Hart and Easington (9 nnw. Hartlepool), and w. of Seaham (5 sse. Sunderland), to fall into the sea about Ryhope (3 sse. Sunderland).

For the commencement of this line through Cu. to Sebergham I am indebted to the Rev. T. Ellwood, for the part from Sebergham to s. of Alston I am indebted to the observations made by JGG., and for the part which passes through Du. to the answers kindly given by many clergymen along the route, and a visit made by myself to one of them at Bishop Middleham. Dr. Murray had first drawn attention to the importance of this line as the separation of the Danified from the non-Danified N. (DSS. p. 86 note); but he commenced it at Allonby, avoiding the sinuosities by Kirk Oswald, and lost it at Stanhope (18 w-by-s. Durham). It was to try and recover the lost line that I sent out a series of questions to the clergymen of the neighbourhood. But it should be observed that the custom of speech is very mixed at Wigton and Silloth (10 sw. and 18 wsw. Carlisle, Cu.) and that neighbourhood, although prevailingly (t'). So it is also about Dalston and Wreay (:rîv) s. of Carlisle, but

there (dhe) prevails. But from Fort and Kirk Oswald onwards the line is sharper.

LINE 8.—The s. *sum* line in n. England or the s. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (səm, sɛm), on travelling from Scotland into England.

Cu. The line begins on the w. by the Solway Firth, probably at the mouth of the Esk (6 nw. Carlisle), and proceeds in a ne. direction over Beacon Hill (14 ne. Carlisle) and s. of Bewcastle (16 nne. Carlisle) to the w. b. of Nb.

Nb. The line then turns suddenly s. and passes w. of Haltwhistle (14 w. Hexham), and e. of Knaresdale, Nb. (17 sw. Hexham).

Cu. The line re-enters Cu. just w. of Alstone (20 ese. Carlisle), and then striking the n. *tee* line 7, coincides with it throughout the rest of Cu. and throughout Du.

For the Cu. part of this line I am indebted to JGG., the remainder results from many communications, together with some personal observations.

LINE 9.—The n. *sööm* line, or the n. limit of the pron. of *some* as any variety of (sum) or even mixed with varieties of (səm) on proceeding from the M. co. to Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. this line coincides with Line 8.

Nb. But on reaching Nb. it sweeps in a direction at first e. and at last n. round the base of the slopes of the Cheviot Hills, passing 4 w. of Bellingham (:bel'ndjəm) (13 nnw. Hexham), 4 w. of Otterbarn on the Rede R. (18 nnw. Hexham), and 2 w. of Harbottle (which is 17 wsw. Alnwick), and goes n. to the Cheviot Hill itself (8 sw. Wooler) on the w. b. of Nb., at the source of the rivers Coquet and Till. Then it proceeds in a ne. direction 2 s. of Wooler to fall into the sea about Bamborough (12 n. Alnwick), the ancient Bebbanburg, the former capital of the Saxon Kingdom of Bernicia.

LINE 10.—The L. line is the limit between L. Scotch and N. English speech, and is not precisely coincident with the political boundary of England and Scotland.

Cu. Through Cu. the line coincides with the two previous lines 8 and 9.

Nb. As far as the Cheviot Hill the line coincides with line 9. But after quitting the Cheviot it proceeds in a nw. direction along the w. border of Nb. to the Tweed, down which it runs in a ne. dir. till it reaches Wateadder Water, the w. b. of the Liberties of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and 2 n. Berwick.

Bw. Locally in the Scotch co. of Bw., but politically an independent territory, Berwick-on-Tweed and its Liberties, extending 2 to 4 miles into Bw., are linguistically part of England, and the L. line passes round the w. and n. of them to the sea about Marshal Meadows, 3 nnw. Berwick-upon-Tweed.

It will be observed that this line of the separation of L. and N. En. does not coincide with the line given by Dr. Murray (D. of S. S. p. 25 note, and map). His L. line proceeds n. from Gretna, Df., to the w. of Langholme, Df., crossing the Esk R. to meet the Scotch range of the Cheviots, along which it continues to the ene. into Rx. as far as Peel Fell, Nb., and then runs in an ese. direction to the Rede R., just west of Otterburn (18 nnw. Hexham), where it intersects my line 10, which it then pursues for the rest of the way. This throws a portion of Df. and Rx. known as Canobie and Liddesdale linguistically into England. He says that the dialect spoken in this region "is still quite distinct from that of the rest of

Df. and Rx., and is rather that of Cu. than L. Scotch." This will be considered hereafter. At any rate it does not agree with the information I have received from other quarters. Taking the Nb. slopes of the Cheviots, which would thus be included in England, I am told that it is chiefly traversed by Scotch, that is L., shepherds. Indeed, JGG.—who was for a long time quartered in this very region, with a companion, both on Geological Survey duty, and for lack of houses had to sleep in a caravan, where his rest was often disturbed at night by the cattle creeping under and using the floor as a back scraper—says that it was difficult to meet any but a Scotchman there. The whole parish of Falstone, on the North Tyne (20 nw.Hexham), which lies in the middle of this district, with its 57,000 acres of moorland, had in 1841 only 560 inhabitants spread all over it. And Plashetts, 4 miles further to the nw., on the North Tyne, together with Felstone, mustered only 222 inhabitants in that year. Dr. Frank Richardson, a physician, living in 1879 at Harbottle (17 wsw.Alnwick), at the foot of the Cheviots (certainly of that part which Dr. Murray also admits to be L.), writes: "I think you will not be wrong in considering that the Scotch occupy the entire hill country in these parts. The Cheviots are entirely inhabited by Scotch families, who rarely descend into the low countries." The Cu. portion which I include in L. has many more inhabitants than the Nb. portion. Bewcastle, 6 nne.Carlisle, may have 2000, and Longtown, 8 n.Carlisle, may have 1200 inhabitants. But, as we shall see, their speech has all the characters of L., and does not even resemble that of Carlisle, much less any district s. of the n. *tee* line 7.

THE ROMAN WALL.—In connection with these lines 8, 9, 10, the position of Hadrian's or the Picts' Wall is noteworthy as pointing to a separation of races before the advent of the Saxons. This wall was built by Agricola A.D. 79 to 85, and repaired by Hadrian A.D. 121, and Septimius Severus A.D. 208. The following are the places through which it runs from w. to e., with their distances and directions from C.=Carlisle, H.=Hexham, and N.=Newcastle.

Cu. It commences w. at Bowness, 12 wnw.C., and goes through Drumburgh, 9 wnw. C., and Beaumont, 4 nw.C. It then turns se. by Grinsdale, 2 nw.C., bending on the s. of the Eden R., sweeping just n. of C. and going in a ne. direction by Stanwix (1 n.C.), crossing the Esk, to Wallby (4 ne.C.), Wallhead (5 nne.C.), Old Wall (6 ne.C.), Newtown (8 ne.C.), Walton (9 ne.C.), Banks (11½ ne.C.), and Upper Denton (14 ne.C.), when it enters Nb.

Nb. It enters near Thirlwall (17 w.Hexham), passes by Wall Town (15 w.H.), Burnhead (12½ w.H.), where it turns slightly ne., by Carrow (7 nw.H.), whence it passes near Carrowbrough and deflects slightly to se., crossing the North Tyne at Citurnum, between Walwick (5 nnw.H.) and Brunton (4 n-by-w.H.), and goes by Halton Shields (5 ene.H.) and Harlowhill (8 ene.H.), after which it runs nearly ese. towards Newcastle, by Heddon on the Wall (7 wnw.N.) into N. itself, through which it passes and runs to Wallsend, 4 ene.N., where, as the name implies, it terminates.

The course through Cu. is only slightly to the s. of lines 8, 9, 10. But in Nb. it does not correspond to any dialectal division.

I.

SOUTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT
DISTRICTS.*Boundaries.*

Ireland. The n. b. commences at sea in Bannow Bay, and coincides with the Celtic Border, p. 13, and thence to the sea by Wexford, and then by the sea to Wales.

Wales. The n. b. coincides with the CB. through Pm., and Gm., and thence passing by sea again enters England.

England. The line passes by the reverted *ur* line 3, from the Bristol Channel across England to the south bank of the Thames, and n. of Ke. and Sheppy to the sea.

Area. All of England and its islands s. of this boundary, except the Channel Islands, where Norman French is still spoken.

Character. The one ancient character which runs more or less persistently through the modern S. div. is the reverted (*R*) or retracted (*r*₁), the parent of the point-rise or untrilled (*r*₀) or vocal (*v*), which still permeates received speech. In north Germany it is replaced by the laryngeal (*τ*) and the uvular (*ʀ*). But I believe that the reverted (*R*) is the true ancient form. The peculiar hollowness and roughness of effect, which once heard is easily recognised, is due to the hollow formed by turning the tip of the tongue up and back so as to point down the throat, and oppose the under (instead of the upper) surface of the tip to the hard palate. This (*R*) may or may not be trilled. The trilled form has not been generally recognised, but is quite possible. But the untrilled form (*r*₀), for which here for convenience (*R*) alone will be generally written, is most characteristic, and seems to blend in a singular manner with the preceding vowel, altering its quality and rendering it difficult to be recognised, almost to the same extent as in nasalisation. The long rough untrilled voice form here written (*ÆR*) for greater intelligibility is probably nothing but the prolonged voiced consonant itself (*'r*₀). Naturally when (*t*, *d*, *l*, *n*) follow (*R*), they are also reverted, as (*ÆRT* *ÆRD*, *ÆRND*, *gÆRL*) hurt, heard, earned, girl, for the alteration of the position of the tongue would otherwise be extremely inconvenient. I feel that reverted (*τ*, *δ*, *ρ*, *λ*, *ν*) are the regular old Ws. forms whence have descended our peculiar English "coronal" (*t*, *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*) as distinguished from the continental "dental" or rather "alveolar" (*t*, *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*). The Indians always represent our sounds by their "cerebrals" (*suprà* Part IV. p. 1096, col. 1). It is evident that the English sounds are merely imperfect utterances of the reverted. This reversion of (*R*) prevails still over the whole S. div. but the older main characters, as shewn in D. 4, all of which were probably characteristic of the whole division, fade out gradually to the e. of D. 4, and become complicated with other characters to the w. The reader is referred then to D. 4 for an account of the full characteristics of S. div.

D 1, 2, 3 = CS. or Celtic Southern,

That is, the Southern forms of English on Celtic territory, constituting a group by themselves. They occupy the portions of Ireland and Wales to the s. of the CB.

During the xiith century parties of Englishmen migrated evidently from Ws. regions, but under Norman guidance, and took possession of three peninsulas previously occupied by Celts, 1) the extreme se. of Wx. in Ireland, 2) the extreme sw. of Pm., 3) Gowerland in Gm. Tradition says that, at least in Pm., they were accompanied or reinforced by Flemings who had been driven out of the Low Countries by floods.¹ The people of Wx. believe that of the little band of 140 knights and 300 infantry, who came there with Strongbow in 1164, the infantry were recruited from the Flemings in Pm. and Gm.² But in the xiith century the distinction between Flemish and Ws. must have been slight, and the Ws. element must have predominated, for Higden in the xivth century finds the people speaking "good enough Saxon." At the present day Wx. presents no peculiarity, although a century ago, it was truly S. English. But Pm. and Gm. still possess remnants of the old forms. It is notorious that emigrants preserve the traditions of the old speech longer than the old country. In this case each settlement was surrounded by speakers of an unintelligible language. Hence the settlers scattered over a small extent of country were necessarily in constant communication, undiverted by other habits of speech. Consequently they preserved the old language with only natural changes. I regard these districts then as presenting remnants of a very old dialectal form, and hence place them first. But, as will be presently seen, they are now so worn away that their relation to S. cannot be properly felt unless D 4 be studied first.

¹ 1. William of Malmesbury, 1095-1143, "*Gesta regum anglorum*," ed. T. Duffus Hardy, Hist. Soc. ed. 1840. Lib. iv. § 311, p. 493, A.D. 1091, "Flandritis in patria illorum [i.e. of the Welsh] collocatis." Lib. v. § 401, p. 628. "Flandrenses omnes Angliæ accolæ eo traduxit."

2. Ranulph Higden (d. 1367), "*De rebus Britannicis et Hibernicis*," ed. Th. Gale, Oxford, 1691, p. 210, l. "Flandrenses . . . ad occidentalem Walliæ partem apud Haverford sunt translati — Flandrenses, . . . dimissa jam barbaria, Saxonice satis proloquuntur," or as Trevisa translates, "speketh Saxonlych ynow."

For the three next citations I am

indebted to Herbert Jenner, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum.

3. Geraldus Cambrensis, b. 1147, in Pm., "*Itinerarium Cambriæ*," lib. i. ch. xi. de Haverfordia et Ros: "gens hæc originem a Flandria ducens."

4. 'Brut y Tywysogion' (under year 1105, translation sent by Mr. Jenner), "that nation seized the whole cantred [i.e. *cantref* = hundred] of Rhos . . . and was derived from Fflandrys."

5. 'Annales Cambriæ' [under date 1107, Florence of Worcester makes it 1111]. "Flandrenses ad Ros venerunt"

² The Very Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., paper read at the Dublin meeting of the British Association, 1857. Dr. R. does not give his authorities.

D 1 = w.CS = western Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Ireland and the sea on the se. Wx.

Area. The baronies of Bargy on the w. and Forth on the e. in the se. corner of Wx., Ireland.

Sources of Information. All that is known of the dial. as it once existed is contained in "A Glossary with some Pieces of Verse of the Old Dialect of the English Colony in the baronies of Forth and Bargy, County of Wexford, Ireland, formerly collected by *Jacob Poole*, of Growtown, Taghmon [9 w.Wexford in the adjoining barony], County of Wexford, and now edited, with some Introductory Observations, Additions from various sources, and Notes by *William Barnes, B.D.*, author of a Grammar of the Dorsetshire Dialect," London, J. Russell Smith, 1867, pp. 139. With which compare the older paper of *Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.*, "Baronies of Forth and Bargey, County of Wexford, Ireland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Philological Relations of the Antique Dialect formerly spoken in this district; read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1866." This gives much additional information, but the subject is not looked at phonetically. Though the dialect is ancient, we meet with it in a modern form, affected by Celtic influences. The orthography is modern, and the words were written from dictation evidently by persons unaccustomed to a systematic representation of sound, and like all such, not thinking it necessary, or not being able to explain the orthography they used. Hence many inconsistencies and probably double uses. Dr. Vallancey published his paper, reprinted by Mr. Barnes, in Mem. Irish Acad. 27 Dec, 1788. Mr. Poole, whose glossary is the foundation of Mr. Barnes's book, collected his words in 1823-4. Mr. Edmund Hore, author of the Forth and Bargy address to Lord Mulgrave in 1860, was of this century, and kindly wrote a letter to a friend of his for me on 5th Oct., 1873, shewing by numerous examples that the old pron. had died out. "The Barony Forth dialect," says he. "was dying fast at the close of last century. It was in extremis by 1825, and in the present year, 1873, I am confident that there are not half a dozen young persons of and under 25 years, who understand a sentence of it. I have scarcely met one who did not laugh, and admit his ignorance of it. I was born in 1801, and my schoolmates never used a word of it between each other, except when in want of one to convey their meaning. They learned it, however, as children do, from their seniors, spoke it, with a mixture, to them, and hence it became more weakly by degrees, and would have expired in a shorter time, only that it was the language of the *illiterate* alone." I felt therefore that it was useless searching further among the people. I was unable to hear Mr. Hore read, and he was apparently unable to make his pronunciation clear by writing, saying to his correspondent Mr. Walsh, "I have not sufficient confidence in myself to finish the task" of writing the pron. of a lw. which I had sent him, "and therefore leave you to do the Glossic." This was

tantalising, for he adds: "A stranger, or more correctly a person who *has not* heard the dialect from the lips of an old Forthian, has only such knowledge of its pronunciation as Moderns have of the ancient pronunciation of the Dead Languages. A stranger reading it after the manner of English is as near the true sounds as he would be in reading French with the English sounds. The letter *A* had *invariably* the sound of *A* in the English word *father*." To this he added in the preface to the Address (Barnes, p. 113), "Double *ee* sounds like *e* in *me*; and in most words of two syllables the long accent is placed on the last," and also directed the reader to speak slowly.

Under these circumstances we have to divine the pron. from the habits of different persons in writing dialects, of which I have had a great and unsatisfactory experience, and I have by no means felt certainty in phonetically rendering the isolated words and short extracts which follow. Thus *a, e, i, o, u* are assumed as (*a, e, i, o, u*), not distinguishing (*e, ɛ*) or (*o, ɔ, ɒ*). But this is uncertain, as persons constantly write *u* for (*u, ə*), as we do in *dull, bull*, without any indication of the change. In Pm., however, it seems certain that (*u*) is still occasionally heard. For digraphs I take *ee, oo, aw* = (*ii, uu, AA*). I am not so sure of *au*; it may have been used of (*äʊ*) or (*éʊ*). As for *ie*, it seems to have been sometimes (*ái*) and sometimes (*ii*). But *aa, oa, ea* are the greatest stumbling-blocks. Most dialect writers use them for (*éee, óov, iiv*) or some such forms. Here, however, I have generally taken (*aa, oo, ee*) as the sounds, not distinguishing (*oo, oo*) or (*ee, ee*) even when long, as all is utterly conjectural. There may have been two diphthongs (*ə'i, a'i*), but they are hopelessly confused by the writer, yet *ay, ai, aay, aai*, were almost certainly (*ái, áai*), but for safety I use unanalysed (*a'i*). As to *ow*, I use unanalysed (*a'u*) as a general expression, though I think (*əə'u, ə'u, ɹ'u*) at least likely. But *ou* often quite puzzles me. It may be (*óv, ə, u, ʊ, áu*). For the consonants I assume *r* to be (*ɾ*), because the dialect is Southern, and *dr* is used for *thr*, but it may have become fully (*r*) under Celtic influence, centuries ago. The *th, dh* seem to be occasionally (*th, dh*), but also (*thɿ, dhɿ*) or (*th, ðh*), and *dh* final was perhaps (*dthɿ*). *Lh, rh* were possibly (*lh, rh*), but may have been (*lh, rh*), as these sounds seem still to occur in S. The postaspirates are probably all Celtic in origin, being frequent all over Ireland. The *f* when replacing (*wh*) may have been a strong (*wh*) misheard, but as (*f*) occurs in Aberdeenshire, probably under Celtic influence, it must be accepted; *fh* may be simply an exaggerated or postaspirated *f*. The *gh* I attribute to the scribal habits of the writer. I cannot think (*kh*) occurred even 100 years ago. Mr. Barnes unfortunately frequently "regulated" the spelling of his authorities—Vallancey's certainly, for I have compared the original, and Poole's probably—so that we have not by any means the words as those who heard them tried to represent them, which greatly increases my difficulty, as I have to conjecture what is meant by Mr. Barnes's conjecture as to the meaning of the original spelling. But assuming these values of the letters, we find on going through Mr. Poole's Vocabulary as printed and enlarged by Mr. Barnes, as decidedly characteristic: initial *dr* for *thr* implying (*ðr*) or reverted (*ɾ*); initial *z, v, zh*, for *s, f, sh*, and *ich* (*itɿ*) for the pronoun *I*; (*a'i*) in *tail, main, brain, rain, twain, eight, they*, (*ii*) for long *I, Y*, which is very old. All these (except the last) also characterise D 4, so that the S. character of D 1 is established. The particulars are put in the form of a cwl. below, p. 30.

Illustrations.

1. Extract from Vallancey's *A Yola Zong* (1) (*ə ʃoo'lə zoq*)

Fade teil thee (2)—fartoo zo hachee (3)?

Well, gosp, c'hull be zeid (4); mot thee fartoo, an fade (5)

Ha deight ouz var gabble (6), tell ee zin go t' glade (7)?

C'h'am a stouk, an a donel; (8) wou'll leigh out ee dey (9)

Th' valler w' speen here (10), th' lass ee chourch-hey (11).

Conjectural pronunciation.

fadt áid dhi—fartuu· zo atjii·?
 wel, gosp, tʃel bi záid; mot dhi far·tu? ʋn fadt?
 ha diit ʋz ʋar gab'l, tel i zin goo tɛ gladt.
 tʃam ə stóek ʋn ʋ duu·nel; wóel lii ʔut i dáí;
 dhe ʋal·ʋr wɛ spiin hiir, dh' las i tʃɔrtʃ hái.

Translation and Commentary.—(1). *An old song.* Old, commonly loses its d, and becomes (ool). Then a fractural (ʃ) is prefixed, forming (ʃool), which form occurs in the *Bride's Portion* (Barnes, p. 102, l. 2). The additional a making (ʃool·lɛ), is perhaps solely due to the following z, before which the l was lengthened by the speaker, and then the (ʋ) was inserted by the literariser.

(2). *What ails thee?* I consider the original *fade teil*, to be an error for *fadt eil*, the reporter, Dr. Vallancey, 1788, having been misled by the running on of a t after *fad* to the following vowel. The *fad* for *what*, may be also a mistake of the transcriber. Although (f) for (wh) occurs in Aberdeenshire, it is very likely that Dr. Vallancey may have misheard (wh) as (f). The rest of the stanza contains many un-English words, and is omitted with the exception of the last words.

(3). *Whereto (i.e. wherefore) so agee?* The *fartoo* is evidently *where-to* on the analogy of *fadt* for *what*. *Agee* out of sorts, "ill-tempered." Sir JAP. suggests Old French *hachée*, which Roquefort translates "peine, fatigue, pénitence," supposing that Old French formed part of the language of the original settlers, adducing *core heart* fr. *cœur*, *benisons* blessings, *meinies* wives and families fr. *mesnie*, *poustee* power fr. *poste* [? *postéis* "un grand seigneur, un homme puissant"], *mire* wonder fr. *mirer*, *avanet* arrived fr. *avenir* [?]. Whence *hachee* really comes is unknown, and I am far from suggesting that it is the same word as *agee*, which translates it so well.

(4). *Well, gossip, it shall be said.* I take *ei* here to represent (a'i).

(5). *But thy wherefore and what.* *Mot* is translated by *but* in Dr. V.'s glossary, but he translates this passage as "you ask what ails me and for what."

(6). *Have dight (or prepared) us for gabble.* I doubt whether *gh* was a guttural in Dr. V.'s time. The pronunciation of *ouz* (as Dr. V. writes, Mr. Barnes has *ouse*) is conjectural. Observe *for* with southern *v-* in *var*.

(7). *til the sun go to valley.* The *zin* is thorough Devonshire. *Glade* is translated *valley* by Mr. Hore in the address to Lord Mulgrave, Icel. *glāðr*, bright shining. You see the sun set through an opening only.

(8). *I am a stock and a fool.* *Cham* = *ich-am*, is a regular old Southern form. *Stouk* I suppose to have been meant for *sto-uck*, that is (stóek), a stock or blockhead, and *donel* is unknown. Sir JAP. suggests Irish *dona*, a poor unfortunate fellow. Dr. V. translates *dunce*, and Sir JAP. a *simpleton*.

(9). *Will lie (i.e. idle) out the day.* The pronunciation of *wou'll* is quite doubtful. I take it for *wol*, that is, *will*. Sir JAP. considers it *w'oul* we will. *Leigh* is translated "idle" by Dr. V. Mr. B. compares "to lake" or play, ags. *lácán*, but this would hardly give anything written *leigh*. Dr. V. translates "idle." Poole's glossary has *leeigh* to laugh, with which it may be related. The use of *ee* for "the" is regular. *Dey* gives the Southern pronunciation (da'i).

(10). *The longer we spend here.* *Valler* may have been an error for *vuller* = fuller. Dr. V. translates "more, longer in time." Sir JAP. suggests *value*. *Speen* for "spend" is like *een* for "end."

(11). *The less in church-hay.* *Hay* an inclosure, with regular pronunciation. Sir JAP. says, "The meaning of this is, I suppose, that the churchyard on Sundays and holidays being the great mart for gossip, the time in telling the story now would be so much saved at the Sunday meeting."

The rest of the text is so difficult, and evidently corrupt, that it is passed over.

2. Casteale Cuddle's Lamentation
for loss o' his Cuck at vas
ee-took be a vox.

Recited by Tobias Butler, 1823.

Original.

1.

Ye ny porès aul, come hark to mee,
Faade ee-happen'd me laatest
Goonde Vreedie,
Mee cuck was liveen mighty
well,
Dhicka die fan ich want to a
mile.

Ho ro! mee cuck is ee-go (*bis*),
Neen chickès hav hea ee-left
vatherless,
To fho shall ich maake mee
redress?

2.

As ich waant draugh Bloomere's
Knough,
Ich zide [a] vethers o' mee cuck,
Aar was noothing ee-left mot a
heade,
Which maate mee hearth as coale
as leed.

3.

'Cham afear'd ich mosth cress a
Shanaan,
And lea a pariesh o Kilmannan,
Mee piggès, mee geeearthès, nor
noothing threeve,
Lickweese mee been deeth in aar
heeve.

4.

Zimaan Haay is a wicked man,
Hea pryet ich mought na ha
chicke or hen,
Ar aany noor dhing at woode
comfoort mee,
Fan ich aam in this miseree.

5.

Mizluck mye lhygt on Tam
Busheare,
Hea zed mee cuck vlew in a aare.

kastee·l⁽¹⁾ kudz⁽²⁾ lamentee·shən
for los o hiz kuk, ət wəz i-
tuk bi ɐ voks⁽³⁾.

(Barnes, pp. 102 to 106.)

Pronunciation.

1.

jina'iporis⁽⁴⁾ áaɐl⁽⁵⁾, kuum haark
tɐ mii,
fàdt i-hap'nd mi laa·test gúuəd
vriidii·,⁽⁶⁾
mi kuk wəz lɛvii'n miiti wɛl,
dhik·ɐ⁽⁷⁾ da'i fan itʃ want tu ɐ
mɛl⁽⁸⁾.

hoo roo! mi kuk iz i-goo! (*be's*)
niin tʃikiz həv hee⁽¹⁾ i-left
vaadherles⁽⁷⁾,
tu foo⁽⁹⁾ shel itʃ mək mi
rɪdres·? ⁽¹⁰⁾

2.

az itʃ wənt drə'u⁽¹¹⁾: bluume·res
knuk,
itʃ zid⁽¹²⁾ [i] vedh·ərz⁽⁷⁾ ɐ mi
kuk;
àr⁽¹³⁾ wəz nədh·iq⁽⁷⁾ i-lef mot
ɐ hiid⁽¹⁾,
whitʃ mət mi hartʃ⁽¹⁴⁾ ɐz kool
əz hiid⁽¹⁵⁾.

3.

tʃam əfii'rd itʃ mostʃ kres ɐ
:shanan·⁽¹⁶⁾,
ən lee ɐ pari·sh ɐ :kilmanan·⁽¹⁷⁾
mi piɡ·is, mi giuərthʃis, nor
nədh·iq⁽⁷⁾ dhriiv⁽¹⁸⁾,
likwii·z mi biin diith in e'r
hiiv⁽¹⁹⁾.

4.

:ziman· :ha'i iz ɐ wɪk·əd man,
hee prə'i·et itʃ móut nɐ ha tʃik
or hen⁽²⁰⁾,
ɐr ani nuur⁽²¹⁾ dhiq⁽⁷⁾ ɐt wʊd
komfuu·rt mii,
fan⁽²¹⁾ itʃ am ɪn dhis mizerii·.

5.

mizluk· ma'i lháit⁽²²⁾ on :tom
:bushee·r,
hee za'id mi kuk vliú in ɐ éevr⁽²³⁾.

6.

Lhaung life to Mistearé Reed-
forth an his vamilee,
Lhaung mye thye live in pros-
peritee;
He zide hea'de help me udh o'
hoan
To hint dhicke cursed vox vrom
Bloomere's lhoan.

6.

LHAAQ liif tu :mistee·R :reedforth
un iz vamili·⁽²⁴⁾,
LHAAQ ma'i dha'i liiv in pros-
peritii·;
hee záid hee-d help mi udh) v)
hoon⁽²⁵⁾
tu hint dhik kærseð voks vrom
:bluumee·ris lhoon⁽²⁶⁾.

Notes.

1. *Casteale*, Castle. The pronunciation (kastee·l) is doubtful. It is impossible to say that Mr. Poole would have written consistently, or what phonetic analogies would strike an Irishman 60 years ago. The *ea* is now, and was then, generally (*ee*) or (*ee*) in Ireland. Mr. P., like other dialect writers, often uses it I think for (*iü*), but probably he used it in both senses, for few dialect writers are consistent. This is stated to be a nickname.

2. Patrick Codd is given as the man's real name.

3. 'Cock that was i-taken by a fox.'

4. 'Neighbours,' the (p) occurs in other districts.

5. As 'aul' could hardly have been used for the ordinary pronunciation of 'all,' I have assumed it to be *a-ul*, which agrees with Southern usage.

6. 'what happened [to] me last Friday.' The rhyme requires (*dii*), but (*da'i*) would have been expected; see cwl. p. 30, No. 161.

7. *th*, *dh* in F. and B. writing generally mean (th, dh) or postaspirated *t*, *d*. But here and there (*dh*) is a dialectal change from (*th*). I think *dh* means to imply (*dh*), or at least its Celtic substitute (*dh*).

8. Written *mile*, where the last letter seems to have been misread for *l*, as many writers make *ll* resemble *le*. In Poole's glossary *mele*, *mell* occur for *flour*, and Mr. Barnes inserted *mile* from this passage.

9. That is (whoo) for *whom*.

10. "Make my redress," instead of "apply for" or "go for." Tobias Butler, who recited this in 1823, may have been in error. The verse is throughout so faulty that this was probably often the case.

11. Interpreting *au* as (a'u), but this

is quite uncertain, *drough* may have been written, and meant merely for (DRU), as I have had sent to me many times by informants.

12. *zide* would be 'said,' as given in the glossary, hence this must be an error for *zede* = *see'd*, that is, saw.

13. For (dhe·r), a regular Forth form.

14. Here I suppose the *-th* indicated only a strong final flatus, which is written as (i).

15. 'There was nothing i-left but the head, which made my heart as cold as lead.' In *cold* the *d* is omitted as in *yola* old. In this example *the* instead of (i) often becomes (v).

16. 'I am afraid I must cross the Shannon.' I feel doubtful about the pron. of (kres) and (Shanan·).

17. 'And leave the parish of Kilmannan.' Kilmannan is a parish in Bargy (6 sw. Wexford).

18. 'My pigs, my goats, nor nothing thrive.' The insertion of *r* in *geearthès* for 'goats' may be right, for such insertions occur in w.Sm. But on the other hand it may be entirely due to the transcriber. In *threeve*, *th* must be an error for *d* or *dh*, as the *thr*- regularly becomes (DR-) or (DHR-).

19. 'Likewise my bees die in their hive.' Observe (l'kwii·z, hii·v), (biin) as a plural in *n* and (diith) as the Ws. verbal plural in *-eth*.

20. 'He prayed I might not have chick or hen or any other thing.' Observe (prái·et) ending in *t*. Compare *maate* for *made* in stanza 2. Observe (náuer) for *another* (sometimes spelled *anoor*, and then *another* for *other*).

21. *Fan* of course represents (whan when).

22. I have taken *lh* to be a post-aspirated *l* rather than the voiceless (lh).

23. 'He said my cock flew in the air.' Here *zed* is apparently an error for *zide*,

just as *zide* was miswritten before for *zede*, see note 12. The last two lines of this stanza are missing in Barnes, p. 102.

24. The (v-) in this Latin word is doubtful, see introduction to D 4.

25. 'Out of hand.' Here several things are uncertain, the pronunciation

of *u* in (udh), the effect of (dh) which can only be shewn on the following vowel, and the sound of *hoan*, which I assume here to be (hoon) and not (hóon), just as in *lhaung* I took *au* to = (AA).

26. "To hunt this cursed fox from Bloomer's land."

3. FORTH AND BARGY CWL.

Collected from the glossary and specimens in Mr. Barnes's book. The spelling there used is placed first in *Italics*, and then the conjectured pron. in *pal*. Observations are included in []. The numbers refer to the cwl. on p. 15*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *taake* tàk. 5 *maake* màk. 6 *maate* màdt. 14 *dra* draa. 18 *caake* kàk. 19 *toak* tàl. 21 *naame* nàm naam. — *gaum* gaume gàm [game]. — *glade* glàd [glade, valley]. [In all these words I feel that *aa*, *au* may have meant (áv, év).] A: 40 *khime* khja'im. 43 *hoan* hoon. 44 *loan* loon. 53 *coan* koon. 57 *ess* es. A: or O: 58 *vram* vram. 61 *amang* ema'q. A'- 67 *goan* góen [going]. 72 *fho* fhjoo. 73 *zo zoo* sae zoo zuu see [the last form is anomalous]. 82 *oanes* ó'nes. 86 *oates* óets. 94 *croowe* kruu [?]. 95 *drowe draugh* droo. A': — *laady* laadi [lady]. 108 *doough dhoough* dough doo. 115 *hime* hyme ha'im. 117 *oan* oon. 118 *bane* baan. 124 *sthoan* stjjoon.

Æ- — *aake* aak [ache]. 138 *vather* vaadhær. 141 *niel* na'il. 141 *tyel* ta'il. 144 *agyne* vga'in. 146 *mhyne* mha'in [main, very]. 147 *bryne* bra'in [the *y* spelling in these last four words seems to indicate (a'i) with certainty]. 152 *waudher* wadhær. Æ: 155 *detch* detj. — *hhlock* bhlok [black]. 156 *glaud* glàd. 161 *die dey* daaily da'i da'ili. 165 *zide* za'id. — *smual* smaál [small]. 179 *fuade* fàdt. Æ'- — *leache* leetj [physician from Stanyhurst 1577, misprinted *lech* in glossary]. 187 *ware* lea léev lee. 194 *anny* àni. — *erroan* eroon [errand]. 200 *whet* wheet. Æ': 211 *gray* grey gra'i. — *meale* meel [a meal]. 217 *carch* eertj [ever-each, every]. 218 *zheep* zhiip. 223 *aar thaare* aar dhaar. 224 *far* far.

E- 231 *ee* i [and] a v [compare omitted consonant in the D 40]. 238 *hey* hye ha'i. 241 *rhyme* rha'in. 242 *twine* twy twa'in twái. 245 *mele* mell meel [meal, flour]. — *brimel* brimel [bramble]. 251 *maate* mért. — *vether* vedhær [feather]. E: 260 *laaye* lai. 262 *wye* wyse wa'i wa'iz. 263 *awye* ewa'i. 266 *waal* wàl. — *dell* del [delve]. 279 *waant* wéunt [?]. — *speen* spiin [spend]. — *zeen* ziin [to send]. — *een* iin [an end]. E'- 296 *beleave* belee'v. 301 *heereen* hveeren hiiri'n ha'iri'n [hearing, the second form is still heard in D 4, but is dying out]. E': 305 *heegh* hii.

EA: 324 *ayght* a'it. — *ayghteen* a'itii'n. 326 *yole* yola jool joo'lv. 328 *cole* khaal khjool. 330 *houle* ha'ul [?]. 346 *yeat* jeet jiet [?]. EA'- 347 *haade* hād. 348 *oen* iin [eyes]. EA': 350 *died* diid. 351 *leed* liid. 352 *reed* riid. 353 *bred* briid. 358 *meghe* nii. 359 *nyporès* na'iporis. — *reem* rhyme riim rha'im [cream]. — *apnest* vjenst. — *thowse* lhause louse loos la'us [? loose]. — *eeth* efe iith iif [easy].

EI- 373 *thye* dha'i. 374 *naay* na'i. EI: 379 *haail* ha'il. 380 *aam* éem [(am, em) ?].

EO: 388 *mulke* malk [or? (m'lk) see D 10]. — *barm* barm [barm = yeast]. — *hearth* heertj [heart]. 406 *eart* eard eert eerd. EO'- 409 *been* biin [bees]. — *flen* fliin [flies, Mr. Barnes says 'fleas,' but that is impossible]. 411 *dhree* dhrii. 412 *shoo* shuu. EO': 436 *drue* dhruu [? (thrau)].

EY- 438 *dee* dii. EY: 439 *thrist* thrist.

I- 443 *vredie* vriidii [see p. 29, note 6]. I: 452 *ich* itj [and in composition *cha* *cham* *chas* *chood* *choote* *chult* = I have, am, was, would, wot, will]. 455 *lee* lii [hence to idle, and then spelled *leigh*]. — *michty* miiti. — *deight*

diit. 458 *neeght nieght* niit na'it. 460 *waaight wa'it*. 470 *aam e'm* [see 380]. 475 *weend weene* wiind wa'in [? Vallancey gives *weend* only]. 480 *dhing dhag* [(dhag)?]. — *ship* zh'ip [ship]. — *dhurth* dhərt [dirt]. I'- 492 *zeed* [taking *ei* as a mistake for *ee*]. 493 *dhreere* dhriiv. 494 *diem* diim. — *peepare* piipee'r [piper]. 496 *eren* iiren. I': 502 *veere* viiv. — *hye* ha'i [hay, and also 238]. 510 *my* ma'i. — *leen* liin [line]. 515 *viizer* viizer [? (wi'zer), otherwise this is the only case where w=v].

O- 518 *buthre* bodhre bothige buth'ii' bodhii'. O: 531 *doughtere* da'utee'r. — *cawl* kaal [? (kool) a colt]. 552 *coorn* kuurn. 553 *hoorn* huurn. O'- 555 *shoon* shuun pl. 564 *zoorn* zuun. 565 *nize* niz náiz niz. 566 *anoor* anuur [another]. O': 571 *goonde* goouness gúud gúu'enes. 572 *bloed* blúud. 579 *eenew* iniu'. 597 *zoot* zuut.

U- 599 *aboo* vbuu. 603 *coome* kuum. 605 *zin* zin [common in D 11]. 606 *dher* dhər. U: 609 *valler* [? misprint for *vuller*] valer, ? vuler. 612 *zim* zin. 616 *greoun* grəa'un. 629 *zin* zin. U'- 640 *keow* kea'u. 648 *oor* uur. 650 *about* abut vbea'ut [?].

U': 658 *deoun* dea'un. 662 *ouse* ouz uz? 663 *heouse* hea'us. 667 *outh* udh út vdh, udho vdhv [out of]. 671 *meouth* mea'uth.

Y- — *heere* hiiv [hive]. — *ree* rií [rye]. 679 *chourch* t'ərt [? t'urt]. Y: 684 *burge* bərd. — *hele* hel [? a hill]. 690 *keene* kiin. 701 *varst* vərst. Y'- — *keen* kiin [kine, from Ws. cy' plural of 240]. 705 *skie* skii. — *theene* tine th'iiin [tine]. Y': — *breede* briid [bride].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *kaayle* ka'il [kail]. E. — *lear* leer [empty]. — *skeine* skyne skáin [skein]. O. — *poul* pa'ul [poll of the head]. — *mot* mot [but]. U. — *unket* a'qket [unkid].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fuace* fauce fās. 812 *laace* lās. 813 *hawcoon* bàkuu'n. — *pyle* pa'il [... *paile*, a pail]. — *plague* pläg [plague]. 820 *gaaye* gáí. 827 *auger* éeger. — *gryne* gra'in [grain]. 835 *raaison* ra'izoo'n.

E.. 885 *veree* verii'. — *feyer* fa'ir [a fair]. 890 *beasthès* beesth'is. I.. and Y.. — *pee* pii [a mag-pie]. 900 *pry* pra'i. — *gimlie* djimli [chimney].

O.. — *faaighe* fythe fa'i fa'ith. — *geint* dja'int [joint]. 925 *vice* váis. 937 *enck* kuk. 947 *bile* ba'il. 956 *kiver* kiver. U.. 960 *kie* ka'i. — *wauite* wa'it [wait]

D 2 = m.CS. = mid Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The CB. in Pm. and the coast sw. of it.

Area. The two peninsulas to the sw. of Pm., formerly known as "Little England beyond Wales."

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under Pm., Rhôs and Daugleddy, information from Rev. J. Tombs, Mr. Elworthy, Mr. E. L. Jones, Mr. W. Spurrell, and Archdeacon Edmondcs.

Character. The S. reverted (r) according to Mr. Elworthy, who says the dial. is "most like a book version of w.Sm.," see D 10, and thinks he heard some (y), though Rev. J. Tombs says there is nothing like it there. Mr. Tombs also thinks the *r* is "not materially different from the Welsh *r*," fully trilled (r), and that Pm. speech is very different from a Sm. or n.Dv. But initial *dr-* accepted by Mr. Tombs in *three*, *through*, *throw*, *threaten*, implies (dr-). The (a'i) for ÆG, EG, initial (z-) for (s-), though only preserved among old speakers, and of (éi) perhaps (o'i) for I', the use of (iin) for *him*, and of (dhúez) as one of the forms of *this*, the (v-) before the past participle, are all of them S. forms. The

only words I have heard are 3 or 4 pron. by Mr. Elworthy. Hence I give the original spelling in the following cwl. The indications respecting the value of short U have been most diverse. It will be seen by the dt. furnished by Mr. Spurrell, from dictation of a Castle Martin man, that short U is invariably (*u*) or (*u*). Mr. E. L. Jones says it is "never" like the La. (*u*₁), but "always" as *u* in rec. buck (*ə*, *ɛ*). As *Zoonday* occurs in a subsequent specimen, I endeavoured to clear up the matter, without much success. Mr. Tombs gave (*ə*, *ɛ*) in *love*, *come*, *summer*, *son*, *butter*, *ugly*, *some*, *drunk*, *under*, *tongue*, *hanger*, *Sunday*, *nan*, *sun*, but allowed (*u*, *u*) in *full*, *cup*, *dust*. Archdeacon Edmondson, of Warren, close to Castle Martin, says that a girl in his service speaks of "carr'ing things *oop*, taking in *lounch*," but her parents come from Narberth. Under these circumstances it seems that (*u*) still exists, but is not general. It is of course a mark of antiquity, and for this reason I assume it in the older form of D 1. There is no trace of it in D 3. For D 4 see the s. *soom* line 2, p. 16. Mr. Tombs or else Arch. Edmondson admits *v* for *f* in *fair*, *farm*, *fast*, *feed*, *fiddle*, *four*, *fox*, *f'lail*, *from*, *furrow*; (*væqk*) for *spark* is known to Mr. Thomas; and they admit *z* for *s* in *say*, *self*, *seven*, *sick*, *six*, *soon*, *son*, *Sunday*, and lastly that the *f* and *s* remain in *face*, *fail*, *fall* v., *false*, *far*, *fat*, *fault*, *friend*, not very regularly; and in *sad*, *sand*, *saw*, *song*, *so*, *such*, *sweet*, *swallow*, *swine*, still less regularly. As to *ow*, Mr. Tombs does not admit (*éu*), but Archd. Edmondson hears *caoo* (*kéu*, *ké'u*, *kæ'u* ?)

1. TWO INTERLINEAR PEMBROKESHIRE dt.

T. written in io. by Rev. J. Tombs, Rector of Burton, Pm., and pal. conjecturally by AJE.

S. written in a phonetic alphabet by Mr. Spurrell from the dict. of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas, Castlemartin, Pm.

- (1) T. zoo éi zái, ba'wiiz, jə zii nia'u ez éi bi réit vba'ut -dat
S. zoo éi záai, ba'iz, jə zii néu æz éi'm 'réit æba'ut dhæt

T. lid'l máid kəm'in vrom dhv [skuul]
S. lid'l [liid'l] máaid kum'in [gum'in] vrom dhæ skuul [skuuld]

T. a'ut dheer.
S. éut dheer.

- (2) T. shii'z a'gwáin dia'm dhv rhóovd dheer, dria'u dhv rid
S. shii'z æ gwáain déum dhæ róovæd dheer, dhru dhæ rid

T. gee't pən dhv lift han zéid v dhv wáiz.
S. gaat pən dhæ lift hænd [hæn?] zéid o dhæ wáai.

- (3) T. shuur enóu dhv tjéil hæv v-gon stráit [ɛp tɛ] dhv
S. shuur enéu dhæ tjéil[-d] hæv æ gən stráait ɛp tæ dhæ

T. duur v dhv RAAQ [ha'us]
S. duur ɔv dhæ rəq héus

- (4) T. weer (waar) shi ul léiklī féin [dhat] dræqk'in diif (díf)
S. weer shii ul léiklī féin dhæt dræqk'n díf

T. sriv'lt felv bi dhv néem v :tomv.
S. skruqk felæ béi dhæ néem o :tomæs.

(5) T. [wi aal] naaz iin [verɪ] wel.
S. wii óæl naaz iin veri wel.

(6) T. [woont] dhe aal [tʃap suun] larn ɛr not tɛ duu't ɛgen,
S. want dhi áaul tʃap suun laarn ər not tæ duu't ægen,

T. puuɛr dhiq !
S. puur dhiq !

(7) T. [luk !] been't [it] tríu ?
S. luuk beent it tríu ?

Notes to T. version. Words in [] were not filled in by Mr. T. and are supposed to be in (dialectal) rs. Mr. T.'s spelling may be seen in the cwl.

1. *So say.* The initial (z) is heard only from old people.—*I be* is more heard in the n. and *I am* in the s. of the district.—*right.* The pron. (éi) is adopted from Mr. Jones, who says it is most like the Cockney *a* in *fate*, which sounded to the Tenby schoolchildren in Mr. Matthew Arnold's pron. like their own pr. of *fight*.—*boys now about.* I have interpreted Mr. T.'s *ou, ow, eow* as (a'u, ia'u) using the unanalysed form. The triphthong (ia'u) possibly occurred in D 1. We find (éau) in M. But Mr. Spurrell's version points to its meaning (éu).—*from.* I adopt (r) everywhere on Mr. Elworthy's authority. Initial it is probably aspirated as in Mr. T.'s *rho-ad.* His *dr* for *thr* implies (ɔr), and perhaps *tr* would be (tr). But I leave (r) in Mr. Spurrell's phonetic writing.—*that* (dat) is very peculiar. Its appearance and present gradual disappearance may be compared with D 9. That *the* should not be similarly affected is singular.—*little*, (lɪd'l) is found elsewhere.—*maid, going* (ái) in (máid, gwáin) is regular S.—*from* (vrom) is regular S., but the other forms *from, throm*, which Mr. T. has heard, seem to be foreignisms.

4. *where.* I considered Mr. T.'s written *wh* to be an accident for *w*. He says, however, that *h* is "very well and correctly used generally speaking; it is occasionally but rarely omitted where it should be heard; but still seldomer inserted where it should not be; these are, I think, faults of recent growth."

4. *shrivelled.* (shr-) seems to be a difficulty. In this word (sr-) is used, in others (shɛ-r-), see—*shrub* before 543, and *shrimp* 756 in cwl. *infra* p. 35.

5. *we all know him* (wi aal naaz iin). "*We* is sometimes heard as the objective case, and *us* as the nominative, but rarely; and this usage has grown up within the last twenty-five years [dated Mar. '79] by the advent of English navvies into the district to form the railways; many such have married and settled here, and the natives have partly followed their usage sometimes." The usage is common in Do. The form (naaz) for the pl. is common S. (iin), which Mr. T. writes *ihn* as in German, is the regular S. *en* (ɛn), from Ws. *hine*, the true acc., for which the dative *him* has been substituted in rs.

6. *thing* (dhiq) is old.

7. *is not.* *I be* is heard more in the n., *I am* in the s. of the district.

2. *Example* given at the Swansea meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society, 1861 :

"I'ze a gwaaing to zell zum vish to buy zum vlesh vor that blezzed day zoonday."

This Mr. T. thinks "unmistakably Flemish." It is "unmistakably" S. But *I'ze*, as thus written for *I is*, is the N. form, and is of course an error. There is a possibility that it stands for *ees be* (iis bi). In a cutting from a Carmarthen newspaper I find *I's* regularly used for *I*, as "*I's* so [= *saw*, the distinction (aa, oo)

is heard with difficulty], I's tell, I's cud, I's hasn't, I's goin, I's did, I's isn't, I's does, I's has, I's propos, I's thinks, I's has, I's was," where *I's* is simply an old S. (iis) = I, and only in "I's goin" is the verb omitted. A man who left Narberth about 1864 told Mr. Spurrell he had heard (éiz thiŋks) for *I think*. This is very doubtful. I cannot get any other confirmation of the use of such a form. Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, a Tenby man, never heard it. And *oo* in *zoonday* is also N. Perhaps, using (*u*) as in the dt. from Mr. Spurrell, we may read (iiz bi e)gwáin tē zel zūm vish tē bəw'i zūm vlesh vēr dhat blezed dái zunda'i).

PM. CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Compiled from words furnished me from different quarters, distinguished by initials.
Ed. From Archdeacon Edmondes of Warren (4 sw.Pembroke), in answer to questions.

El. From Mr. Elworthy after a visit to Tenby, communicated vv.

Ev. From Miss Evans's "Molly and Richard" in Chambers's Journal, quoted as Pm. in Rev. J. Tombs's lecture. Her spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

J. From Mr. E. Lloyd Jones, native of Tenby.

N. Words from Narberth furnished by Mr. Spurrell of Carmarthen.

T. From Rev. J. Tombs, rector of Burton (3 n.Pembroke). His own spelling is put first in Italics and the pal. follows.

Th. Mr. and Mrs. Thomas of Castlemartin (5 wsw.Pembroke), obtained vv. by Mr. Spurrell and written in his phonetic alphabet here transliterated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T. *naame* néeem, Th. *néam*. A: 43 T. *han'* han. A: or O: 58 T. *vrom rom throm* from rom throm [but the speaker had Welsh blood]. 64 T. *raung* rAAq Th. rōq. A'- 67 T. *agwuyin'* egwáin. 73 T. *zo zoo* [(z) used only by older people]. 92 T. *we knaows* wi nAAZ [see 98]. 98 Ev. *knawed* nAAD [? nood]. A': 104 T. *rho-ad* rhóœd [Mr. T. does not acknowledge (r)], Th. *róœd*. 123 Ev. *nawthin* nAATHin.

Æ- 138 Ev. *feyther* feedher, T. *veedher*. — Ev. *spaid* spáid [spade]. 141 Ed. *náil*. 142 Ed. *snáil*. 143 Ed. *táil*. T. *aghen* egen. 146 Ed. *máin*. 147 Ed. *bráin*. 148 Ed. *váir*. 152 Th. *weeter*. Æ: 160 Ed. *dái*. 161 Ev. *to daay*. 162 Ed. *tē dái*. 164 Ed. *mái*. 166 Ed. *máid*, T. *maayd* máid N. *máid*. 177 T. *dat* dat [Mr. T. says, "d for th was a characteristic mark in 1860, fast disappearing"]. Æ'- — El. *jeth* [heath, as well as 405 hearth] jefel [Heathfield]. Æ': 224 T. *whair wharr* weer war.

E- 231 *tha* dhe. E: 261 *zay* zái. Th. *záai* [used only by older people]. Ev. *saay* sái. 262 *waey* wái. 265 *strayet* stráit. E'- 297 T. *fellah* flah fel'v flá [?]. EA: 326 T. *awle* ool, áaul. 332 Ev. *tould* tóœld? 335 Th. *óœl*. 346 T. *ga-at* géœt. EA'- — El. *jefer* [heifer]. EA': 352 T. *rid* rid. 355 T. *deef* diff diif dif. — Ev. *yasy* jee'zi [easy]. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used]. 402 T. *larne* larn [teach]. 405 El. *jeth* [also used for *heath*, see under Æ'-]. EO': 427 *bain't* beent [be not, for is not]. 428 T. *zee* zii [z used only by old people]. 436 *trew* tríu [rhymes to *new*].

I- 447 *hur* ur her er. — *yis* jis [yes]. I: 452 J. Th. *éi*. 459 J. Th. *rite* réit. 469 *ool* ul. 470 T. *ihen* in iin [?]. 477 T. *fine'* fa'in. 480 T. *thing* dhiŋ ["flat th as in *then* among old people"]. 484 El. *dhiiez* [a distinct form of this]. I'- 492 T. *zide* zéid [z used only by old people].

O- — N *shuv'l* [shovel]. O: — T. *shurrub* shræb [shrub]. 543 T. *'pan* pen. O'- 560 Th. *skuul* skuuld. O': 578 Ev. *pleugh* pliu. 579 *enaf* enóu [sing. and pl.]

U- 603 T. *cummin'* kəm'in, kūmin. 606 T. *doore* duur. U: 613 Th. *druqk'n*. — *skruqk* [skrunk]. 632 Th. *up*. 633 Ed. *kup*. 634 T. *dreow* driou, Ev. *throu* thra'u, ? drau; Th. *dhru*. U'- 643 T. *neow* nia'u, Th. *néu*. U': 658 T. *deown* dia'un, Th. *déun*. 663 Th. *héus*. 667 T. *out* a'ut?

Y- 682 *liddle* lid'l. Y': 709 Th. *və'ir*.

II. ENGLISH.

E. 749 T. *lift* lift.I. and Y. 756. T. *shur-rimp* shur'imp. 760 *srivolet* sriv'lt [often heard by Mr. Tombs, not known by Mr. Thomas].O. 791 T. *bouiese* bóiz ba'wiiz [?].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 866 T. *poour* póuer.E.. — T. Ed. *crawtur* kRAATUR [creature].O.. — Ev. *jouin* dja'u'in [join].

D 3 = e.CS. = eastern Celtic Southern.

Boundary. The Gm. CB. and the Bristol Channel.*Area.* The 17 En. speaking parishes of the peninsula of Gowerland, Gm., enumerated under Gm. CB. p. 13*c*.*Authorities.* See Alphabetical County List, Gm. Gowerland.*Characters.* Reverted (R) inferred from (DRÁU) through, (z) initial in place of (s), ('u) for *him* are all distinctly S. The dialect seems to have been greatly worn, as my informant, the Rev. J. D. Davies, alters the spelling of but few words in the dt. and says that the others are in rs. No specimen has been printed. Not having been able to find or obtain any complete specimen of the dialect, and Mr. Davies's dt. being very defective, I merely add the words in the cwl. form.

GOWERLAND CLASSIFIED WORD LIST.

Containing the words supplied to me by Rev. J. D. Davies, giving his spelling first, followed by the conjectural pron. in pal.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 67 *gwain* gween [going]. 73 *zo* zoo.Æ- 144 *agen* ege'n.E: 261 *zay* zái [possibly (zee)]. E'- 297 *fellah* felv. EA: 326 *auld* Aald.EA': 355 *defe* diif. EO: 392 [not used]. 394 [not used] EO': 427 *bean't* béent [is not]. 428 *ze* zii.I- 447 *er* vr. I: 470 *n* 'n [after verbs]. I'- 492 *zide* zéid [?].U- 606 *daur* dær [probably, Mr. Davies says, like the French *sœur* (sœær)].U: 634 *drough* (DRĀ'u?) [may be (DRU)].Y- 682 *lil* lil.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *gracieuse* grashæz.E.. — *précieuse* preshiæz.

In the Philological Transactions for 1848-50, vol. 4, p. 222, is a list of 68 Gower words, given by Rev. J. Collins, with no explanations of spelling. Of these the following are common words. I do not trust myself to give the pronunciation.

Brandis (brandrith), iron stand for pot or kettle. *Cammet* (cammed), crooked. *Eddish*, wheat stubble. *Hay*, an inclosure attached to a dwelling. *Main*, strong, fine (but here said of growing crops). *Nommet*, noon-meal, luncheon. *Plym*, plump, full. *Peert*, lively, brisk. *Quapp*, to throb. *Rathe*, early. *Reremouse*, bat. *Sneud*, handle of scythe. *Songulls* (songles), gleanings.

The following are Southern or Western :

Caffle, entangled, Sm. *Cloam*, earthenware, Co. *Clit*, stiff, sticky. *Dreshel*, (drashel), a flail. *Evil*, a three-pronged fork. *Fleet*, exposed in situation, Sm. *Flott* (float), aftergrass, Dv. *Foust*, tumbled. *Frithing*, wattled fence, *to frith* a fence, Dv. *Nesseltrip*, small pig in a litter. *Orice* (ovis), eaves of house, Dv. *Planche*, boarded floor, Do. *Party*, to turn sulky. *Quat*, to press down or flatten, Do. *Show-y*, to clear (of weather), the verbal termination -y common. *Soul*, cheese, butter, etc., as eaten with bread. *Slade*, a valley, ground sloping to the sea. *Sul* (zul), a plough. *Suant*, regular, working smoothly, Dv. *Toit*, small straw seat, Dv., frisky, Co. *Want*, a mole [the animal]. *Wimble*, (wine), winnow.

Of the other words I am not so sure.

Angletouch, warm. *Bumbagas*, bittern. *Charnel*, place in roof for hanging bacon. *Deal*, litter of pigs. *Dotted* (? doted), giddy, of a sheep. *Dome*, damp. *Firmy*, to clean out (-y is S.). *Flairing*, an eruption like erysipelas. *Fraith*, treespoken, talkative. *Flathing*, a dish made of curds, eggs, and milk. *Gloy*, refuse straw after the "reed" has been taken out. *Gloice*, sharp pang of pain. *Heurgar*, heavier (so also *near-ger*, *far-ger*). *Homrach*, harness collar made of straw. *Kittybags*, gaiters. *Lipe*, matted basket of a peculiar shape. *Letts*, a lout. *Noppet*, *Nipperty*, lively, convalescent. *Ryle*, angle in the sea. *Riff*, a scythe sharpener. *Seggy*, to lease (the -y is S.). *Semmatt*, a sieve made of skin for winnowing. *Shout*, a small wheaten loaf. *Stiprog*, a mode of fastening a sheep's foreleg to its head by a band of straw or withy. *Susan*, a brown earthen pitcher. *Sump*, any bulk that is carried, Sf. *Slade*, ground sloping to the sea. *Tite* (toit), to tumble over, N. *Vair*, a weasel or stoat. *Wing*, a willow. *Weest*, lonely, desolate. *Wash-dish*, the titmouse.

Hence, although vocabulary is a very uncertain test, the dialect has a clearly S. character, agreeing with the small evidences furnished by pron.

D 4 and 5 together form the MS.=Mid Southern Group.

This was the principal seat of the Wessex tribe, and the strongly-marked peculiarities tend to shew that the people have preserved much, although they have altered much of the original pron., more marked on the w. side than on the e. Although no strict line can be drawn separating the two, yet the peculiarities die out so rapidly to the e. that I have thought it best to divide the group into two districts, by a rather arbitrary, nearly direct n. to s. line, which is the best I can draw. D 4 on the w. must be regarded as the typical form of S. speech. It is not quite uniform, but nearly so.

Boundaries. The n. and s. b. of D 4 and D 5, the w. b. of D 4 and the e. b. of D 5.

Area. All Wl., Do., and most of Gl., with n. and e.Sm.; most of Be., all Ha. and Wi., s.Sr. and w.Ss.; with narrow slips of e.He. and w.Ox., and the extreme se. corner of Dv.

Character. Phonetically, reverted (r) or retracted (r₁), and (DR-) for *thr-*; (z, v) initial for (s, f) in Ws. words, but not in Romance words; the use of (ái) for ÆG and EG; the broad (æ'i, æ'u) for I', U'. Grammatically, *I be* for *I am*; *a* becoming (v) before past participle. All these are subject to slight variations.

D 4 = w.MS. = western Mid Southern.

Boundaries. *Do.* Begin on the English Channel just w. of Axmouth (20 e-by-s. Exeter), on the Axe R. Proceed in a n. direction e. of Colyton (20 e-by-n. Exeter), through Yarcombe (22 ne. Exeter).

Sm. Enter Sm. a little w. of Buckland St. Mary (8 s. Taunton), and e. of Otterford (7 s. Taunton), and keeping e. of Wellington (6 sw. Taunton), and w. of Thurlbeer (3 se. Taunton), proceed nearly to Taunton, then n. to just e. of Kingston (4 nw. Taunton), when it deflects to nw. and follows the Quantock Hills to the Bristol Channel at East Quantock Head.

Bristol Channel. Proceed along the coast of Sm. and Gl. to just opposite the mouth of the river Wye.

Gl. Cross the Bristol Channel and follow the reverted *ur* line 3 to just opposite Monmouth.

He. Continue along the reverted *ur* line 3 in a nne. direction, w. of Ross, Stoke Edith (6 e-by-n. Hereford), and Much Cowarn (9 ne. Hereford), but e. of Bromyard (10 ese. Leominster), and then passing w. of Whitbourn (14 e. Leominster), enter

Wo. Continue in nearly a straight line to Bewdley (3 se. Kidderminster), where quit line 3 and return suddenly s. along the Malvern Hills in a nearly direct line to the s. b. of Wo. by Staunton (7 wsw. Tewkesbury), then turning e. pass s. of Eldersfield (6 wsw. Tewkesbury), into

Gl. Go through Tewkesbury and proceed direct e. to Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e. Tewkesbury), and continuing e. to the w. b. of Ox. Then turn s. along the w. b. first of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w-by-s. Reading), and then continue in a n. to s. line through

Ha. Passing just w. of Andover to Nursling, just at the n. point of Southampton Water, and then to the sea near Lymington (10 e. Christchurch), and turn w. along the coast to the starting-point by Axmouth. About Lymington and Christchurch there is no dialect. The line is intended to avoid the whole of Wi., which is all in D 5, but accidentally it appears on the map as if a small portion of Wi. belonged to D 4. The whole line from the w. b. of Ox. is very uncertain for want of sufficient information, but it cannot be far wrong either way.

Area. All Wl. and Do., n. and e.Sm., most of Gl., the extreme se. of Dv., and small parts of w.Be., and w.Ha.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., || in so., ° in io.

Dv. °Axminster.

Do. °Bingham's Melcombe (or Melcombe Bingham), °Blackmore Vale, *Blandford, °Bradpole, °Bridport, °East Lulworth, °East Morden, *Hanford, °Sherborne, °Starminster-Marshall, °Swanage, °Walditch, || Whitechurch Canoniscom, || Winterbourne Came.

Gl. *Aylburton, °Berkeley, †Birdlip, †Bishop's Cleve, °Bisley, †Bristol, †Brockworth, †Cheltenham, *†Cirencester, *Coleford (= Forest of Dean), °Compton Abdale, †Fairford, †Gloucester Town, *Gloucester Vale, †Highnam, †Hucclecote, °King's Wood, †Maisey Hampton, †Tetbury, †Whitecomb.

Ha. °Broughton, °Christchurch, °Iford, °Nursling, *Ringwood.

He. || Eggleton, *Ledbury, || †Much Cowarn, °†Ross, †Stoke Edith, °Upton Bishop.

Sm. || Bath, °Burtle Turf Moor, °Castle Cary, °Chard, °Chedzoy, °Combe Down, °Compton Dando, || Crewkerne, °Croscombe, °East Harptree, °High Ham, °Langport, *Merriott, °Montacute, °Nailsea, °North Wootton, °Sutton Mallet, °Swanswick, °Wedmore, ‡Wincanton, °Worle.

Wl. °Aldbourne, °Calne, ‡Chippenharn, *Christian Malford, *Corsham, °Corsley, °Damerham, °East Knowle, †Kemble, °Maddington, °Orcheston St. George, °†Purton, °Salisbury to Warminster, °Seend, °Sopworth, *Tilshead, °Wilton, °Yatesbury.

It will be necessarily impossible to give all the information received from so many places. My best help has come from Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, and as n.Wl. seems the most typical form of D 4 = w.MS., I shall examine this part of the district at great length. The use of these numerous sources of information is necessarily to shew the continued prevalence or the change of any form of speech. Indeed without this large body of evidence, it would have been totally impossible to map out the district even roughly with any degree of accuracy. Hence my investigation is greatly indebted to those who have furnished some clue to the prevalent speech sounds, even when it manifestly became impossible to give their communications at length.

Character.

Consonants (f v, s z). The conspicuous feature of D 4, which most strikes the visitor from any other part of England, is the use of (v, z) initial in place of (f, s). But undoubtedly for Ws. words (v, z) were the original forms, just as to this day (z) initial is the received form in Dutch where *z* is written, and High German where *f* is written in German. In both, however, the pron. when no vowel or voiced consonant precedes is (sz-), thus High German *sie sehen* is (szi zee'en) they see. The (f, s) are later developments, and seem to have been introduced by the Normans, for as a general rule, to which even at this late period there are very few exceptions, and those chiefly in words familiar to particular districts, "Ws. words have (v, z), and Romance have (f, s)." This custom once prevailed over the whole s. of England from Ke. to Dv. It has altogether disappeared in Ke. and Ss., and has almost disappeared in Ha. and Be. But it is rarely lost in D 4, and in D 10, 12. In order to test the prevalence of the rule just given, I examined all the words in question in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite*, which is in Kentish of the xivth century, and the words in Mr. Elworthy's lists attached to his *Dialect of West Somersetshire*, and then I sent lists of most of them to Rev. W. Barnes for Do., and Rev. A. Law for Wl., requesting them to mark the words for (f v, s z, sh zh, th dh), etc. The result is given in the following table, where the words in usual spelling are arranged in alphabetical order under appropriate headings, and against each word is written the sound of the letter used, *f*, *v*, *s*, *z*, etc., or *vf*, *zs*, when sometimes one letter and sometimes the other is heard, adding M for Dan Michel for Ke. in xivth century, D for Do., W for Wl., and S. for w.Sm., in the order from e. to w. An * points out Fr. or Romance words.

F INITIAL.

*fable <i>f</i> DS	*faith <i>f</i> S	farrow <i>v</i> WDS
*face <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	fall vb. <i>v</i> MDWS	farther <i>v</i> S
*facia <i>f</i> S	fall sb. <i>f</i> D	farthing <i>v</i> MDWS
*fact <i>f</i> DWS	fallow <i>v</i> DWS	*fashion <i>f</i> S
*factory <i>f</i> DS	*false <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> W	fast vb. adj. <i>v</i> M
*fade <i>f</i> S	*fame <i>f</i> DS	fast adj. adv. <i>v</i> S
fag <i>v</i> S	*family <i>f</i> DS	fast sb. <i>f</i> S
*fail <i>f</i> MDWS	*famish <i>f</i> D	fat (vat) sb. <i>v</i> M
fain adj. <i>f</i> S	fan <i>v</i> MS	fat adj. <i>f</i> DW, <i>v</i> M, <i>vf</i> S
*faint <i>f</i> S	far <i>v</i> MDWS	*fate <i>f</i> DWS
fair adj. <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	fare <i>f</i> DWS, <i>v</i> M	father <i>f</i> D, <i>v</i> MW, <i>vf</i> S
*fair s. <i>f</i> DS	*farm <i>f</i> DS	fathom <i>v</i> S
	*farmer <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W	*faucet <i>f</i> S
	*farrier <i>f</i> DS	*fault <i>f</i> DS, <i>v</i> W

- *favour *f* MS
 *fawn sb. *f* S
 *fawning *v* S
 fear *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fearless *v* S
 *feast *f* MDS, *vf* W
 feather *v* MS
 *feature *f* S
 *february *f* S
 fed *v* M
 fee *f* S
 *feeble *f* MDWS
 feed *v* M
 feel *v* MS
 feet *v* MS
 *feign vb. *f* S
 fell *f* M
 fell sb. *v* M
 fell (in sewing) *v* S
 fellow *v* DS
 fellow *f* DS, *v* MW
 *felon *f* MS
 felt *v* DW, *vf* S
 *female *f* S
 fennel *v* S
 *fence *f* S
 *ferment *f* S
 fern *v* S
 *ferret *f* DS, *v* W
 ferry *f* DS
 ferule *v* S
 *fervent *f* M
 fester *f* D, *v* M, *vf* S
 fetch *v* DWS
 fetters *v* M
 fetlock *v* S
 *fever *f* MDS, *vf* W
 few *v* MDWS
 fiddle *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fidget *f* S
 field *v* MDWS
 fieldfare *v* S
 fiend *v* M
 fifth *v* M
 fife *f* S
 *fig *f* DW, *vf* S
 fight *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *figure *f* MS
 *filbert *v* S
 fill *v* MDWS
 film *v* S
 *philosophy *f* M
 *filter *f* S
 filth *f* DS, *v* M, *vf* W
 fin *v* S
 goldfinch *v* S
 find *v* MDWS
 *fine *f* DS, *v* W.
 *finger *v* MDWS
 *finish *f* DS
 fir *v* S
 fire *v* MDWS
 firkin, *v* S
 firm *f* S
 first *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fish *v* MDW, *vf* S
 fist *v* DWS
 fit *f* S
 fitch (polecat) *f* S
 five *v* MDWS
 *fix *f* S
 flag *v* S
 flagon, *v* S
 *flail *v* DWS
 *flame *f* S
 flange *v* S
 flank *v* S
 flannel *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flare *v* S
 flask *f* S
 flat *f* S
 flatter *v* *f* M
 flaw *v* S
 flax *v* S
 flayed *v* M
 flea *v* S
 *fleam *f* S
 fled *v* M
 fledged *v* S
 fleece *v* DWS
 *phlegmatic *f* M
 flesh *v* MDWS
 flew *v* S
 *flinch *f* M
 fling *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 flint *v* MS
 *flippant (elastic) *f* S
 flitch *v* S
 flock *v* DWS
 *flog *v* S
 flood *v* MS
 floor *v* DWS
 *flour *f* MDS
 flow *v* S
 *flower *f* MDW
 *flue *f* S
 *fluent (said of quickly
 running water only) *f* S
 flush *v* S
 flute *f* S
 flutter *v* S
 fly vb., sb. *v* MDWS
 foal *v* DWS
 foam *v* S
 foe *v* M
 fog *v* S
 fold *v* DWS
 folk *v* MS
 follow *v* M
 *folly *f* M
 *fool *f* M
 *foolish *f* M
 foot *v* MDWS
 for *v* MDWS
 *forage *f* S
 forbear *v* MS
 forbid *v* MS
 force *f* DS, *vf* W
 ford *v* DS, *vf* W
 fore *v* S
 forehead *v* S
 *foreign *f* DS, *v* W
 *forest *f* DS, *v* W
 forgive *v* MS
 *forge *f* D, *v* W, *vf* S
 fork *v* DWS
 forlorn *v* M
 *form *f* M
 *form (bench) *f* S
 forsake *v* MS
 forsooth *v* M
 forswear *v* M
 forth *v* M
 forth *v* DWS
 fortnight *v* S
 *fortunate *v* S
 fortune *f* S
 forty *v* MDW, *vf* S
 forward *v* WS
 foul *f* D, *v* M
 found *v* MDWS
 *foundation *f* S
 *fountain *f* S
 four *v* MDWS
 fourfoot *v* S
 fourth *v* M
 fowl *v* MDWS
 fox *v* MW, *f* D, *vf* S
 *fracas *f* S
 *fraction *f* S
 *a-fraid *vf* S
 *frail *f* S
 frame *f* S
 *fray *f* S
 freak *f* S
 free *v* MDWS
 freedom *v* M
 freehold *v* S
 freeze *v* S
 *frequent *f* S
 fresh *f* D, *v* WS
 fret *f* W, *vf* S
 Friday *v* DWS
 *fried *f* S
 friend *v* MDWS
 fright *v* S
 *frill *f* S
 *fringe *vf* S
 fro' *v* S
 *frock *v* S
 frog *f* D, *v* WS
 frolick *v* S
 from *v* MDWS

*front *f* S
 frost *v* MDWS
 froth *v* DWS
 *fruit *f* MS
 *fryings *f* M
 *fry *f* D, *v* *f* S
 full *v* MDWS
 *fuller sb. *f* S, *v* M
 fumble *f* D, *v* W, *v* *f* S
 *funeral *f* D
 *furbish *v* S
 *furl *v* S
 furlong *v* S
 furlough *v* S
 *furnace *f* MS
 furrow *v* DWS
 further *v* S
 furze *v* DWS
 *fusty *f* DS, *v* W
 *physic *f* M
 *physician *f* M

F FINAL.

(*o* means not pronounced.)

*bailiff *o* S
 calf *f* DW, *v* S
 half *f* DW, *v* S
 *handkerchief *o* S
 herself *o* S
 himself *o* S
 leaf *f* DW, *v* S
 life *f* DW, *v* S
 loaf *f* DW, *v* S
 *plaintiff *o* S
 roof *f* DW, *v* S
 sheaf *f* DW, *v* S
 turf (*tare*) S
 wife *f* DW, *v* S

GH FINAL.

cough *f* S
 dough (*occ.*) *f* S
 enough *o* S
 plough *o* S
 slough *o* *f* S
 though *f* S
 through *o* S
 tough *f* S
 trough *o* S

S INITIAL.

(*s*=*z*, S, before *k l m n o w*
 except as below.)

*sabbath *s* D
 sack *z* DWS
 *sacrament *s* D

sad *z* MWS, *s* D
 saddle *z* DWS
 *safe *s* M, *z* W
 *sage *s* D, *z* WS
 said *z* MDWS
 sail *z* M
 sailor *s* D, *z* WS
 *saint *z* s M
 sale *z* DWS
 sallow *z* S
 salt *z* MDWS
 sand *z* DWS
 sap *z* MS
 sat *z* S
 Saturday *z* MDWS
 *save *s* M
 I saw *z* DS
 a saw *z* S
 say *z* MDW
 scrape *s* D
 sea *s* D, *z* M
 sedge *z* DWS
 see *z* MDWS
 seed sb. *z* MS
 seek *z* M
 seem *s* D, *z* WS
 *segment *z* S
 self *z* MDWS
 sell *z* MDWS
 send *z* M
 *sentence *s* M
 *sergeant *s* M
 *sermon *s* M
 *servant *s* D
 *serve *s* MW
 *sessions *s* D
 set *z* MDWS
 settle *z* S
 seven *z* MDWS
 sew vb. *z* DWS
 sick *z* MDWS
 side *z* MDWS
 sieve *z* DWS
 sift *z* DWS
 sigh *s* D, *z* WS
 sight *z* M
 silver *z* MDWS
 *simple *s* M
 sin *z* M
 since *s* D, *z* WS
 sinew *z* S
 sing *z* MDWS
 *single *s* MD, *z* WS
 sink *z* DWS
 sip *s* D, *z* WS
 *sir *s* D, *z* S
 sister *s* D, *z* MWS
 sit *z* S
 *site *z* S
 six *z* MDWS
 *sire *s* DWS

sketch *s* D, *z* S [*'zkitj*]
 almost two syllables]
 skill *s* D
 slack *s* M
 slay *s* M -
 sleep *s* M
 sly *s* M
 small *s* M
 smell *s* M
 smith *s* M
 snail *s* M
 snow *s* M
 so *z* MW
 sob *z* M
 *sober *s* M
 soft *z* M
 sold *z* M
 some *z* DMW
 son *s* D
 song *z* M
 soon *z* MW
 sooth *z* M
 sorrow *z* M
 *sort *s* S
 sought *z* M
 soul *z* M
 sour *z* M
 south *z* M
 *sovereign *s* W
 sow vb. *z* M
 sparrow *s* M
 spring *s* D
 string *s* D
 *subtle *s* M
 such *z* MW
 suck *z* M
 *suffer *s* MD
 *sugar *sh* S
 sul (plough) *z* M
 *sum *s* MD
 summer *z* MW
 sun *z* MD
 Sunday *z* M
 *sup *s* M
 *supper *z* W
 *sure *zh* W, *sh* S
 *sustain *s* M
 swallow *z* M
 swear *z* M
 sweat *z* MW
 sweep *z* M
 sweet *z* M
 swift *z* M
 swine *z* M
 sword *z* M

SH INITIAL.

share (part) *sh* DW
 share (of a plough) *zh sh* S
 shave *sh* DW, *zh sh* S
 she *zh* W

sheaf *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
 shear *sh* D, *zh* W, *zh sh* S
 shepherd *zh* W
 shoot *sh* W
 should *zh* W
 shred *sh* D, *zh* WS
 shrew *zh* S
 shriek *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrimp *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrink *sh* D, *zh* S
 shrivel *sh* D, *zh* S
 shroud *sh* D, *zh* W
 shrove *sh* D, *zh* W
 shrub *sh* D, *zh* WS
 shrug *z* S

TH INITIAL.

thatch *v* S
 thick *th* S as distinguished
 from (*dhik*) this
 thief *th* S
 thin *th* S
 thing *dh* W
 thirsty *dh* W
 thistle *d* S

though (*dháu*) *dh* W,
 (*thaa*) *th* S
 thr- *dr* WS, not M who
 has *þr*.
 th- *dh* S except in the
 above cases

TH FINAL.

sheath *f* S
 moth *f* S
 cloth *f* S
 tooth *f* S

V INITIAL.

*value *f* S (*fali*) [common]
 *variety *v* M
 *veal *dh* S (*dhæ'el*) [some-
 times]
 *venial *v* M
 *venom *v* M
 *very *dh* S
 *vestments *v* M
 *vetches *dh* S (*dhatjes*)
 *vice *v* M
 *victuals *f* S (*fet'lz*)
 [common]

*vile *v* M
 *village *f* S (*fu'lidʒ*) [com-
 mon]
 *villain *v* M
 *vouch *dh* S (common)

V FINAL.

(*o* means omitted.)

above *o* S (*ebuu*)
 cleave (*klef*) *f* S
 curve *b* S
 give *o* S
 have *o* S
 heave *f* S
 leave *f* S
 lieve *f o* S
 *serve (earn wages) *o* S
 themselves *o* S
 valve (*valb*) *b* S
 -ive *o* S [= (*i*, *if*) never (*iv*)
 common in: expensive
 abusive native laxative
 active destructive de-
 ceptive

(R). The most important character of the S. dial., the reverted or retracted (*r*, *r*₁), is, as has been mentioned, not confined to this district, but spreads more or less strongly over the whole S. div. Its nature was explained *suprà*, p. 23, together with the way in which it affects a subsequent *t*, *d*, *r*, *l*, *n*, which were probably originally reverted. But I think, although I have not been able to verify the conjecture, except by private trial, that it also affects (*sh*, *zh*; *th*, *dh*), converting them into (*sh*, *zh*; *th*, *dh*). In this case (*sh*, *zh*) would be spoken with the tongue quite turned back, a true "cerebral" (*sh*, *zh*), and in (*th*, *dh*) the under part of the tongue tip would be brought against the teeth. The (*sh*, *zh*) would occur in the diphthongs (*ɽj*, *ɽʒ*), or (*ɽʃh*, *ɽʒh*), in place of the ordinary (*tj*, *dj*). These forms would probably arise from the convenience of the tongue remaining in its reverted condition. The most doubtful are (*th*, *dh*), because we do not find *thr*- initial, that is, (*dhɾ*-), but the easier *dr*- (*ɾɾ*-). The (*ɽj*, *ɽʒ*) are however almost necessary in such combinations as *hurchard* (*hæɽtʃɾd*) for Richard and orchard, and *burdge* (*bæɽdʒh*), bridge. And in the same way it would be easier to say (*æɽth*, *wæɽdhi*) earth, worthy, than (*æɾth*, *wæɾdhi*), the last word usually omits the (*r*). In process of time, however, especially as the dialect advances eastwards, the actual reversion ceases, and the effect is pretty well produced by retracting the tongue, and arching its back so as to allow a hollow to exist behind the raised tip and the raised back of the tongue. Towards the w. and n. of the district there seems to my ear to be no such retractive tendency. JGG., however, regards retraction as the typical formation. In the E. div. we shall find (*truu*, *tred*) through, thread, which probably point to an original but

now lost (trhuu , trhed). This retraction accompanied with hollowing is further refined by omitting the hollowing, so that we have merely a raised tip of the tongue, producing the coronal English (t d r l n), etc., which are so distinct from the continental (t d r l n) that they must evidently have had a different genesis. We shall meet with (t) before (r) in the M. and N. div. Now the English coronal form was the only one acknowledged by Mr. Gupta (Part IV. 1096b', 1137c') for Indian pronunciation of the Sanscrit cerebrals, so that the same refining system has gone on in both countries, but in our own dialects we have all the stages (R r, r, T t, t) now coexistent. This (R) is constantly flated when initial, and often transposed with an (h) prefixed, as (hæd , hærn), red, run, from (rhed , rhæn).

Another very important character of this (R) is its amalgamation with a preceding vowel. In fact, it seems to give a new series of vowels (æ_R a_R ä_R), etc., and even (ii_R ee_R uu_R). With regard to the first, it was a great difficulty with me how I was to represent such words as *her*, *burn*, and for some time I thought that they had merely vocal ('R_O), thus (h'R_O $\text{b'R}_\text{O n}$), but I latterly came to the conclusion that there was a preceding vowel followed by an amalgamation of the vowel with $\text{æ} + \text{æ}_\text{R}$ (R). What that vowel really was, however, I found so difficult to determine, that I finally adopted different hypotheses as I heard different speakers. I have used (æR , əR , vR), and JGG. writes (vR , væR). But latterly I have fallen back on (æR) accented, and (vR) unaccented, whether rightly or not I cannot quite make out. With this explanation, however, this sign will suffice, and it must be left to actual audition during a long period and with many speakers, for good phonetists to determine the best representative of the actual sound. I have not met with any instance in D 4 and 5 of the introduction of an (R) after a vowel which was not justified by the orthography, but in D 10 and 11 there seem to be some cases, there to be noted.

With regard to the complete series of sounds (t d n r l), etc., it was only on the close of a second revision of his wl. taken from his stepmother, that JGG. (although he had been familiar with Wl. dialect from childhood) recognised that they invariably took the place in her pronunciation of the usual (t d n r l), etc., just as these in English and in the pron. of continental languages by Englishmen invariably replace the continental (t d n r l), etc. For myself I had not observed it, although it seems to me most probable. In JGG.'s Chippenham wl. and spec. therefore the complete substitution is made, but as in those specimens which I took down from native speakers, I only detected (R), and the other letters when juxtaposed, and therefore as it seemed to me assimilated, I have thought it best to retain what I wrote from their dict., although I have now, in the course of many years, come to the conclusion that my former appreciation was probably erroneous and ought to be amended in this direction throughout. And the same is probably the case for my (sh zh tʃ dʒ), which in the S. div. should prob. be (sh zh tʃ dʒ). The final (v) is frequently lost

after (L, N). The ending of the present participle, modern *-ing*, was ancient *-ande*, hence the (-eN, -iN) now heard, really arises from the omission of (D) after (N), and not from the use of (N) for (q).

(h). In D 4 and 5, as well as in almost all our dialects, (h) is naturally omitted, but with no hiatus to indicate the speaker's knowledge that it is absent. My authorities differ very much as to its presence. It seems decidedly used when (hæR-) is employed for (Rh-).

The other consonants have no peculiarity. There is for example no use of (b D g) for (p T k), parallel to (v z) for (f s).

Vowels. The following gives the principal characters of the vowels, for details see the various cwl. that follow.

A- is often represented by (ie), reduced to (iə iɐ ii'), and finally to (ii' ii), as in name (xiem xiem xiem xii'm xiim), or else (é'ə é'ə ə') as (xé'um xé'um xé'um). The former prevails over the m. and n. part of the district, (ii) being especially prevalent in towns, e.g. in Gloucester, and (é'ə) in rural districts.

A: varies from (æ) to (a', ah), but hardly reaches (a).

A' is normally (úa), whence (úə, úə), but it varies.

ÆG and EG are normally (ái) not (ǣ'í ái), but this falls locally into (ə'í ə'í EE), and sometimes into simple (ee'), and similarly for Fr. *ai*. This (ái) sound is a very strong mark of the w. forms of S., but it is not peculiar to D 4.

I', in contrast to this clear (ái), has (ǣ'í, ə'í) or (ái), which strangers hear as (ó'í) and write *oy*.

O I generally hear as (o), but JGG. only hears it as (ɔ). The latter sound, being the modern received form, is always given me by people of education. But it is, I think, a modernism or misappreciation.

O' is properly (uu), but occasionally (ǣ) and rarely (ɔ), a sound of (ǣ) with (AA) running through it which I have heard only from Mr. Law in the words EY: 439 TRƏS, O' 567 tədhɐ, 587 ʊdə'n, U 604 zəməɐ, 627 zəndi, Y 673 mətɪ, U 804 DRƏqk'n, O.. 950 zəpp'r, and in no other words. JGG. has, however, quite recently observed what I suppose is the same sound.

U is regularly (ǣ), but there is a trace of M. (u) as far s. as Purton (4 nw. Swindon, Wl.), see s. *sööm* line 2, p. 16.

U' is regularly (ǣ'u, ə'u) not (áu, du).

In *grammatical construction*, that which strikes a stranger most is *I be* for *I am*, the prefix (v) before the past participle, as (ǣ'í, v adə'n) I have a-done; and the periphrastic form *I do go* for the simple *I go*, together with the curious use of the nominative for the objective case, and sometimes the converse. Remarkable survivals are first (və) for *hine*, the true acc. of *he*, for which the dative *him* is substituted in rec. sp. This (və) is very widely spread in the S. div., and is also used where *it* is said in received speech, on account of the general use of *he* applied to inanimate objects; and secondly, in a small district of Sm. hereafter described as the *Land of Uch*, the forms (ətɪ, ətɪi) for the personal pronoun I, which in old writers is the usual mark of our S. dialects. But these are forms which cannot be more than alluded to. For vocabulary, see the printed Glossaries, which, however, must generally be used with great caution.

Varieties. Over such an extensive tract of country there must necessarily be many slight varieties, some of which are mentioned in the preceding table of vowels. But I have not been able to mark out any sharply-defined varieties or subdistricts. I find it,

however, necessary to draw attention to six different varieties or forms, which, on account of the importance of this district, I proceed to illustrate at considerable length.

- V i. The Middle or Wl., typical or standard form of D 4, of which three phases are given, Christian Malford, Chippenham, and Tilshead, all from vv. information.
 V ii. The Northern or Gl. form.
 V iii. The North-Western or e. He. form.
 V iv. The South-Eastern or Do. form.
 V v. The land of Uteh, or region of the continued old use of (ætj, ætji) for the first personal pronoun.
 V vi. The South-Western or Sm. form.

VAR. i. THE MIDDLE OR TYPICAL FORM IN Wl.

Phase I. *Christian Malford* (11 nnw.Devizes), Wl.

Rev. Arthur Law, son of the Rector, whose curate he became (he is now rector of Dauntsey, 4 me. Christian Malford), was born there and lived in constant communication with the peasantry, entering heartily into their mode of speech, which he acquired with remarkable accuracy and fluency. He wrote a version of my cs. in io. and kindly came to London on two occasions (in 1874 and 1878) on purpose to work it over with me vv. As this was the foundation of my knowledge of D 4, I add the whole cs. as he rewrote it, with additions, to give it more of the character of a Wl. peasant's speech. And as it departs so much from the original in the Preliminary Matter, No. III. p. 7*, I add a slavishly literal interlinear translation. Some separate sentences written from his dict. are annexed with notes and a cwl.

0. wæ'i :dʒon æ'evz nor)e dæ'ut.
 why John has ne'er)a doubt. [The peasant would probably say,]
 z)dhii want d)náu wæ'i :dʒon bii zi zaart'n bæ'ut (dhæk)ʊR
 dost)thou want to)know why John be so certain about thick)e'er
 dheq, wæ'i dhen æ'i)l tel)i.
 thing, why then I'll tell)ye.
 1. wæl, wot bi læfɪn [læfɪn] ʊt æ'i vʊR, dhe gært zilɪz? aa!
 well, what be (you) laughing at I for, the great sillies? ah
 ʊ)mæd) læ'af búuəd)h on)i, if)i mæ'in tu, ʊt)wat æ'i dʊ)tel)i.
 ye)mote = may) laugh both of)ye, if)ye mind to, at)what I do)tell)ye.
 æ'i dʊ)ent kíer! t)i)ent no ɒdz tʊ æ'i, nʊ naa'bʊdi ʊls
 I do)n't care! it)is)nt no odds to I, nor nobody else
 ʊz)ʊ)náuʊ on.
 as)I)knows of.
 2. t)wú)ent kí)ʊ tʃæp bɪn [kæz] ʊ)dʊ læ'ʊf æt)en, æ'i)
 it)will)not kill)a chap being [because] ye)do) laugh at)him, I)
 dʊ)lot)'n)! t)i)ent læ'ikli.
 do)allot)him, it)is)not likely.

3. wat ʔi bi gwóin tɛ)TEL)i, ɐ(WEV)ER, bi TRUU)EZ EVER ʔi
 what I be going to)tell)ye, however, be true)as ever I

wɜR báa)RND. dhɜR [dhi)R] nʔu! zɐ dʒɛz bʔid kɜʔi)et,
 were born. there now! so just bide quiet,

ɐn lɛt ʔi spéevk.
 and let I speak.

4. wel, ʔi hʔi)ERD)ɐm zái, ɐ)WEV)ER, ɐn zɛm)ɐ dhái vʔRi
 wel, I heard) them say, however, and some)of they very

vaak tu, ɛz)zid)it vɜm)dhɜ vʔs dhɜRZEL)ʔz, ái)háí! !
 folk too, as)see)d)it from)the first themselves, igh-high!

dhæt)i)dɪd TRU nʔf—
 that)I)did true enough—

5. dhɛt)dhɜ)JEQ)gɪst zɛn ize)lf, ɐ)gʔɛT bʔói ɐ)nʔi)in, náud)iz
 that,the)youngest son his-self, a)great boy of,nine, knowed,his

vɛd)dhɜz vʔóis ɛz)zuund)ɛz EVER i)hʔi)ERD)ɐn, dháu
 father's voice as)soon)as ever he)heard)him(=it), though

[dhʔu] t)wɜR zɐ) kom)ikɛl) lʔik. laa blɛs)i, t)wɜR)z
 it)were so) comical like. Lord bless)ye, it)were)as

skweeki ɐn bææ)eli ɛz) E)ʔR)kɛd)bi, hʔt ii náud)'n,
 squeak-y and bawl-y as) ever)could)be, but he knowed)him(=it),

ɐn ii)'l speak dhɜ TRU)th aar)ɐ déci (dái), ʔi)l waarN)in
 and he)'ll speak the truth e'er)a day, I'll) warrant)him

[waarND)ɐn].
 [warrant)him].

6. ɐn dh)ʔu)l)d)ɐmɛn ɐRZE)lf, 'l)tɛl ɛni on)i, ɛz)STRæ'it
 and the)old)woman herself will)tell any of)ye, as)straight

vɔRɛd ɛz ɛni dhɛq, ʔi)l waarND)ɐ, if)'l æks)ɐR.
 forward as any thing, I'll warrant)her, if[you]'ll ask)her

7. lʔɛstwʔiz ɐR tɛld ʔi wɛn ʔi ækst)ɐR tuu)ɐR)DRii tʔimz
 leastways her telled I when I asked)her two)or)three times

aa)ʔɜR, ɐR)dʔɛd, ɐn zhii)d náu, if ɛR)ɐn u'l, E'i dɛ)lot)
 over, her)did, and she)would know, if e'er)one will, I do)allot)

ɐR, wat dɛ)dhɛqk)on)t, ái?
 her, what do[you]think)of)it, eh?

8. wel, ɛz)ʔi)wɜR)ɐ)zái)in [zæ'i)in], ɐR)D)tɛl)i wɜR)ɐR
 well, as)I)were)a)saying, her)would)tell)ye where)her

vʔi)ɐn dhik)ɜR DRɔqk'n bíɛs ɛz)ɐR di)kææ)ɛl ɐR)EZbɛn.
 found this)ere drunken beast as)her do)call her)husband.

9. dæld)if)wɛr dɪd)'nt tel ɛ'i ɛz wɛr)ziid)en wɛrʒɛ'lf. "·(d)hɛr)
dashed)if)her did)not tell I as her)see'd)him herself. "·(there)

i)wɛr," wɛr)zɛd, "lɛd dɛ'ʊn i)wɛr wi)iz bɛs klaaz on,
he)were," her)said, "laid down he)were with)his best clothes on,

ɛz tɪpsɪ ɛz ɛvɛr)ɛ kʊd)hi, ɛ)kʊd)'nt wæg ɪzɛ'lf noo ɛ'ʊ.
as tipsy as ever)he could)be, he)could)not wag his-self no how.

ɛ)wɛr)klas ɛp ɛgɪ'n d)hɛ d)úɛr)ɛ)d)hɛ ɛ'ʊs ɛt)d)hi)kɔrnɛr
he)were)close up against the door)of)the house at)the)corner

ɛ)d)hi lɛ'ɛn.
of)the lane.

10. ɛ)wɛr)ɛ)hæɛ'lin ɛn)ɛ)skwæɛ'lin, blɛs)i, wɛr)æl)d)hi
he)were)a)bawling and)a)squalling, bless)ye for)all)the

wɛrl lɛ'ik)ɛ zɪk tʃɛ'ɪl ɛr)ɛ)kæt ɛ)mɪáwɛtɪn." ɛn)ɛr)
world like)a sick child or)a)cat a)mewing." and)her)

ækst tuu)ɛr)DRɪi on)ɛm, ɛr zɛd, ɛz)wɛrd)ɛnt wɛrɪ wɛr
asked two)or)three of)them, her said, as)were)not very far

aaf, ɛn "d)hɛɛ ɛlpt ɛ'i vət)ɛn úɛm," ɛr)zɛd, "ɛn dhái braat)
off, and "they helped I fetch)him home," her)said, "and they brought)

ɛn æl ɛdhɛrt)ɛskwɛ'nt vɔrmɛr :pɛ'iks vɪ'l," ɛr zɛd, "wɛr
him all athwart)asquint farmer Pike's field," her said, "where

ɛ'i dɛ)bɛ'ɪd, ɛn dhɛr d)hɛ)lɪɛf)ɛn."
I do)bide, and there they)left)him."

11. æn dhæt [d)hɛk] wɛr, d)nee'e? ɛz zhii)ɛn)ar dæt)ɛr lɛɛ
and that [thɪk] were, do[you]know? as she)and)her daughter[in]law

kɛmd ɪn d)ruu d)hi bæk jɪárd, wɛr)ɛr bɪn ɛ)æqɪn ɛ'ʊt
come'd in through the back yard, where)her [had] been a)hanging out

d)hi klaaz tɛ d)ɾɛ'ɪ.
the clothes to dry.

12. ɛn)ɛr)wɛntɛd tɛ b)wɛ'ɪl d)hi kɪt'l wɛr tɛɛ. "ɪt gɪd ɛ'i æl)
and)her)wanted to boil the kettle for tea. "it give'd I all)

ɛv)ɛ tɛɾn," ɛr zɛd, "ɛn mɪɛd ɛ'i zwɛt ɛmúv's æl aavɛr.
of)a turn," her said, "and made I sweat almost all over."

:bɪl :d)jʊɛnz d)hɛr, ɛ)ɛd)ɛ d)juubɪləs d)haat on)ɪn, ɛr)ɛ
Bill Jones there, he)had)a dubious thought of)him, for he

tɛld ɛ'i ɛz)i)zɪd)ɛn ɛbɛ'ʊt vɛ'ʊ'r ɛklo:k ɪn d)hɛt)ɛrnúɛn,
telled I as)he)see'd)him about four o'clock in the)afternoon,

en)i)wɛr maɪn ʋɔr'adɪʃ ðen. ɛ(d) waakt pɜrti nɛ'i zɛb'm
and)he)were main forwardish then. he)d walked pretty nigh seven

mɛ'i'l ɛlɔŋ ðe rhaad, en)i)wɛr)ɛz dɛ'ʊsti)ɛz ɛvɜr ɛni
mile along the road, and)he)were)as dusty)as ever any

ðheq. ɛ'i nɛvɜr zɪd noo zɪtʃ ðheq ɛv'ʊɛr." laa blɛs)i!
thing. I never see'd no such thing afore." Lord bless)ye

t)w'r)ɛ wɪk ɛgʊv kəm nɛks ðhɜrzdɪ, en)v)ʋɛ'ɪn zɔmɜr
it)were)a week ago come next Thursday, and)a)fine summer

ætɜrnʊɛn tuu, t)wɛr.
afternoon too, it)were.

13. an)tɛl)i wat! ɛ'i nɛvɜr hɛ'ɪɜrd noo mʊɛr)v)ðhɪʋs)ɪɜr
and)tell)ye what! I never heard no more)of)this)here

dʒɔb tɪl tɛ dɛɛi. en)v)ðɪ)ɛnt kɪɜr wɛr)v)ɛ duu ɛr naa,
job till to-day and)I)do)n't care whether)I do or no,

aa)lɪk)i!
ah)look)ye.

14. ɛn)ðhɜr)ɛ'i bi ɡwóɪn ʊɛm tɛ hee)v) bɪt ɛ zɔp'p'r, zɛ)gʊd
and)there)I bi going home to have)a bit of supper, so)good

nɛ'ɪt, ɛn)du)ɛn)i bi zɛ kwɪk tɛ læ'v)ɛt)v) tʃæp ɛg'ɛn.
night, and)do)not)ye be so quick to laugh)at)a chap again,

wɛn)v)ðɛ tɛl)i)ɛ ɛni ðheq.
when)he)do tell)ye)of any thing.

15. ɛn)ðhæt)s ɛl ɛ'i ɡɔt tɛ)zái tu)t. ɡʊd bɛ'i.
and)that)is all I [have] got to)say to)it, good b'ye.

Notes. The figures refer to the paragraphs of the above cs.

* * Perhaps throughout (t d tʃ dʒ n l) should have been (t d tʃ, dʒ, n l).

2. Being (bin) for *because* is used by older people.

4 and 13. *Heard*, this is the form used by older people, see D 1, cwl. 301, (ɪi'r_ɔ) is the result of education. The (h) is heard only when the word is emphatic, and is gentle even then.

5. *Bawly*, cats are said to (bæɛ'ɛl) in n. Wl.

6. in (ɛ'ul)dʊm-ɛn) *old woman* the d separates from the (l) and is made part of the next word; (d) is dropped in (ɛr bi ɛrɪ, ɛ'ul) *she be very old*.

7. *She*. Observe emphatic (·zhii); compare (·zhii ɛvz)'n) *she has)him with (ɛr)z)·got)'n) she's ·got him*. — *Know*. This has its regular form, but the final (u) is dropped in (ɛ'i du'n naa, ɛ'i naa nɛ'ʊt ɛbɛ'ʊt)it) *I don't know, I know nought about it, and even the (a) is changed in par. 11 (d)NEE? do(you)know*.

10. *Athwart*, by itself, means across a field at right angles to its sides, (ɛdhɜrt ɛskwɪnt) *athwart* *asquint*, is diagonally, from one corner straight to the next but one.

Phrases and sentences originally heard from peasants, and dictated
by Rev. A. Law.

1. (mæ'i hed bi:t lə'ik· dre'ish'lz v)gwáin), my head beat like flails a-going.
2. (du)'nt)i shuut tɛ'uɛrdz dhv hɛ'uz'n), don't ye shoot towards the houses.
3. (tə hee)v bi:t on)t), to have a bit of)it.
4. (i)w'r v)tɹæmpin ət 'ɛ'i), he was chaffing at me.
5. (i did dre'u iz hed bæc ɛn kʌk'ld), he did throw his head back and gargled.
6. (bles)im ! it)s v hard mæt'r tɛ kəm ɛpɹɛ'idz wi)ɛn), bless him ! it's a hard matter to come upsides [right way up] with him.
7. (i)z nee'tli kɛ'ul), he's naturally cold.
8. (v peen ɛ'i hæd ɛdhɛ'r·t dhv sɪnɛz), a pain I had across the sinews.
9. (ɛ'i)l tel)i ɛ'u v wɛz saard), I'll tell)ye how I was served.
10. (i)z got tɛ voder dhv bi:us), he has to fodder the beasts [horned cattle].
11. (dhɛr)z)v pæs'l)v lit'l odziz), there's a parcel of little odds and ends.
12. (·zhii hævz v vɛri gʊd)ɛn), she has a very good one.
13. (go so'lid, ɛ'il mi:k in)kwɛ'iree'sh'n), go quickly, I'll make inquiries.
14. (i)z vɛri bæd nə'i·tɛmz), he's very bad night-times.
15. (dhæt)s the mɛ'in on)ɛm), that's the mind [intention, bent of mind] of them.
16. (ɛ'i dhaat ɛ'i)shud)v dɛ'id in)dhv nə'it), I thought I should have died in the night.
17. (hɛ'uld)ɛn tɛ'it), hold him tight.
18. (wɛn)ɛn) ɛnɛ'dh'r_o, tuu)ɛn)v t)ɛdɛr), one and another, two and a t'other.
19. (dʉen)ɔs ? wat)ɛd ? ɛ'i, jɛn)it ?) don't us = we ? what should ? aye, is'n't it ?
20. (ɛ'i bi zartɪn zhæuɛr ; t'l)ɛ'i)v ɛdɔ'n), I am certain sure ; till I've done.
21. (nɛ mʉɛr nɛr dhʉs), no more than this.
22. (t)ɛ'nt nɛ odz tɛ jɛ'u), it is not no odds to you, it is no business of yours.
23. (bə'i dhv zim on)t), by the seem [appearance] of it.
24. (dhæk)s ɛ'u ɛ'i spel fa'iv), that's how I spell five.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD cwl.

Containing the words from the preceding examples and some others given me by Mr. Law. Probably all the (t d tʃ dʒ sh n l r) should be (t ɒ tʃ dʒ sh n l r). See suprâ p. 23.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zɛ. 5 mʲek. 6 mʲed. 8 tɛ hee [to have]. 17 lɛɛ [the older sound was (laa), and Mr. Law himself, who used to be called (laa), is now called (lɛɛ)]. 21 nʲem. — fə'ir [fare]. 34 lɛ'est. A: — sæd'l [saddle]. 39 kʲamd [come'd]. — zæn [sand]. 49 aqin [hanging]. 54 want. 56 wésh. — kæt [cat].

A: or O: 58 vɛm [weak form]. 60 vlo:q [along]. 64 roq [generally, occ. (raq)]. A'- 67 gʲwɔin [going]. 69 naa noo no. 72 húuɐ [when standing alone, otherwise (uu)]. 73 zi zɛ [weak forms]. 74 tuu. 77 laa [for Lord! is an exclamation]. 79 ɛ'un. 81 lʲen. 84 mʲær. 87 klaaz. 89 búuedh. 92 náu, [but (d)NEE do you know?]. 94 krɛ'u. A': 102 æks ækst. 104 rhaad. 107 lúef. — zhroov [shrove]. 111 aat. 113 húuel [h half sounded]. 115 úem. 120 vɛúv.

Æ- 138 vɛedhɐ. 144 vɛ'ɛn. 146 máin. 148 fáir [see 709 and 887]. 150 lʲest wɛ'iz [least wise]. 153 zæ'trdi. — wɛr [whether]. — pɛrti [pretty, tolerably]. Æ: 154 bak. — ɛd [had, weak form]. — zæd [sad]. 158 ætɛr. 159 hævz. 161 déci [seldom (dái)]. 162 tɛdéci [to-day]. 165 zed. 166. máid [a little girl, see 758]. 169 wɛ'n ["not quite a dissyllable" and] wɛn. 173 wɛr [were, was]. 174 ɛ'shen trɪi ["always with (ɛn)"]. 177 dhæt [also (dhæk)]. 179 wot wat.

Æ'- 187 lʲef [left, did leave]. — zili [silly]. 194 ɛni. 196 wɛærd)'nt [were not]. 198 lɛt. Æ': 205 dɛd. 208 ɛvɛr, ær)ɛn [e'er a one], aar)ɛ [e'er a]. 209 nɛ'vɛr nɔr [never a]. 213 ɛ'idhɛr. 214 nɛ'idhɛr. 220 zhɛpɛrd. 221 v'ɛr. 223 dhɛr, dhi'ɛr. 224 wɛr. 225 vlesh. 226 ɛmʲɛv's [almost]. 227 wɛ'ɛt ["not quite a dissyllable"]. 228 zwet. 230 væt.

E- 231 dhi'dhɛ dh-. 233 spéek. 236 vévɛr. 239 záir [sailor]. 244 wál. — tɛld [tell'd]. — zhɛr [shear]. 251 meet. 252 kɪ'tl. È- — vat vɛtʃ [fetch]. 256 stɛtʃ. 258 zɛdʃ. 260 lɛd [laid]. 261 zái záir'in zə'ir'in [sayin]. 263 ɛwáir. 265 stræ'it. — víel [field]. 269 zɛlf izə'lf ɛr zɛ'lf dhur zɛ'lvz [self himself herself themselves]. 271 tɛl. 272 ɛl'mɛn trɪi ["always with (ɛn)"]. — ɛls [else]. — ɛlpt [helped]. — zil [sell]. 278 wɛntʃ [a marriageable girl, see 758]. 281 lɛqth. — vɛsh [fresh]. 284 dɛsh [see after 735]. — ɛdɛ'ɛrt [athwart, across from side to side, (ɛdɛ'ɛrt, ɛskwɛnt) athwart asquint, diagonally from one corner to the next but one]. — vɛ'stɛr [fester]. — bɛs [best]. E'- 289 i [weak]. 290 ii, v, ' [(v)ad, 'd) he had, weak form]. 297 vɛlɛr. 298 víeld [felt]. 302 mʲæt. È: 307 ná'í. 312 ɛɛr. 313 hark. 314 hɛ'ɛrd [older people]. — blɛs [bless]. — tɛ'it [tight]. 316 nɛks.

EA- — shiiv [shave]. — vɛlɛ vɛlɛ [fallow]. 320 kíɛr. EA: 322 læf lɛf'in lɛɛ'in [laughing]. 325 waakt [walked]. 326 ɛ'ul-d. 328 kɛ'ul. 329 vóuel. 330 tɛ hɛ'uld [(v hooft) subs.] 333 kɛ'ɛf. 334 hɛ'ɛf. 335 ɛl. 336 vɛ'el. 338 kɛ'ɛ'el. — zɛ't [salt]. — shɛr [share]. 340 jíard. — vorɛ [farrow]. EA'- — zhɛrd [shread]. 347 hɛd. 348 ɛ'i-z. 349 ví'ɛ'u. EA': 354 zhɛf. 356 lʲef. 357 dhá'u dhɛ'u. 359 nɛ'ibɛr. — ɛ'ɛn [against]. 364 tʃɛp. 366 gɛrt. 367 dɛt.

EI- 372 ái. 373 dhái dhɛɛ. EI: 378 wéek. EO- 383 zɛb'm. 387 nɛ'ɛuz [news]. EO: 390 zhud. — zilv'ɛr. — varmɛr [farmer]. 402 lɛrn. 403 vɛr. 407 vardin. — zɛstɛr [sister]. 408 náud [made weak from (náu) know]. EO'- — vrɪi [free]. 411 drɪi. 412 zhii. 414 vlá'í. — shuut [shoot]. 420 vɛ'ɛvɛr. 421 váurti. EO': 422 zik. 426 vɛ'it. 427 bɪn [being=because]. 428 zid [see'd]. 430 vɛn. 434 búet. 435 ɛ'ɛ'u [not used]. 436 truu. — drɛ'u [threw]. 437 truuth. EY- 438 drá'í. EY: 439 trɛðs.

I- 440 wíek. 441 zí'v. 443 vrá'idee. 446 ná'in. — in, ɛn [him, old

acc. form]. — *sinw* [sinew]. 447 *er*. — *éuz* [yes]. 448 *dhúez*. — *bit* [a bit]. 449 *got* [p.p. of get]. — *vád'l* [fiddle]. 451 *záw*. I: 452 *á'i*. 453 *kwik*. 465 *lā'in* [lying]. — *zift* [sift]. 458 *nā'it*. 463 *tēl*. 465 *zity* *sity*. 466 *tjā'l*. 469 *u'l* [will, for (wol)]. 477 *vā'in*. 480 *dheq*. — *zeq* [sing]. 481 *veqer*. — *zeqk* [sink]. 483 *iz*. 484 *dhies dhos*. — *vish* [fish]. — *zans* [since]. — *ziks* [six]. I': — *ba'id* [bide]. 491 *zā'i*. 492 *zā'id*. — *gid* [give'd=gave]. 494 *tā'im*. 495 *wā'in*. I': 500 *lā'ik*. 502 *vā'iv*. 503 *lā'il*. 505 *wā'if* [generally my (mases) or (aol d, ammen)]. 506 *amem*. 508 *mā'il*. 509 *wā'il*.

O- 519 *aaver*. 521 *vā'uēl*. — *evúer* [afore]. — *vorēd* [forward] *vorēdish* [getting forward, tipsy]. — *baarend* [born]. 524 *wērl*. — *droot* [throat]. — *vrath* [roth]. — *vlok* [flock]. — *odz* [odds]. O: 525 *aaf* [off]. — *vroq* [frog]. — *zhrub* [shrub]. 528 *dhaat*. 529 *breat*. 531 *dæter*. 535 *vaak*. 538 *úed*. 541 *tjwū'nt* [it won't]. 543 *on*. 544 *dhen*. 546 *ver* *vā'r*. — *vark* [fork]. 548 *verd*. 550 *wērd*. — *vrās* [frost]. — *varth* [forth]. — *voks* [fox]. O': 556 *d' tē*. 557 *tuu*. 558 *aa'lāk*i [ah! look ye! exclamation]. 564 *zuund*. 567 *tædher*. — *tā'erdz* [towards]. O': 571 *gūd*. — *raf* [roof]. 579 *naf*. 586 *ā'i dē*, *ā'i du'nt*. 587 *edæ'n*. 588 *æternūen*. 590 *vlu'r*. 592 *zward*. 595 *vēt*.

U- — *ud* [wood, not (hud)]. 601 *vā'uēl*. 603 *kam*. 604 *zæmēr*. 605 *zæn*. 606 *dūer*. U: 609 *vēl*. 612 *zām*. 616 *grā'um*. 619 *vā'und*. 627 *zændi*. 631 *dherzdi*. — *varē* [furrow]. 634 *druu*. — *dhersti* [thirsty]. 639 *dā'asti* [dusty]. U': 641 *ā'u*, *ā'asundev'r*, *ā'asundev'r*, *ēwēver*. 643 *nā'ū*. 650 *bā'ut ebā'ut*. 651 *wi-æut*. 652 *kad* [weak form]. 653 *bāt*. U': 654 *zhra'ud*. 658 *dā'um*. 663 *ā'us*, *hā'us* [pl. (hā'uzen)]. 666 *azben*. 667 *ā'ut*.

Y- 673 *mæti* [greatly resembled (mōti)]. 674 *dād dād* [the latter emphatic]. 675 *drā'i*. 681 *biznis* [seldom used]. Y: — *vīl* [to fill]. 691 *mā'in*. 692 *joqgist*. — *vaz* [furze]. 701 *vās*. 702 *wi*, *wi*. Y': 706 *wā'i*. Y: — *vāt* [filth]. 709 *vā'ir*. — *vīes* [fleece]. — *vīst* [fist].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *wæg* [to wag]. 725 *zīel*. 726 *taak*. — *vlæn'l* [flannel]. 732 *æp'm*. — *drā'ish'l* [thresher, flail]. — *bææ'eli* [bawly, a crying child is (bææ'lin)].

E. — *zīm* [seem]. 751 *pīert*. 752 *frē'et*. — *mīæ'tin* [mewing].

I and Y. — *bil* [Bill]. — *kīl* [kill]. — *eskwīt* [crosswise, diagonally]. — *vleq* [fling]. — *tipsi* [tipsy]. — *zæp* [sip]. 758 *g'rērl* [a long untrilled (r) followed by a trilled (r) and reverted (l) much used for a servant. See 166 and 278].

O. — *eklo'k* [o'clock]. — *djōb* [job]. 765 *ɔ'djōn*. 767 *nā'iz*. — *ɔ'djænz* [Jones]. 776 *gād bā'i*. 781 *bodher* [usual word (kæd'l)]. — *lot* [allot]. 791 *bwōi*.

U. 797 *skæeki* [squalling]. 798 *kæer* [modern (kæ'ier)]. — *væmb'l* [fumble]. 804 *dræqk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *zæk* [sack]. 810 *vīes*. 815 *fæks*. — *vlā'i'l* [flail]. — *zeedy* [sage]. — *fāil* [tail]. 835 *reçz'n*. — *waarend* [warrant]. 857 *kæs*. — *mæter* [matter]. 862 *z'ef*. — *fæet* [fate]. 864 *kæz*. 865 *væet*. — *væ'els* [false].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *peen* [pain]. 885 *verē*. — *fee'r* [a fair, market, see 148]. — *vorēer* [farrier]. 888 *zaartin*. — *saar* [serve]. 890 *bīes* [pl. (bīestiz) occ. bīes]. 891 *vī'st*. 893 *vlā'uēr*. — *plæ'tiks* [apoplexy]. — *veg* [fig]. 901 *vā'in*. — *zæqg'l* [single]. — *zāiz* [size].

O.. 918 *fēeb'l*. 920 *pwōint*. 925 *vwōis*. — *komik'l* [comical]. — *vīes*. [force]. 938 *kærner*. — *vā'rin* [foreign]. — *vorēst* [forest]. — *vāerdj* *vīerdj* [forge]. 939 *klas*, *klast* [occ.]. 940 *kūet*. 941 *vūuēl*. 947 *bæ'ā'l*. 950 *zæpper*. — *tærn* [turn]. 955 *dā'ut*.

U.. — *djuw'biles* [dubious]. 963 *kæā'i-ēt*. 969 *zha'uēr*. — *verēt*. 970 *djēz*. — *væsti* [tasty].

Phase II. *Chippenham*, 9 nw. Devizes.

As JGG.'s stepmother (now an elderly lady, who had brought him up) was a native of Chippenham, and though long resident in London, kept up her knowledge of the dialect (which she did not use in speech) by visits, and by seeing many WL. people, I requested JGG. to ask her to repeat one of those stories with which she used to amuse the children, while he noted it down in pal. As she was good enough to consent, the attempt was repeated on many occasions during the last few years, and the following fable by Akerman is the result, after many corrections. The difficulties in palaeotyping any individual's speech are very great; and of course such minute accuracy as JGG. attempted is liable to the perpetuation of individualisms. Still it is very instructive to compare the result with the specimen by Mr. Law, just given, as the two places are only four miles apart and both must represent a WL. pron. I must draw attention to the constant reversion or retraction as JGG. considers it of the 'T D N L R sh' series and of 'k' and the conversion of 'tj, dj' into 'tj, dj'. I am anxious to express my obligations to Mrs. Goodchild for submitting to such a fatiguing trial and for venturing to dictate a complete wl. The original spelling from the preface to Halliwell's Dictionary is added interlinearly.

dhə aar_ono:t ən dhə bi'i¹dəL'. 0
The Hornet and the Bittle.

dhə aar_ono:t zàt i'x)ə əLə trii,—
a harnet zet in)a hollar tree,—

ə prəpə_o spáytful tóo'əd wə_o ii ; 2
a proper spiteful twoad was he ;

ən)ə mərəli zəq ūáyL ii d'ɪd zet
and)a merrily zung while he did set

i'z sté'q ez shaar_op ez)ə bæ'gənet : 4
his stinge as shearp as)a bagganet.

“əə uu zə váyⁿ en bæ'ul'd əz áy !
oh ! who so vine and bowld as I !

“áy b'éənt ef'i'ə_od ə ūəps, nar_o vláy !” 6
I veers not bee, nor wapse, nor vly

ə bi'dəL' əp dhæk trii d'ɪd klím,
a bittle up thuck tree did clim,

en skaar_onvəli d'ɪd lu'k ət ii ; 8
and scarnvully did look at him.

zəd ii, “zə_o aar_ono:t, uu g'ɪd dhii
zays he, “Zur harnet, who giv thee

ə ráyt tə zet in dh'ik dher_o trii ? 10
a right to zet in thuck there tree ?

var_o æəl dhii zeqz zə niishən váyⁿ,
vor æl you zengs zo nation vine,

áy tel dhii t'iz ə ə'us ə máyⁿ.” 12
I tell 'e 'tis a house o' mine.”

dhə aar_onəts kənshəns viil'd)ə tūi_indzəh
the harnet's conscience velt a twinge,

bət graa'in bə'u_ld ūi iz ləq stē¹q
but grawin' bowld wi his long stinge, 14

ZE¹D ii: "pəzeshē_onz dhə bē'st laa¹
zays he: "possession's the best lāāw;

zoo i_uer_o dhii shæt)¹nt pət ə klee;
zo here th' sha'sn't put a clāāw! 16

bī aaf ən lī_iəv dhə trii tə áy!
be off, and leave the tree to me!

dhə mæksən)_z gu¹d vənəf vēr_o dhii!"
the mixen's good enough for thee!" 18

ɔj's dhen, v i_ə'u_k'l, pæəs_in báy,
just then, a yuckel, passin' by,

wəz ækst bī d_he¹m dhə keez tə tráy;
was axed by them the cause to try; 20

"EE! EE! áy zii ə'u t)¹iz!" ZE¹D ii,
"ha! ha! I see how 'tis!" zays he,

"(dhī)_ol' mī¹k v viiməs mənsh vēr_o áy!"
"they'll make a vamous nunch vor me!" 22

iz bīl wəz shaar_p, iz stəm¹ik lī_ier_o,
his bill was shearp, his stomach lear [empty],

zoo əp v snæpt dhə kædl)_z pēer_o!
zo up a snapped the caddlin pair. 24

MORAL.

æel¹ juu əz bii tə laa i_zkláy¹n'd,
ael you as be to lāāw inclined,

dh'iəs līt¹'l stōri bēer_o in máy¹n';
this leetle stwory bear in mind; 26

vār_o if tə laa¹ juu æ'imz tē gó¹ə
vor if to lāāw you aims to gwo,

juu)_l váy¹n'd dhæ'_i)_l æælüəz zaar_o)i_i zoo;
you'll vind they'll allus zar'e zo; 28

juu)_l miit d_he vī¹t v dhiiz i_ier_o tuu,
you'll meet the vate o these here two,

dhə)_l tū¹k dhī kóə¹t v_z kaar_o kəs tuu.
they'll take your cwoat and carcass too! 30

Notes to the above.

0. The references are to the number of the line. In this transcript an endeavour has been made to follow JGG.'s notation of the last of his many transcripts. In the following cwl. as there explained, some compromises have been made. The letters (T D L N R sh) have been used for typographical convenience in place of (t d l n r sh), which would represent JGG.'s opinion of their formation as retracted rather than reverted, but we are quite at one respecting the sound. Also throughout this example I have used (R_o) in place of (R) to show absence of trill. I am, however, by no means clear that there is no trill, though the effect of the reverted trill (R₃) is quite different from that of the tip trill (r₂), on account of the dullness and indistinctness of the beats. In the cwl., and also in recording the pron. of other districts, I have used (R) exclusively for this *r*, whether reverted or retracted, whether trilled or untrilled, because the sound itself is certain, and these four differences are theoretical. In my own pron. I feel that (R) is both reverted and trilled, as the form (R) properly implies.

0. *hornet* (aR_oN₃T), which I should prefer writing (aR₃N₃T). The (aa) says JGG. "is not quite pure (aa), there is more or less (a¹) character about it, it is certainly modified before (R₃) by an upturned tongue. The (R_o) is an *r* with the tongue turned tip upwards, to the highest part of the palate, so as to present a teaspoonbowl-like form towards the larynx and is not trilled wherever I have heard it." JGG. has been constantly in the habit of speaking to Wl. people. The reverted or retracted character of (T D N L) as well as (R) on all occasions has been introduced here as well as in the cwl. as explained to me by him verbally. The aspirate (h) says JGG. "seems to be rather permissive than obligatory, except of course where the word is emphatic, but I have never noticed any of the Wl. people inserting an aspirate in its wrong place, as Londoners do; and I have been familiar with Wl. talk for the last 25 years."

and the (ən dhə), "(ə, ɐ) in unaccented syllables may be simply (ə) throughout. By (ə) I mean my own pron. of the vowels in the words, some one's husband

son or brother comes running in at once."—JGG.

beetle (bi¹dəl'): this is a common London mispronunciation, if (d, l) be substituted for (ɒ, ɫ). In Mrs. G.'s first and second dictation, and as JGG. remembered her repeating these lines when he was a child, she said (bi¹r'l'), and all my other Wl. authorities give (bi¹l') both for the mallet and the insect.

2. *spiteful*. The long *i* was originally written (ai) in the cwl., and sounded to me rather (a'i) or (ə'i). But JGG. says the first element is "Scotch or German long (aa) gliding into a rounded (i) almost (y), lips as for (o)," that is, properly (ay_o); (ay) is here retained, because in JGG.'s very last hearing of the dictation, this still seemed to him the nearest sound, and he has also in correcting the proof introduced it into the cwl. See D 5, Andover.

3. *while*. JGG. did not find a fully consonantal (w) or (ɹ), but felt that they were really vowels, as in Welsh, and hence they are here written (ũ, ɿ).

6. Mrs. G. had (ay be¹ant vfi¹æR_oD ə bi¹ n₃R_o ŷaps, n₃R_o vláy), as Mr. Akerman's "I vears not bee" was not dialectal. But on the line thus becoming two syllables too long, the words *bee nor* have been omitted.

8. *look*. The pron. (Lu¹κ) was obtained specially. "This (u¹) is neither (u) nor (ʊ), but an intermediate vowel," it bears the same relation to (u) as (i¹) to (i), see (gu¹D) l. 18. These differences are hard to catch in isolation, but make themselves generally felt in conversation. In the proof JGG. introduced (κ) generally.

11. *all* (ææL', eel'). JGG. says, "I cannot quite make out what this vowel is; it is not quite the same as the Cu. and We. sound, but seems more like (ææ). I think it quite likely that I should write it (ææ) at one time, and (ee) at another. But I think the last is the nearest equivalent I know, unless we use (ee²), which would express my idea of it." This would be (ee) inclining to (ææ), and might be written (ee₁).

14. *bold*. In this word (bæ¹u¹lD) we meet (æ¹) a higher form of (æ). JGG. considers it the same sound as the s. Scotch (æ) as pron. by Dr. Murray. It is a shade of sound which I cannot distinguish. See D 5, Andover.

sting, will not rhyme with *twindge* as Mr. Akerman implies by the spelling

stinge. Mr. A. rhymes lines 7 and 8 *him clim*, but Mrs. G. restoring the dialect has (ii, klím); l. 15 and 16, Mr. A. has *lāw*, *klāw*, and Mrs. G. (laa¹ klee). The older sounds I heard from Mr. Law were (laa, klaa), the modern (lee klee). Lines 17 and 18 Mr. A. has *me*, *thee*, Mrs. G. says dialectally (áy, dhii), and similarly lines 21 and 22. Lines 23 and 24 Mr. A. has *lear*, *pair*, which Mrs. G. reads (líer_o, pèer_o). Lines 25 and 26 Mr. A. has *inclined*, *mind*, Mrs. G. leaves out the last (n). Lines 27 and 28, Mr. A. has *gwo*, *zo*, Mrs. G. reads (gó¹a, zoo). This shews how dangerous it is to write dialect in rhyme. Mr. Akerman's stories have usually been considered first-rate dialect. I found dialectal construction frequently so violated in them that whole passages might be read off perfectly in rs., and I could not use them at all, for present purposes, especially as shades of sound were not distinguished.

16. *here* (íver_o); for the (í) in place

of (j) see note l. 3 *while*. For (və) JGG. says, "as in the 'early bird deserves the early worm,' but the tongue is raised more, I should say it is more *arched*." As I write the vowel in the above words in rs. (ə), generally avoiding (v), except in weak syllables, this might be (ə¹), but from the description it is possibly a new vowel. — *shalt not*, probably, though the form (shæ'tnt) is very singular, but Akerman's *sha'sn't* is quite unintelligible.

19. *yuckel*, a Wl. name for a woodpecker. Mrs. G. seems to have confused it with *yokel* a bumpkin.

22. *munch*, with retracted or reverted (n) and the corresponding (sh), not (mant). The word *nunch* = lunch, or noon-food, seems to have been confused with the more familiar *munch*, which, however, is properly a verb.— *lear* is used for empty, hungry, in many dialects.

28. *serve you so*, the *v* is regularly omitted. The word (sar) is also commonly used for to *earn*.

CHIPPENHAM CWL.

From a complete wl., with the words from the *Hornet*, marked H, in the spelling there used, the whole taken down with scrupulous accuracy by JGG. from his stepmother's pronunciation, a work of great labour extending over many days or rather years, for the list was entirely gone over and re-transcribed many times, and finally all doubtful points were re-examined. On the treatment of T D N L R see note to title of *Hornet and Beetle*. Here and elsewhere in future (r) and not (r.) is written for typographical reasons. See also the same note for (aa) or (aa¹) and likewise for the use of ə. Also for writing the diphthongal long i as (áy), see note to l. 2 in the *Hornet*. The vowel (ii) varied in speech as (ii¹) which is used in the *Hornet*, but I have here used ii only for convenience. Also (i₁, e¹), occur, but are nearly identical, and were used by JGG. according as the sound seemed to incline to (i) or (e). The series (i i¹ i i₁ e¹ e) is practically continuous from (i) to (e). On (v, ə, ə¹) see note to l. 16 of *Hornet and Beetle*, and on (ü, ý) note to l. 3.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zoo. 3 biik [the rural form for all these (ii) is (e¹ə) nearly (iə)]. 4 tiik. H tū¹k. 5 miik, H mi¹k. 6 miid. 7 ziik. 9 bi¹iv. 10 aa¹. 12 zee zaa. 14 dree. 17 laa, H laa¹. 18 kiik kīək [see 3]. 19 tīə¹L [even accent, almost dissyllabic]. 20 liim lē ə'm [see 3]. 21 niim nīə'm. 22 tiim. 23 siim. 24 shiim shē¹ə'm. — MEENDəh. 27 nee¹v. 28 vēr. 29 [(bii) been used]. 30 kī¹er. 31 liit. 32 biidh. 33 [(zuvə) sooner, used]. 34 læəst. 35 aa. 36 dhaa [(mī¹L'r) melt, generally used]. 37 klāa and H.

A: 39 kēm. 40 kūəm [not quite (kwəm)]. 41 theqk [(dheqk) means *think*]. 42 ex. 43 ən¹d. 44 lən¹d. 45 ūant. 46 kændəl. 47 [STRə₁] stray, used]. 48 zoq¹. 50 tɔqzi¹z. 51 mæn. 53 kæn. 54 ūənt. 55 ə¹shī¹z. 56 ūəsh. 57 ees.

A: or O: 58 vrəm. 59 læm. 60 lɔq and H. 61 əmaq¹. 62 STRɔq¹. 64 rɔq. 65 zoq¹. 66 dhəq¹. A'- 67 ai gūə, H gō¹ə. 69 noo. 70 tu¹ə. 72 uu. 73 zoo and H. 74 tuu and H. 75 STRə¹k. 76 tūə, H tōo¹ə. 77 laa¹rd.

78 a'ʊn'. 79 [same as 78]. 80 aLi₁dii. 81 lün'. 82 ʌns. 83 m'ʌn'. 84 m'æ'r. 85 z'æ'r. 86 ʌets. 87 klaaz. 88 tɛ klaadh. 89 biadh. 90 blaad. 91 maad. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 draa. 96 zaa. 97 s'æ'l. 98 ii naad. 99 did naa. 100 na'ʌn. 99 draan. 100 zaan.

A': 101 aak. aekaa'RN Trü. 102 aks. 103 ækst and H. 104 raad. 105 raad. 106 braad [not (aa)]. 107 loov. 108 daa. 109 laa. 110 næt. 113 ʌæl [L is very vocal]. 114 m'æ'l. 115 ʌam. 116 uu. 118 bo'ʌn. 119 tɛ g'ʌd. 121 gaan. 122 noon. 123 nædhiq. 124 st'ʌ'ʌn. 125 aNli₁. 126 [(raa)ɐ'r] rower, used]. 127 ʌəs. 128 dh'æz. 129 g'ʌst. 130 bú'ʌt. 131 g'ʌt. 132 ʌt. 133 raat. 134 ʌeth. 135 klaath.

E- 138 fidihe'r feedhe'r. 139 dree. 140 ee'ʌl æ'ʌl'. 141 nee'ʌl. 142 snee'ʌl. 143 tee'ʌl. 144 æge'ʌn. 146 mæ'in. 147 bræ'in. 148 fæ'ie'r. 149 bli'z. 150 l'æst. 152 ʌaate'r. 153 zæde'rdi₁.

Æ: 154 bæk. 155 dhæ'tsh. 156 glæd. 157 riiv'n. 158 eeter. 160 ɐ eg. 161 dii. 162 tɛ dii. 163 [(leed) laid used]. 164 mée. 165 zed. 166 mæ'id [almost (má'id) with (i) not (ɪ)]. 168 tælə. 169 ʌen. — H ʌops [wasp]. 170 aa'rv'i₁st. 171 baarl'i₁. 172 gree's. 173 ʌaaz, ii ʌeer. 174 æ'ish. 175 veest. 176 æt. 177 dhæt. 178 næt. 179 wæt. 180 bee'th. 181 pee'th.

Æ'- 182 zii'. 183 [(tɛ laa'RN) used]. 184 tɛ l'æd. 185 riiv'd. 186 brii'dth. 187 li'ʌv, H li'ʌv. 188 nee. 189 wee. 190 kee. 191 i'ʌl'. 192 m'ʌn. 193 kl'æ'n. 194 æni₁. 195 mæni₁. 196 ʌeer. 197 tshiiz. 198 tɛ let. 199 [(tɛ bee) = baa, used]. 200 wiit. 201 iidh'en. 202 iit.

Æ': 203 [(TEEK) = talk, used]. 205 dreed. 206 ii riiv'd. 207 n'ðd'ʌl'. 208 e'v'er. 209 ne'v'er. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 ʌee. 213 [(aarn) = e'er a one, used]. 215 [ii tiit'sht = he teach'd, used]. 216 diiv'l. 217 ʌ'tsh on ʌm, ʌer ʌ ʌʌn. 218 ɐ ship. 219 sliip. 220 shep'erd. 221 viiv'er. 222 ʌer. 223 dh'eer. 224 w'eer. 225 v'lesh. 226 m'ʌ'æst. 227 ʌet. 228 z'æ't. 229 breeth. 230 fæ't.

E- 231 [(dhik, dhæk) used]. 232 briik. 233 spiik. 234 n'æd. 235 ʌ'ev, ʌiiv. 236 viiv'er. 237 tsh'ʌl-blæ'in. 238 eed'ch. 239 zee'ʌl. 240 leed. 241 ræ'in. 243 plee. 244 ʌe'ʌl. 245 m'i'ʌl. 246 kuin. 247 ʌien. 248 m'eer. — H be'er_o [to bear]. 249 ʌeer. 250 z'æ'er. 251 miit. 252 ki't'ʌl'. 253 ne't'ʌl'. 254 ledher.

E: 256 [(tɛ dree a'ʌt) = to draw out, used]. 257 ed'ch. 259 ʌidzh. 260 l'æe. 261 zee. 262 ʌee. 263 ɐj'ʌee, ɐj'ʌee. 265 stræ'it. 266 ʌel'. — vi'ʌl'ʌd [field]. 267 [(tɛ gi in) used]. 268 a'ʌl'dis. 269 zelf. 270, i. bi'læsi₁z, ii. be'le. 271 tel'. 272 elm. 273 m'en [not (mEN)]. 274 bi'Nsh. 275 steqk. 276 dheqk. 277 dri'Nsh. 278 ʌensh. 279 ʌe'nt. 280 leb'm'. 281 leqth lenth. 282 streqth. 283 mæri₁, H mer'ʌli₁ [merrily]. 284 dr'esh. 285 kriusez. 286 aræ. 287 bi'zəm. 288 let. — H zet [set]. — H be'st [best].

E'- 289 ii [heard as (i'ʌ)]. 290 ii [heard as (i'ʌ)] and H. 291 dhii. 292 [(áy) used]. 293 ʌii. 294 viid. 295 brii'd. 296 bi'li'ʌv. 298 vi'ʌl'. 299 gri'ʌn. 300 ki'ʌp kip. 301 i'eer. 302 miit and H. 303 zuiit. 304 [(mahlar) used].

E': 305 áy. 306 áyth. 307 [(klaas) used]. 309 spiid [(riit) = rate more usual]. 310 i'æl'. 311 ten'. 312 i'eer, H i'eer_o i'eer_o. 313 aark'n. 314 i. i'eer. 315 viit. 316 neks.

EA- 317 [(tɛ sk'in) used]. 318 leeft. 319 geep. 320 k'eer.

EA: 321 ziid. 322 leef. 323 ii v'æ't. 324 æ'it. 326 a'ʌl'. 327 ba'ʌl' d. H ba'ʌl' d. 328 k'æ'ʌl' d. 329 v'æ'ʌl' d. 330 a'ʌl' d. 331 z'æ'ʌl' d. 332 t'æ'ʌl' d. 333 keev. 334 eef. 335 eel', H æ'ʌl. 336 veel'. 337 ʌa'hl'. 338 k'æ'ʌl'. — æ'ʌ'ʌz [always]. 339 [áy ba] used]. 340 iaa'rd. 341 m'ær. 342 aa'rm. 343 uaa'rm. — H shaar'p [sharp]. 345 deer. 346 géer giit.

EA'- 347 ed. 348 áy. 349 vi'a.

EA': 350 deed. 351 li'd. 352 ri'd. 353 breed. 354 zh'ʌv. 355 dif. 356 l'ʌv. 357 dhaa dhoo. 359 niiv'er. 360 t'æm. 361 bi'æm. 362 zlee. 363 tsh'æp. 364 tshæp. 365 n'eer. 366 ge'ert. 367 dret. 368 deth. 369 slaa. 370 ree. 371 stree.

EI- 372 ee. 373 dheE. 374 [(noo) used]. 375 tə rəyz. 376 bæ'it.

EI- 377 strik. 378 ūik. 380 dheE em. 382 dhæ'ær.

EO- 383 zeb'm. 384 eb'n. 385 [(bilaa')=below, used]. 386 ɪə'u.
387 nīuu.

EO- 388 mɔl'k. 389 ɪak. 390 shəd shəd. 391 [(ay bi) used]. 393 biæ'n'd. 394 ɪæn'dær. 395 ɪəq'. 396 ūærk. 397 zūærd. 398 staarv. 399 brɔyt. 400 ærnɪs. 402 laarn. 403 vær. 404 staar. 405 ærth-stəən, æf-, æf-stəən [always with stone]. 406 ærth. 407 vaard'n. 408 [(i naad) used].

EO- 409 bi. 410 [(shii) used]. 411 drii. — H trii [tree]. 412 shii. 413 di'vəl'. 414 vláy, H vláy. 415 láy. 416 diæær. 417 tsha. 418 bruu. 419 æær. 420 væ'ær. 421 faarti.

EO- 422 zik. 423 dháy-bóən. 424 raf. 425 láyT. 426 váyT. 427 tɐ bi. 428 tɐ zii and H. 430 vrend. 431 biæær. 432 væ'uærth. 433 brest. 434 i b'æt. 435 ūu. 436 tru. 437 truuth.

EY- 438 dáy. EY- 439 træs.

I- 440 ūik. 441 ziv'. 442 áy'vi. 443 vráy'di. 444 stáyəl'. 446 náin. — H bil [bird's bill]. 447 æær. 448 dhæz. 449 ger. 450 tshuuzdi. 451 zaa [confused with 76 to sow].

I- 452 áy H áy. 453 kǽik [(veest) fast, used]. 454 ūitsh. 455 lææ [confused with to lay]. 456 af. 457 máyT. 458 náyT. 459 ráyT H ráyT. 460 ūæ'i't. 462 záyT. 463 tal'. 464 ūitsh. 465 zatsh. 466 tsháyəl'd. 467 uáyəl'd. 468 tshil'bern. 470 [(ii) he used]. — H klám [climb]. 471 timber. 472 shre'qk. 473 bláy'n. 474 ráyn'. 475 ááyn'. 476 báyn'. 477 váy'n'd and H. 478 gráy'n'd. 479 uáy'n'd. 480 dhrq'. — H zaq [sung]. — H sté'q [sting]. 481 væqær. 482 iz. 483 iz. 484 dhis, dhæz. 485 dhæ'səl'. 486 æst. 487 æsterdi. 488 it. 489 it [only T] as an enclitic]. — H zet zat [sit, sat].

I- 490 báy. 491 záy. 492 záyd. 493 dráyv. 494 táym. 495 ááyn'. 496 áyær'n. 498 ráyT. 499 bir'l' [originally, then as in] H bi'dæl'.

I- 500 láyk. 501 ááy. 502 váyv. 503 láyí [but (Láyv) alive]. 504 náyf. 505 ááyf. 506 umæn. 507 ūimen. 508 máyæl'. 509 ááyæl' H ááy'l'. 510 máyn' H máyn. 511 ááyn'. 512 spáyær. 513 ááyær. 514 áys. 515 ááyz [wiseacre (ááyziiker)]. 516 ūizdæm. 517 ūu.

O- 518 badi. 519 aær. 520 baa. 521 væ'ul'. 522 aap'm. 523 aap. 524 ūæærdæl'.

O- 525 aaf and H [for off]. 526 kaaf. 526 baat. 528 dhaat. 529 braat. 531 deeter. 532 kaal. 533 dæl' [a variant of (ə) in direction of (o, ə) or (a), ? my (ə)]. 534 aal'. 535 vaak. 536 gæ'ul'd. 537 mæ'ul'. 538 ud. — H ɔlə [hollow]. 539 fæ'ul'. 540 ɔl'i. 541 ūont. 542 bæ'ul't. 543 ɔn. 544 dhen. 545 ap. ɔp. 546 vaær. 547 bæærd. 549 æærd. 550 ūæærd. 551 staarm. 552 kaarn. — H skaar'væli [scornfully]. 553 aarn. 554 kreæ.

O- 555 shuu. 556 tɐ. 557 tuu and H. 558 lu'k and H. 559 mædher. 560 skúuæl'. 561 bluum. 562 mæn'. 563 mændi. 564 zu'n. 565 naaz. — graa'n [growing]. 567 tædher. 568 brædher.

O- 569 bû'k. 570 tû'k. 571 gû'd H gû'd [(u, u') are practically identical]. 572 blæd. 573 vlæd. 574 [(ə ætsh) a hatch, used]. 575 stæd. 576 ɪænzdi. 577 bæ'u. 578 plæ'u. 579 lænef [(ə) hardly audible] H bæf. 580 tæf. 583 tæl'. 584 stæ'l'. 586 duu'. 587 dæn. 588 nuu'n. 589 spuun. 590 vlæær. 592 zūæær. 593 mæst. 594 bu't. 595 vû't. 596 [maær' used]. 597 zû't.

U- 599 boov. 600 læv. 601 væ'ul. 602 zæ'u. 603 kæm. 604 zæmæær. 605 zæn. 606 dæær. 607 bæær.

U- 608 æl'i. 609 væl. 610 ūæl' [there seems to be a distinct separation of (u)]. 611 bu'læk. 612 zæm. 613 dræqk. 614 æ'un'. 615 pæ'un'. 616 græ'un'. 617 zæ'un'd. 618 ūun'. 619 væ'un'. 620 græ'un'. 621 ūæ'un'. 622 ænder. 623 væ'un'd. 624 græ'un'. 625 tæq'. 626 æqær. 627 zændi. 628 næn'. 629 zæn'. 630 æn'. 631 dhæzdi dhææzdi. 632 æp and H. 633 kæp. 634 droo. 635 ææth. 636 væærdær. 637 tæsk. 639 dæ'ust.

U- 640 kæ'u. 641 æ'u. 642 dhæ'u. 643 næ'u. 645 doov. 646 bæ'u.

647 ə'ul'. 648 ə'uər. 649 dhə'uz'n'. 650 bə'ut. 651 üidhə'ut. 652 kəd. 653 bat.

U: 654 chrə'ud. 656 rə'm. 657 brə'u'n'. 658 də'u'n'. 659 tə'u'n'. 660 bə'uər [arbour]. 661 shə'uər. 662 əs. 663 ə'us and H. 664 lə'us. 665 mə'us. 666 əzbən. 667 ə'ut. 668 prə'ud. 671 mə'uth. 672 zə'uth.

Y- 673 mətsh. 674 dīd. 675 dráy. 676 láy. 677 dráy. 679 tshəertsh. 680 bizī. 681 bizīnes. 682 litəl', H lit'l'.

Y: 684 brīdzh. 685 rīdzh. 686 báy. 687 vláy. 688 zətsh. 689 bəl'd. 690 káy. 691 máyn [D H máyn. 692 ieq's. 693 zīn. 696 bəertsh. 697 berī. 698 mēertsh. 699 ráy. — H aar'net [hornet]. 700 ūas. 701 vást. 702 ūi. 703 pīt. 704 vīksh'n.

Y- 705 skáy. 706 ūáy. 707 dheertīn. 708 tu áyer.

Y: 709 vaier. 711 láys. 712 máys.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 ædl'd eg. — H kædl'in [caddling, quarrelling]. 718 trīd. 722 dræ'in. 723 də'ri. 724 bæel'd. 725 rīel'. 726 tæek. 727 dæem. 728 shæm. 729 frīm. — H snæpt [snapped]. 732 æp'n'. 734 daa'rn. 735 smæ'ish. 736 lees. 737 mūt. 738 prūt. 740 ūiv' ūiv'. 741 mīz. 742 līzī.

E. 743 skriim. — H līer [lear=empty]. 744 mīzæl'z. 745 tshīat. 746 brīidh. 748 flēdzh. 749 lēit, tə lēiv'. 750 bæg. 751 p'ert. — H a'im [to aim]. 752 vret.

I. and Y. 753 tīkæl'. 754 peg. 755 vīlburt. 756 chrīmp. — Tū'ndzh [twinge]. 757 táyī. 758 gæl'. 759 vīt. 760 shivəl'. — H meksən [mixin, dungheap].

O. 761 lūəd. 762 a'kəm. 763 [(raav) rove, used]. 765 :dzhən. 767 nə'iz. 768 kaak. 770 :təms. 771 vən'd. 772 bonváy. 773 dənki. 774 pōni. 775 bə'bi. 776 gū'd būáy. 777 shap. 778 vū'erd. 779 [liəvinz] leavings, used]. 781 bōdher. 783 pə'ul'tri. 784 bə'uns. 786 də'us. 787 zə'uz. 790 gə'un. 791 būáy.

U. 792 skūabul'. — H iə'uk'l [yuckel, woodpecker]. 793 ag. 794 dzhag. 795 shræg. 796 bl'ul'. 797 [(skūal'in) used]. 798 kūber. 799 skel'. 801 rām. 802 rām. 803 dzhəmp. — mənsh [munch]. 804 drəq'k [as (-qk) often occurs]. 805 kradz [ən ūee]. 806 vās. 807 pū's. 808 pət, H pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 iūbəl'. 810 fīs. 811 plīs. 812 līs. 813 biik'n. 814 mīs'n. 816 fīd. 817 rædish. 818 iūdzh. 819 rīdzh. 820 gee. 821 dīlee. 822 mee mæe. 824 tshə'ier. 825 ūeef. 826 iūgəl. 829 gə'in. 830 træ'in. — H bəgnet [bayonet]. 832 mæ'ier. 833 peer and H. 834 shə'iz, sh'iz. 835 rīz'n'. 836 zīz'n'. 838 trūt. — mī'æl [male]. 840 tshæmber. — H vīməs [famous]. 841 tsheens. 842 plæ'qk. 843 brēensh. 844 trensh. 845 æqshent. 846 tshēener. 847 dēndcher. 848 tshə'īndzh. 849 strāndzh. 850 deens. 851 ent. 852 ee'pern. — H kaarkəs [carcass]. 853 baarg'in. 854 bərel'. 855 karət. 856 pēert. 857 kiis. 858 brīs. 859 tshīs. — H pəsēin [passing]. — H vīt [fate]. 860 piist. 861 tiist. — H niishən [damnation]. 862 siif. 863 tshə'f. 864 bīkeez. — H keez [cause]. 865 vaat. 866 pūr.

E.. 867 tiī. 868 dzhee. 869 vī'el'. 870 bi'ati. 871 agrii. 872 tshīaf. 874 ræ'in. 875 fæ'int. 876 də'intī. 877 vēr. 878 sæləri. 879 fī'meel'. 880 egzəmp'l. — H kənshəns [conscience]. 881 zens. 882 [lāvələd'el] used]. 883 dēndlāion. 884 aprentis. 885 vērī. 886 vrayer. 887 klērdchman. 888 zaart'n'. — H peze'shən [possession]. — H zaar [sieve]. 890 biəst. 891 fiəst. 892 nevī. 893 flā'uer. 894 dizī-v. 895 rīzī-v.

I.. and Y.. 897 dīláy. 898 náy. 899 niis. 900 preē. 901 vāyn, H vāyn. — iŋklāynd [inclined]. 902 māyn. 903 dāyn'. 904 vāylat. 905 rāvat. 906 vāyer. 908 vdvāyz. 909 brīiz. — H spayt'el [spiteful]. 910 dzhə'is. 911 zīstern. 912 rāys.

O.. 913 kaatsh. 914 brootsh. 915 staf. 916 áynin. 917 raag. 918 viibál'. 919 æ'intment. 920 páynt. 921 ekæ'e'nt. — H stari [story]. 922 bu'shol'. 923 mayst. 924 tsháys. 925 váys. 926 spááy'el'. — stamík [stomach]. 927 triqk. 928 náons. 929 kæk'ner. 930 láin. 933 iránt. 935 kəntre. 936 íá'nt. — H proper [proper]. 938 kaarner. 939 klaas. 940 kóot H kóot. 941 vól'. 942 bu'tsher. 943 tátsh. 944 blá'ol'. 945 vā'ol'. 947 búáyel'. 948 bā'l'. 950 səpər. 951 kəpəl'. 952 kúərs. 953 kəz'n'. 954 kushē'n. 955 dā'ut. 956 kəver. 958 frēe. 959 kəvvee. 961 grū'el'. 963 kúáyət. 964 shúət. 965 æ'íə'l'. 966 frū't. 967 shū't. 968 æ'ister. 969 shā'uer. 970 dzhās H dzhī's. 971 vlū't.

Phase III. *Tilshead*, 8 sse. Devizes, in the centre of Wl.

Theodulf's hide, Tydulviside, Tidulside, Tyleside, Tilshead, called (:tə'lsəd), as I was informed by the then Vicar's daughter, Miss Louisa H. Johnson, who was born and had resided there above forty years. She kindly wrote a wl. and dt. and on 6 Oct. 1879 called on me to work them over *circa voce*. She also gave me the example of *Hocktying* or *Hocktide*. The custom about 1850 was that on the second Tuesday after Easter, the young men tied the ancles of any young women they could catch about; and on the following Wednesday the girls returned the compliment. The following was the explanation given by old people, which I wrote from Miss J.'s dict. Probably every (t d n l r) should be (t d l n r), but I leave the transcription as I wrote it.

1. The Peasants' account of the origin of *hock-tying* or *hocktide* in the village of Tilshead.

wəns dher wər ʊrd fook əz ʊd kíp on v kə'mɪn ii'r, ɛn v rɒbɪn
once there were red folk as would keep on a-coming here, and a-robbing

dh):'ɪŋlɪʃ fook, ɛn ɛt lɑst dhái əp ɛn æt'em, ɛn tɑ'ɪd'em əp
the English folk, and at last they up and at them, and tied them up

tə póstɪz ɛn kæt dher drɒts.
to posts and cut their throats.

2. Tilshead dt. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Johnson.

- (1.) zoo á'i də ZEE, míets, dhii də zii ná'u, dhet á'i bi rə'ít ɛbə'ut
dhík liit'l máid kə'mɪn vrom dhe skúuəl jɒndər.
- (2.) shii)z ɛgwáin də'un dhe róəd dhe'e'r, druu dh' ʊrd gíet on
dhe líft hænd zɑ'íd v)dhe wái.
- (3.) shuur ɛnəf dhe tje'ild hæv ɛwɛnt stráit əp tə dhe dúər
v)dhe roq hɑ'us.
- (4.) weer shi)l me)bi vɑ'índ dhík dræk'n díf shrív'ld fɛlə v)dhe
níem ɛv :tooməs.
- (5.) wi)d ɛæl naa)n verɪ wɛl.
- (6.) wə'nt dh)aald tʃæp zuun lɑrn shi not tə duu)t ɛɡɛn, puur
dheq'!
- (7.) lɒks, [i)lɑ:k'i] biu)nt ɛt tru: ?

3. TILSHEAD cwl.

Pal. in 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Miss Johnson.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biék. 4 tiék. 5 miék. 6 míed. 7 siék. 12 zee. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kiék. 20 liam. 21 niem. 22 tiem. 23 siem. 24 shíem. 36 dhaa. 37 thae. A: 40 kúum. 41 dheqk. 45 want. 55 eshez. 56 waa'sh. A: or O: 58 vrom. 61 emæq. A'- 67 guu. 76 túued. 81 lien. 83 múuen. 84 múuer_o. 85 súuer_o. 86 wæts. 87 klaaz. 89 búuedh. 92 naa. 93 shaa. 95 droo. A': 104 kúued. 115 húuem. 118 búuen. 122 nóoen. 124 stúuen. 125 oni. 127 húuers. 128 [(dhæm) used]. 129 gúuest. 131 gúuet.

Æ- 139 drái. 140 háil. 141 náil. 142 snáil. 143 táil. 144 egen. 145. sláin. 146 máin. 147 bráin. 148 fáir. — emet [emmet more used than ant]. Æ: 155 dhætj. 158 æt'r_o. 160 æg. 163 láil. 164 [(mid) pl. (mid'n) used.] 165 zed. 166 máid. 174. áish. 175 væst. Æ'- 183 tættj. 189 wái. 190 kee [in East Lavington & s. Devizes kói, possibly kái]. 192 mien. 193 klien. 197 tpiiz. 202 het. Æ': 205 dred. 207 náid'L. 213 iidher. 218 ship. 225 flæsh. 226 múuest.

E- 236 feever. 237 tjlblain. 241 ráin. 242 twáin. 243 plái. 252 kit'L. 253 net'L. E: 261 zee. 262 wái. 265 stráit. 270 belasiz. 284 dráish. — bæst [to burst]. 286 haræ. 287 bizem. E'- 294 viid. 298 vii'ld [(væt'ldid), felt, as that something is hot]. E': 306 hæ'it. 307 næ'i. 314 hii'rd, jii'rd. 315 viit. EA: 321 [(zid) see'd, used]. 322 lææf. 323 fáut. 324 áit. 326 aald. 327 búueLD. 328 kúueLD. 329 vúueLD. 330 húueLD. 331 súueLD. 332 túueLD. 333 kææf. 334 hææf. 335 ææl. 336 vææl. 342 jaarm. 346 gíet. EA'- 349 viú. EA': 352 erd. 355 díf. 359 náiber. 362 slái. 370 rææ. 371 strææ. EI- 373 dhái. 376 báit. EI: 379 háil. 381 swáin. 382 dháir. EO: — vaarmer. 403 ver. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drii. 413 dível. 420 váuer. 421 váuert. EO': 423 dhæ'i. 426 vait. 430 virnd.

I- 447 hern [hers, in Urchfont & s. Devizes (shiiz'n is used). 448 dhii'z. I: 460 wáit. 466 tjaild. 468 tjaldern. 481 viqger. 484 dhii'z. 485 dhis'L. 486 [(baarm) used]. I'- 499 bír'L [see p. 53, col. 2]. I': 506 wmen. 507 wmen.

O- 522 oop'm. 523 hoop. 524 wærd'L. O: — troo [trough]. 528 dhaat. 531 dæet'r_o. 532 kaal. 536 gúueLD. 537 [dert dirt, used]. 539 bool. 545 hop. — vark [fork, "the mouth must be elongated as for a grin"]. 547 búuerd. 548 vúuerd. 549 húuerd. 552 karn. 553 harn. 554 kraas. O'- 565 núuez. 566 ædher. O': 577 bæ'u. 578 pla'u. 579 eno'f [(enæ'u) not heard]. 580 tæ'u. 582 kúuel. 583 túuel. 584 stúuel. 589 spúuen. 590 flúuer. 592 súuer. 597 zut.

U- 601 væ'uel. 602 zæ'u. 606 duu'r. U: 609 val, vúuel. 610 uu'L. U: 618 uund. 619 vâund. 634 dræ'u. 635 wæth. 636 varder. U'- 641 hæ'u [approaching to (hón)]. 642 [dhii, used]. U': 663 hæ'us [pl. (hæ'uz'n)]. 665 mæ'us.

Y- 682 liit'l. Y: — wæst [worst]. 701 væst. Y- 707 dh'rriin. 709 væ'ir.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 dráin. 723 deerí. 742 lívzi.

E. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tpiit. 748 [(flash) used]. 750 bæg.

I. and Y. 754 peg. 756 shræmp [= lollipop]. 758 gar'L [rather a foreign word, used for a sweetheart].

O. 761 lúued. 767 næ'iz. 769 [(want) used]. 773 doqki. 774 puuni. 778 evúuerd. 781 bodher. 783 pæ'ultri. 790 gæ'und. — dræ'und [pp. (dræ'undid), drown, drowned].

U. 795 shræg. 801 ram. 802 ram. 805 kardz. — kær'lz [curls]. 806 fæz. 808 pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *jæb'l.* 810 *fies.* 811 *pleez* [pl. (pleez'n)]. 812 *lies.* 813 *biek'n.* 817 *redish.* 822. *mái.* 824 *tjáier.* 827 [(fes) fierce, used]. 829 *gáin.* 830 *tráin.* 836 *seaz'n.* 840 *tjamb'r.* 841 *tjæns.* 843 *bræntj.* 845 *anshent.* 847 *diendjer.* 848 *tjændj.* 849 *strændjer.* 850 *dæns.* 851 *ænt.* 852 *jæpern.* 855 *kaarot.* 856 *peert.* 860 *peest.* 861 *teest.* 862 *sief.* 864 *koz.* 865 *fvææt.* 866 *puur.*

E.. 867 *tee.* 869 *vüel.* 874 *ráin.* 875 *fáint.* 876 *dáinti.* 877 *áir.* 878 *saleri.* 879 *teemel.* 887 [(pæes'n) parson used]. — *ráier* [market]. 890 [pl. (bíestiz)]. 891 *víest.* 892 *nevi.* 893 *vla'uer.* 894 *disee'v.* 895 *risee'v.*

I.. and Y.. 900 *prái.* — *fes* [fierce; see No. 827]. 901 *váin.* 904 *váilit.* 910 *djíst* [pl. *djístiz*].

O.. 914 *bruutj.* 916 *á'inen.* 919 *á'intment.* 920 *pá'int.* 921 *ækwáint.* 922 *bushel.* 923 *má'ist.* 924 *tjá'is.* 926 *spúu'IL.* 929 *ká'ukemb'r.* 930 *læin.* 936 *vònt.* 938 *karn'er.* 939 [(kroft) croft, used for a close]. 940 *kun't.* 941 *fáuel.* 942 *butjer.* 943 *tætj.* 947 *bá'IL.* 948 *bá'UL.* 950 *sap'er.* 951 *káp'L.* 954 *kushen.* 955 *dá'ut.* 956 *kíver.*

U.. 961 *gráuel.* 964 *zuuit.* 965 *á'IL.* 968 *á'ist'r.* 969 *shuu'r.* 970 *djíst.*

VAR. ii. THE NORTHERN OR GL. FORM.

THREE INTERLINEAR cs. marked V, T, D.

V marks the cs. for *Vale and Town of Gloucester*. It was first written in his own orthography by John Jones, Esq., who had known the dialect for 50 years, and was afterwards corrected in pal. from his dict. by AJE. He gave U = (æ) uniformly, but TH. in travelling over the district found the M. (*u, u*) with sometimes (o) and of course (æ, æ), not only in Tewkesbury, Ashchurch (8 n.Cheltenham), and Buckland (12 ene.Tewkesbury), which I place in D 6 = w.BS, but also frequently in Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bishop's Cleeve (3 n.Cheltenham), Brockworth and Birdlip (6 se.-by-s.Gloucester), and even in Cirencester, Fairford (8 e.Cirencester) and Tetbury, so that it would appear that the whole of east Gloucester were in the mixed region. Indeed TH. heard (*u*) as far s. as Purton WL. (10 sse.Cirencester). It is evident that a mixture of (æ, æ, o, u, u) for U does not interfere with the dialect, which is strongly marked. The oldest form necessarily had some variety of (u), and hence (*u, u*) must in this region rather be considered as survivals, than as M. encroachments, see *supra* p. 17. Of course (æ, æ) are recent developments, that is, begun and developed within 500 years. For (*u*) see the introduction to the Midland division.

T marks the *Tetbury* cs. It was written in io. by Miss Frampton, daughter of the then vicar, and was pal. by AJE. from answers to a very long series of questions which she kindly answered. There is, however, always room for some doubt where there has not been personal audition. As regards U, Miss Frampton, like Mr. Jones, apparently used (æ, æ), but TH. was informed in September 1885 by two stonecutters from Tetbury that (*u*) generally and a few (o) were the sounds there used. The (o) is one of the transitional forms, see Line 2, p. 17.

D marks the *Forest of Dean* or *Coleford* cs. It was written from the dictation of Raymond D. Trotter, Esq., native of Newnham (10 sw.Gloucester), who kindly spent many hours with me over it in 1873 in company with his sister, who gave phrases from Aylburton on the s. of the Forest. Mr. Trotter visited me again about it in 1878. This, and Mr. Law's from Christian Malford are the two best vv. examples of D 4 which I have personally heard.

O. V <i>Vale of Gloucester.</i>	wæ'i :djən v gət nuu' dæ'uts.
T <i>Tetbury.</i>	wæ'i :djən v)ne dæ'uts.
D <i>Forest of Dean.</i>	wæ'i :djək doo)'nt dæ'ut.

1. V wel, náiber, juu en ii me buu'th laf et dh's
 T wæl, náiber, dhii en ii mái boo'th laef et dh's i'r
 D wə'i zái náiber, juu en im mái bu'th ən)i grín ez matj ez

V niúuz e məw'in. huu ki'r'z? dhat's nəw'idher jər nər
 T niúuz e mǝw'in uu de ki'r? dhat bee)nt ji'r nər
 D (dhii)st ləw'ik et (dh's)ji'r ez wəi)v bín e telen ən)je, uu dest

V dhəR.

T dhəR.

D dhɪqk ɛd ki'r v'R dhat? t)ii)'nt noo ədz!

2. V viáu vook de dəw'i, bikəz dhe bi laft)et,
 T dhər bi prəshəs viú ez dəw'iz kəz ez əw'u dhe bi læft)et,
 D dheR bi'nt mən'i ez de dəw'i v'R dhái bi'en máid gi'm ən

V wii de náu, duu)'nt)əs? wət zhəd mak [mi'k] ɛm? t)ii)'nt
 T wii de náu, dɛə)nt)əs? wət shəd miik ɛm? t)ee)nt
 D bəw'i dhe ləw'iks e dhii, wii de nóou dhət, dɔo)'nt əs? wət

V vəri ləw'ikli bi it?

T ləw'ikli?

D zhəd mee'k)en, mən? t)ii)'nt ree'zenəb'l nə'u, iz it?

3. V əwəvər, dhe bi dhe vaktə ɛv dhe ki's, zoo dʒɪst
 T uusevər, dhiiz bi dhe vaktə zɛ
 D sɛ juu dʒɛst oold jiú'r, dʒəə, ɛn həw'isht e bít wi,wəut e

V həw'uld jər náiz, me vrend, ɛn bi kəw'iet tɛl əw'iv
 T əw'uld jər dʒəə, ɛn kíp kəw'iet tɛl əw'iv
 D misles'ten e mi, tɛl əw'iv tɛldʒɛ. nə'u ju aark'n e bít

V ɛ)dən. aark)i.

T dən.

D ɛn bəw'id kəw'iet, tɛl əw'i e dən.

4. V əw'i be zart'in zhuv'r, ez əw'i i'r'd ɛm zái—zəm e
 T əw'i)m zart'in əw'i ji'r'd ɛm zái—zəm e
 D əw'i bi zaart'n zhuv'r, ez əw'iv ji'r'd ɛm zái—zəm e

V dhɛm vook ez wɛnt drə'u dhe wæl (wɪ'l) dhɪq vɾɛm dhe
 T dheə vək ez wɛnt druu dhe wəl dheq vɾɛm dhe
 D dhái dheR vook ez wɛnt drə'u dhe oo'l ən't dherze'lvz

V vɛst dherze'lvz, dhat əw'i dɪd zhuv'r ɛnəf!

T vɛst dherze'lvz,—dhat e dɪd zhuv'r nə'u!

D vɾɛm dhe vɛst,—dhat's vɛR zhuv'r ez əw'i dɪd!

5. V ez dhe jəqgɪst zən izzɛ'lf, e gəɔrt bǝw'i e nəw'in, náud
 T dhe jəqgɛst zən ɛzzɛ'lf, e gəɔrt bǝw'i e nəw'in, nood
 D ez dhe jəqgɛst zən izzɛ'lf, e gʊd nə'bɛv e bǝw'i e nəw'in, nóoud

V iz vaadherz váis et wəns, dháu t)wəz
 T iz vaədherz váis, dhoo t wəR
 D iz vi'dherz tɛq ez zuun az e oop'nd iz mæ'uth dhoo t)wəz

V se kəər en skweekin, en æ'i d trəst ii tɛ spɛk dhu
 T zɛ kəii'r en skwiiki lœ'ik, en ii-d tɛl dhu
 D zɛtj e kəeer skweeken vœ'is, en æ'i d bak ii tɛ spɛk dhu

V truuth ɔni dee, æ'i, dhat i ud, awævɛr.
 T truuth dhat e ud.
 D tru'th ɔni dái, æi dhat æi ud!

6. V en dhe æ'uld umen ɛrzel'f ɛl tɛl eni ɔni ez iz a lafi'n nœ'u,
 T en dhe æ'uld umen ɛrzel' ɔl tɛl eni ɔv'i dhat læf nœ'u,
 D en dh æ'uld umen ɛrzel'f ɛd tɛl ɔR,e wæn ɔni ez iz a giuulen

V ɛdhæ'ut metj bəðhɛr, tuu, if jɛ)l
 T en tɛl i slæp ʌaf wiðhæ'ut muu'r ɛduu', if i ɔl
 D en tɛl i Rœ'it ʌaf, tuu, wi)æ'ut metj ɛndɛrment, if dhii)lt

V ɔoni eks ɛR, wɛ)nt e nœ'idhɛr?
 T ɔoni æks shi—oo'! wənt shi?
 D ɔoni eks ɛR, æi dhat ɛR ud.

7. V leest wáiz [eni)æ'u] ɛR táuld it ta æ'i wɛn æ'i ekst ɛR,
 T lii'st wáiz ɛR tɛlt æ'i wɛn æ'i ækst shi,
 D lii'st wáiz ɛR tɛld it æ'i wɛn æ'i ekst ɛR,

V tuu ɛR drii tœ'imz ɔɔvɛr, e did, en ɛR ʌat)nt tɛ bi
 T duu ɛR drii tœ'imz ɛR did, æR did)nt ʌat)e bi
 D duu ɛR drii tœ'imz ɛR moo'r, æi dhat ɛR did, en æR ʌat)nt tɛ bi

V Rœq ɔn zɛtj e pœ'int ez dhis—waat de juu dhiqk [dheqk]?
 T Rœq ɔn sɛtj lœ'ik, wət d jɛ dheqk nœ'u?
 D noo wáiz æ'ut ɔn zɛtj a pœ'int ez dhik, wət)st dhii dhiqk?

8. V wəl, ez æ'i wɛz v)zái'n ɔR)d tɛl)i æ'u wəR en wɛn ɔR
 T wəl, ez æ'i wɛR v)zái'n, shii)d tɛl i æ'u wæn en wəR ɛR
 D ez æ'i wɛz v)zái'n æR)ud tɛl)i æ'u wɛR en wæn ɛR

V vœ'und dhe dRœqk'n beest ez ɔR de kaał ɔR æzbɛn.
 T fœ'und dhe dRœqk'n biest shii de kœæl ɛR æzbɛn.
 D vœ'und dhe dRœqk'n bi'st ez 'R, kaa'ld ɛR mee'stɛr.

9. V ɔR zwœrd [zœ'r] ez æ'u ez ɛR zid en wi ɛR ánu æ'iz,
 T shi swaar shi ziid im wiðh ɛR æ'un æ'iz,
 D ɛR zwoor ez ɛR zid en wi ɛR ɔo'n æ'iz,

V v)lœ'i'in zdɛtj et vəl lɛnth ɔn dhe grœ'und, in iz gud
 T v)lœ'i'in æ'ut ææl ɛlœq in iz bi'st
 D lœ'i'en ʌal et iz lœqth ɛlœq dhe grœ'und, wi iz best

V zandi kwat klooz te dhe doo'r e dhe so'us do'on et dhe
 T zandi koo't eno'i dhe duu'r e dhe so'us do'on na'i dhe
 D zandi-gwa'in kwat on, djest ba'i dhe duu'r e dhe so'us,

V karnar e JANDER, leen.
 T kaarnar [ka'in] e jon lin.
 D do'on dh-o'r ba'i dhe karnel e JANDERZ leen.

10. V e wez e'wao'in in ewa'i, er zez, ver aal dhe wo'rdl lo'ik
 T ii wer e'wao'in in ewa'i, i wo'r, fer aal dhe wo'rdl lo'ik
 D e wez e'w'ulen ewa'i dhoo'r, ver aal dhe wo'rdl lo'ik

V e zik tjo'ild, er e lit'l gj-o'rl (wentj) in e vret.
 T e zik tjo'ild er e lit'l ma'd ael er e vret.
 D e dog kotjt in e trap, er e zik tjo'ild in e vret.

11. V en dhat ap'nd ez o'r en er daater in laa, kam
 T en dhis jer ap'nd ez o'r en shiiz daater-laa, kem
 D en dhat wo'r djest ez o'r en er daater-laa, kam

V drø'u dhe bak jard vrem aq'in so'ut dhe wet klooz te
 T druu dhe bæk jaard vrem e aeq'in so'ut dhe wet klooz te
 D drø'u dhe jiard vrem e aq'in so'ut dhe wet klooz te

V drø'i, on e wash'in dee.
 T drø'i, on e wash'in dii.
 D drø'i, on e washen [weshen] dái.

12. V wo'il dhe ketel wez e bo'il'in ver tee, wan so'in brø'it
 T egen dhe kit'l ba'ild ver tee, wan fa'in aater,nuun
 D wen dhe kit'l wez e bo'ilen ver tee, wan váirish brø'it

V zamer aaternuun oonli e wík eguue kam nekst dhørzdi.
 T e zamer e wík egen kam dhørzdi.
 D zamer aaternuun, e wík kam nekst dhørzdi.

13. V en de ju náu? so'i never jii'rd noo muu'r nør dhis e dhat
 T en e tel)i wot, e n'ever jii'rd tel ne muu'r on)t
 D en dest nóou, so'i never lørnd noo muu'r ner dhis e dhat

V dhør biznes ap te tedee, ez zhuu'r)z mæ'i n'ímz [neem)z]
 T ap te na'u, ez druu ez mæ'i ním)z
 D dher djob ez zhuu'r ez mæ'i náim)z

V :djon :zheperd, en so'i dhat nt want tu na'idher, dhør na'u
 T :djon :zhepert, en so'i da ne want te na'idher, zoo dhør!
 D :djon :zheperd, en so'i doo)nt want te nóou niidher.

14. V en zoo so'i bi e'gwáin wam te zæper, gud
 T zoo so'i m e gwáin wam te zæper, gud
 D en zoo so'i bi e'gwáin jəm te a,mi e bit e zæm't te jat,

V nœ'it, en dœ)nt bi zε kwik tε kráu oover ε bœdi vgi'n,
 T nœ'it, en dœant)i bii zε kwik tε kráu oo'r ε bœdi vgin,
 D nœ'it)t)ε, en doo'nt bii zoo zharp oover ε t)ap,

V wen ε)z ε)tAAkin ε dh'is dhat εr t)ædher
 T wen i dε tææk ε dh'ik ε dhæk.
 D wæn ε tAAks ε dh'is εr dhât.

15. V it)s ε week vuul εz preets εdhœ'ut
 T en dhen wel tε it.
 D ε man jœ)nt noo betεr nœr ε vuul εz dε tAAk wi)œ'ut

V reezεn . en dhat)s mœ'i last wœrd. gudbũ.oi.
 T gud bũœ'i')tε)i.
 D noo zens, ε dhât)s mœ'i laast wœrd. zoo gud bœ'i t)ε.

Notes to V, Vale and Town of Gloucester.

Mr. Jones considers his *cs.* to be a fair specimen of the dial. spoken about Gloucester in the *Vale*. In the *town* the use of *z-* for *s-* is not so frequent, and (th) generally remains as in *rs.* But in the town the sound of (ii) continually replaces that of (ee) even among educated people. Mr. Bellows quotes from Lord Campbell's *Life of Judge Hale*, p. 230, to the effect that the judge's name was in Gloucester called *eel* (iil), and that Mr. Bloxham, Clerk of the Peace, born near Alderly (7 se. Berkeley), near the Judge's native place, in summoning the Jury in Court, called out (:diivid :iil, εv dhe siim pliis, biiker), for David Hale, of the same place, baker, and Mr. Bellows recollects a farmer telling him that he heard Mr. Bloxham say: "Answer to your (niim) name, and (siiv) save your fine." In a paper called a specimen of the *Vulgar Speech of the Town of Gloucester*, reprinted by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from the *Transactions of the Cotswold Field Naturalists' Club* for the year 1851, many such words occur. But they are by no means confined to the neighbourhood of Gloucester town. They will be found in Miss Frampton's Tetbury Specimen, and she gave me other instances. The following list contains all those in the above paper (unmarked), and those given by Mr. Jones (marked J), and Miss Frampton

(marked F). The words are arranged in the usual classes and in ordinary spelling, the letter pronounced (ii) being italicised.

A- baker, drake, take, F taken, make, made, cradle, F tale, lame, J F name [and (nâim) F], J same, game, F mane [are, fare, as in rec. sp. ware (wœr)], bathe, rather.

A'- lane.

AE- blaze, hazle.

AE: waken, day, F today [exceptional and not constant].

AE'- F stairs.

EA- shake, shape.

A. tradesmen, F trade, James, prates, potatoes [(tiiterz)], wave, quavering, gaze.

A.. table, face and F, preface, place, bacon, paring, case, plate, separate, observation, narration, state, paste.

As regards the series A-, A., A.. this reduction to (ii) is merely a variety of (iiv, iv, i') common in other parts of D 4, itself a reduction of (ia), which came naturally from (a-), but (év, ee) are also found more in Do. and Sm. The intermediate form is (é'ə), which is given by JGG. as the rural form about Chippenham Wl., where (ii, ii¹) are the town forms.

Notes to D, Forest of Dean.

0. *why, doubts.* I have throughout represented the first element of the diphthongs (a'i, a'u) by (æ) in this district. I am not quite satisfied. It may be (æ). I long hesitated between (əh, æ) and simple (æ), which in Do. I adopted; all my hesitation arose from study of sounds heard from Mr. Potter, Mr. Law and Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour. The first element is often medial or long, but as I did not mark it at the time I leave the vowel short.

1. *say*, distinctly (zái), varying in direction of (za'i), not approaching (zee). — *neighbour*, the (A'i) effect was very strong in this word. — *thou dost*, the (st) is a contraction hereabouts. — *this here*, the (j) is prefixed to (i'r) in this phrase only. — *it is not*, (t)ii'nt) 'tain't, is very common in this district, varies as (tjənt), (it bi'nt) also used.

2. *their being made game of*, (dhái) for *they* not a common pron. in other districts but not unknown, *they* again is for *their*; (máid) *made* is similar to (nám) *name*, par. 13, but (mí'd) is also used like the following (gi'm) *game*. — *reasonable*, the use of (r) initially was thoroughly settled with Mr. Trotter, who repudiated (r). — *is it*, (bi-ət) is not used.

3. *molesting of me*, or (medlən wi mii) *meddling with me*.

4. *heard*, (jii'rd), the effect of (r) on following or preceding (t, d, l, n) converting them into (t, d, l, n) was carefully ascertained. — *through* (drə'u), the (r) before a vowel being distinctly trilled, see par. 2, *reasonable*, (thr-) could not be pronounced, and hence (tr-) or (dr-) became necessary. — *first* (vəst), the (r) is quite lost in this word, and in (bast, was, wəst) burst, worse, worst; can this arise from the retention of (s) instead of retracting or reverting it? Thus (vərst, vərst) would be quite possible, and this (s, s) would be distinct from (s), either would lead to (sh) as in Sanscrit. But if this ever existed, it has disappeared.

5. *a good knob of a boy.* — *fathers*,

the first syllable varies as (vi', ve', vie'). — *I would back 'he*, the use of 'he is conditioned by emphasis, otherwise (æ'i)d bak)ən) with the S. *hine*.

6. *woman*, emph. (nhəmən). — *e'er a one*, any one. — *guling*, the glossaries give this as a He. word for *sneering*. — *wonderment, if thou wilt only ask her*.

7. *leastways*, the use of (di) in place of (æ'i) shows that the speaker considered the termination to be *ways* and not *wise*. — *she told*, when (ər) is used for *her*=*she*, the (r) is distinct, when for *her* (as usually written) = *he*, the (r) is lost, (v teld, ər teld) *he told*, *she told*, are thus kept distinct without emphasis. *two or three times or more*, in Aylburton (4 sse.Coleford, Gl.) they use (vne'nt) *anent* in place of 'or more,' meaning 'nearly, close upon,' but see *anent* in Murray's Dictionary.—*what dost*, see (dhii)st) 'thou dost,' par. 1.

8. *drunken* scarcely used, (fəd'ld) 'fuddled' sometimes heard, but if a man is not very drunk they say, (im v bin v aven v drəp) 'he's been having a drop,' and if he's very drunk indeed, (im v got et ən)en te rə'its 'he has got it on him to-rights,' but 'drunk' itself is almost a tabooed word.—*beast*, also (beest).

9. *lying*, they lie, and hens lay, (dhái də lə'i, ɛn ɛnz də lái) bring out the two diphthongs very clearly.—*coat*, (kwat ən) 'coat on,' since the word runs on to (ən) but in the pause it is (kwo't) in *that's my coat* (dhát's mən'i kwo't).—*yonders*, the phrase is used, but the grammar is not clear.

10. *howling*, in the Forest of Dean, little babies even *howl*, and never *whine*, (but wɪn'iken) is heard at Aylburton.

11. *clothes*, Mr. Trotter thought he used (kloo'z), but on hearing the difference, acknowledged (tloo'z).

13. *name*, see *made*, par. 2.

14. *and so I be a-going home to have)me a bit of somewhat to eat.* The (a)mi) was nearly (æ)mi).

Phrases from Forest of Dean from dict. of Mr. Potter and Aylburton
from dict. of Miss Potter.

1. (ɛz aard ɛz ɪhə'ɪərn), as hard as iron [the first aspirate omitted as usual, the second introduced for emphasis].
2. (ɛ bɪt ɛv ɛ mɑɪd), a bit of a maid [one growing up to womanhood, a (gɛrl is a maidservant of about fifteen, a (wensh) is a grown woman in a good sense].
3. (gɛr ɛwɑɪ wi-jɛ, get away with you, said to a dog [this conversion of (t) into (r) is very common with *get* before a vowel in numerous districts].
4. (ɛ)z bɪn ɛn.ɟɛt mi ɔn dɦu ɟɛd), Forest; (iiz bɪn ɛ)ɟɛt'ɪn mi ɔn dɦu ɟɛd), Aylburton; he's been and hit [been a-hitting] me on the head.
5. (ə'u guu, nɪp'ɛr), how go (how are you), little fellow.
6. (uu'z'n əu'z'n biɪ'ɛm), whose houses be them = are they. Compare Sh.
7. (bɛrd-dɛb'ɪn), bird-dubbing, walking down in two companies on each side of a hedge and pelting at the birds, which fear to leave the hedge on either side.
8. (ɪm)z ɛ prɒpɛr rɒq'k'ɪn), he's a proper rank-one (?), he's a regular deep one.
9. (ə'ɪ)m gwɑɪn tɛ aa'mi ɛ)rɒ'id), I'm going to have me a ride [=to get a lift in a waggon].
10. (u)t, lʊk'i), wilt thou, look-you.
11. (uu bɪst 'dɦii ɛ dɦə'u'ɔn), whom art thou a-thou-ing [in a quarrel, Forest]. (ə'ɪ beent ə gwɑɪn tɛ biɪ dɦiid bə'ɪ dɦə'u) I am)not a going to be thee'd by thou [Aylburton].
12. (ɛ pool'tɛn bən'ɛts), a-pelting walnuts.
13. (ɛ woo)'nt aark'n ɛntə miɪ), he won't hearken to me, won't do what I tell him.
14. (kɪp dɦəm vɪts stɪl), keep those feet still [that is, don't stamp, said at a public reading].
15. (ɦɛft 'n), heave him or it, (ɦɛft) weight or heavy load, both Forest and Aylburton.

GLOUCESTER cwl.

V Vale of Gloucester as in cs.

T Tetbury as in cs. with some extras

C Cirencester from wl. given me vv. by Miss Martin of Whitelands.

D Forest of Dean as in cs.

A Aylburton as in specimens.

W Whitcomb (5 ese. Gloucester), wn. by TH.

Unmarked words belong to the four first-named places and also possibly to A.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 C tɪk. 5 C mɪk. 17 V laa, TD laa. 18 kɪk. 12 V nɪm
neem, T niim. D nɔɪm. C nɪm. 22 C tɪm. 24 C shɪm. 28 C hɔr.
34 V last, D laast, T læst. A: 39 VTD [(kəm) come, used]. 45 C ɔnts.
46 [loɪt, light, always used]. 54 V want, T wɛnt, D wɛnt. 56 V wɔsh wash,

T wash, C [bak'n) a small wash]. A: or O: 58 VT vrem. 60 nlaq. 64 V raq, T raq. A': 67 VTD egwán [a-going], D a'u guu [how do go=do]. 73 VT zoo, D zoo. 75 TD duu, V tuu. 76 C túed. 79 V áum, T áum, D oom. 81 V leen, D leen, T liin. 82 wans. 84 VTD múuer. 86 C úets. 87 V klooz, TD klóoz. 89 V búueth, D búeth, T bóoeth. 92 VT náu, D nóou. 94 VT kráu. 97 sœ'ul. A': 102 VD æks, T æks. 104 W rood. 113 V wæl wíel, T wæl, D 'ooel. 115 VTC wam, D jam. 118 C búen. 120 V egu-u, T egan. 122 V náus. 124 stáuen. 125 oonli. 129 C gúuest. 130 C búrt.

E- 138 V vaadher, T vœu—, D vi'—, ve'—, vie'—, C faedher. 143 táil. 144 V egien, T egin. 150 V leest, T liiést, D liist. 152 C waater. Æ: 161 V dee, T dii, D dáí. 162 V tædee, T te dii. 163 lói. 166 T máid, D máid. 168 C tææler. 169 VTD wæn. 170 C æavst. 172 C grææs. 174 C eesh. 177 V dhat, D dhát, [T (dhak) used]. 179 V waat, T wat, D wat. 181 C pææth. Æ'- 182 C see. 183 C teetj. 190 kee. 193 kleen. 194 VT eni, VD oni. 197 tjiz. 199 C bleet. 200 weet. 201 C eedh'n. Æ': — sidz [seeds]. 207 nid'l. 210 klói. 214 VTD næ'idher. 215 C taat. 218 C shíp. 220 VD zhepherd, T —r. 223 DC dhœr dher. 224 VTD wœr. 227 VTD wet.

E- 233 V speak, D speak. — jet [eat]. 252 V ketl, TDC kit'l. E: 256 V zdretjt, T stretjt. 261 VT zái, D zái. 262 VTD wái. 265 W strait. 276 VD dhœk, VT dheqk. 278 wensh [always used for girl in a good sense]. 281 V lenth, DT leqth. 284 dresh. 287 C biz'm [common word for all kinds of brooms]. — T bi'ist, D best [best]. E': 313 DT aark'n. 314 V ii'rd, TD jii'rd. 315 D vits, C fit.

EA- 320 VTD kíer. EA: 322 V laf, T læf. 323 fœ'ut. 326 VT œ'uld, D aæld, W œ'uld aæld. 330 V hæ'uld, œ'uld. 332 V táuld, T telt, D teld. 333 C kœæf. 335 T ææl, DV aal. 338 V kaal, T kœæl, D kaa'l. — aard [hard]. 343 C waarm. 346 D giæt, W gjet. EA'- 347 D jed, C jœd. 348 VTD œ'iz, C ôi. 349 V viáu. EA': 354 C sheef. 365 C díef. 356 C leef. 357 dháu dhoo. 359 T náiber, D náiber. 361 been. 366 VT gœort. 370 C raa. 371 C straa.

EI: 377 C stiek. 378 T week. EO- 386 C jœ'u. EO: 390 V zhud, T shud. 394 V jœnder, D jœnderz. 398 [C klem] used. 399 VD brœ'it. 402 D lærn, T laarn. EO'- 411 VTDC drii. 412 [(œr) her, used in nom., (shii) in acc.] 420 C vœ'ur. 421 C farti. 421 vo'rth. EO': 422 W zik. 425 C lœt. 435 [C dhii always used, even to superiors, perhaps from large quaker community]. 437 VT truuth, D trœeth. EY- 438 VTD dœ'i. EY: 439 V trœst.

I- 440 C week. 441 ziv. 446 C nóin. 447 V œr [T (shii) she's, used]. I: 452 VTD œ'i, C ôi [evidently an error of my informant]. 455 VTD lœ'i, C lói. 459 C róit [? rœ'it]. 465 setj. 467 VTDC tœ'uld, W tœ'ul. 480 V dhœq, T dheq. 484 VD dhœ [T dhœk used]. 487 jœsterdi. — jet [hit]. I'- 495 VT wœ'in [D (œ'ul) howl, used]. 496 hœ'irn. I': 506 VTDC æmen. 510 V mœ'in, T mœ'in [and generally (œ'i)].

O- 519 T æver. 524 VTD wœrld. O: 531 daater. 538 VTD ud. 546 v'r. — [C (praq) prong used for fork]. 547 buu'rd. 550 T wœrd. 551 C starm. 552 C karn. O'- 559 C mædher. 564 zuun. O': 571 V gud. 577 C boo. 578 C ploø. 579 VT œæf. 586 V dwænt, T dæ'næ, D dœ'nt [don't]. 587 VTD dæn. 592 V zwœrd zoo'r [both used], T swaar, D zwoor. 595 C fat.

U- 601 fool. 602 zœ'u. 603 W ekamin. 604 VTD zæmer. 605 VTD zæn. 606 TD dœuer, V dœ'ur, W dœur. U: 608 C [œrri ordinary, used]. 610 C ul. 612 VTD zæn. 615 C poond. 616 VDT grœ'und. 619 VD vœ'und, T iœ'und. 627 VTD zændi. 631 dhœrzdí. 632 VT æp. 633 C kœp. 634 VD drœ'u, T dru, W thruu. U'- 643 D næ'u, W næu. U': 658 VTD dœ'æn, C dœæn. 659 C toon. 663 VTD œ'as [pl. œ'æz'n, C]. 665 C moos. 666 VT æzben [(mæ'stær) used D].

Y- 673 T mætp. 675 VTD drœ'i. 676 C lói. 682 VT lit'l. Y: 690 C kóind. 691 C móind. 701 VTD væst. Y- 705 C skói. 706 VTD wœ'i. Y': 709 C fóir. 712 C miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 VD *taak*, T *tæk*. 732 V *ap'n*, T *ap'n*. 738 T *pruit*.

E. 748 C *flesht*. 749 W *litt*. 752 VTD *vret*.

I. *and* Y. 754 C *pæg* [heard from the old man who called *bacon* (*báik'n*)]. 758 V *gjárL*, W *gjárL*.

O. 761 [(*bærb'n*) always used C]. 765 :*dɪn*. 767 T *náiz*. 781 T *bəðhər*. 791 V *bū'í*, T *bū'í*, D *bū'í*. U. 804 V *dræk'n*.

U. 804 V *dræk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 813 C *báik'n* [heard from an old man]. 814 *meesnar*. — C [*'báik*] bucket always used for *paik*. 824 *tji'r*. 835 *reez'n*. 857 T *kiis*. 862 T *siif*. 864 *kóz*.

E. 867 VC *tee*, TD *tee*. 878 *saleri*. 887 [*'pæes'n*] *parson*, used C]. 888 VTD *zartin*. 890 VC *beest*, T *búest*, D *bí'st*. 892 C *nevi*.

I. *and* Y. 901 V *və'in*, T *í'v'in*. 904 *vóilet*.

O. 916 C *áinenz*. 920 VT *pű'ínt*, D *pə'ínt*. 925 VT *váis*. 929 *koo-kembur*. 938 VT *karnər*, D *kərnəl*. 939 V *klooz* [T *ənə'í* *anigh*, used]. 940 VD *kwət*, T *koo't*. 941 VDT *vuul*. 947 V *bóil*, TD *bə'íl*. 950 VT *zəpar*. 955 VTD *də'uts*.

U. 964 C *súuət*. 969 VTD *zháuer*.

VAR. iii. THE NORTH-WESTERN OR EAST HE. FORM.

As we shall see, all He. is affected by the MS. dial., but the little slip which runs up from Gl. into He. is so strongly MS. that, although there seems to be a little falling off as we go on, I have found it necessary to place it in D 4. The w. b. of this slip is the w. b. of the S div. The e. b. is formed by the barrier of the Malvern Hills. The first considerable place we meet is Ross on the Wye. About this dialect a correspondent signing himself W. H. Green, who said he was a native of Ross, but whom we have been unable to identify, sent a letter in his own spelling to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which, in conjunction with notes from Upton Bishop, and a very few words given to TH. by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, Hereford, the following inferences are drawn :

Ross Pronunciation.

(z) is used for (s) in *so see, some, said say, sow* (pig).

(v) is used for (f) in *from find folk friend farmer for forty forget offended (?)*.

(iiv) is used in *late, plagued, place master, translate quakers*, implying the regular MS. change in A- words, but (ææ) is found in *clavey* a local word = mantlepiece.

(ái) is used in *say way straight neighbour*.

(A'o) apparently is used in *know* and (ŭA'i) in *boy*.

(æ) is heard in *pat*.

(dhik, dhak) are used.

(bist) thou art, ær (im) she, he ; (dhii) thou, (ut, ust) wilt, would'st, I be, they been't, I did want.

All these are strong marks of D 4.

Going further n., TH. got from Stoke Edith, (gráin fáier dái láí'í,n) grain, fair, day, day, laying and "I told *she*." But in this latitude at Ledbury, and further n. at Much Cowarne and Eggleton, there are very distinct marks of the same dialect in the following examples.

THREE INTERLINEAR HE. CS.

FROM LEDBURY, MUCH COWARNE, AND EGGLETON.

L marks the cs. specimen for Ledbury (12 e. Hereford) written by Rev. C. Y. Potts, and the late Mr. Gregg, solicitor, both of Ledbury, and pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Gregg.

C marks the specimen for Much Cowarne (9 ne. Hereford) written in phonotypy (see Part IV. 1183 *c* by Mr. Joseph Jones, bookseller, of Broad Street, Hereford, from the dict. of Mr. Herbert Ballard, Leighton Court, Bromyard, and pal. by AJE. As the diphthongs were unanalyzed in phonotypy, I have adopted the forms (ə'i, ə'u) heard by TH. when visiting Much Cowarne in 1881. Possibly Mr. Gregg's, which I heard as (ə'i, ə'u), were meant for the same.

E marks the Eggleton 8 ne. Hereford, practically the same as the Much Cowarne, written by Miss Anna M. Ford Piper, of Blackway, Eggleton, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (who passed it over to AJE.), with an ingenious and exhaustive rhyming key to the pron., supplemented by long notes from Miss Mary E. Piper and her brother, who considered that the true He. speech began about Stoke Lacy, Pencombe, and Bromyard (9 ne. 10 ne. 13 ne. Hereford, slightly to the w. of Much Cowarne and Eggleton. From the key and the notes and TH.'s Much Cowarne words, the cs. has been pal. by AJE. The difference between Ledbury and Eggleton these informants considered to consist chiefly in the greater "gutturality" of Much Cowarne, adding that *horse* is (ars) at Ledbury, but (as) in Cowarne.

The substantial phonetic agreement of all three renderings obtained from such widely different sources notwithstanding some evident dialectal slips which are inevitable when writers have not themselves spoken the dialect naturally in their youth) shows that the correct pron. must have been fairly reached.

Miss Piper added some further specimens which are given below with a translation interlined.

0. L *Ledbury*. wə'i :dʒaən ɪz nəʊ dəʊnts
 C *Much Cowarne*. wə'i :dʒa'k a'nt nəʊ dəʊnts
 E *Eggleton*. wə'i :dʒaən ə'ne ɡɒt nəʊ mɪsgɪvɪnz
1. L wəl, ná'ber, juu en ðm mái boo'th la'f et dhɪs ð'r njuuz
 C wəl, ná'ber, juu en ðm mái booth on'ɜ laaf et dhɪs ð'r njuuz
 E weel, ná'ber, bwəth ɒn dhv vook mái lɒf et dhɪk njuuz
- L v məʊ'n. uu kjærz ? dhət's nəʊ'ðher ð'r nɜr dher.
 C ɪz ə'i'de tɛl ɜ. huu de keer ? dhət's niðher ɜr nɜr dheer
 E ɪz ə'i v ɡɒt. uu kéerz ? dhət ʒənt ʒíer nɜr dhíer
2. L viə'u men dəʊ'i kaaʒ dhɛ'r la'ft et,
 C fɪə'u fɔraks de dəʊ'i kəs dhɛr de ɡɛt la'ft et,
 E dhíer ʒənt bət vɪə'u menkjə'ɪnd ɪz dəʊ'ɪz kɔz dhái bi lɒft et,
- L wi ná'uz, doo'nt əs ? waaʔ sh'd meek ɛm ? tɪənt vɛrɪ
 C wii de náu dɛn ɛs ? wɒt shʊd miæk ɛm ? ɪt ʒɛnt vɛrɪ
 E wii ná'uz, dwənt'ɛs ? wɒt shʊd miæk ɛm ? ɪt bʒənt vɛrɪ
- L lə'ikli, ɪz ɪt ?
 C lə'ikli, biɪ ɪt ?
 E lə'ikli, biɪ ɪt ?

3. L AASEME'VER dhiiz bii dhi faks v)dhv kees, zoo djest a'ud JER
C ·liist)áiz dhiiz)JER bent noo ló'iz, zoo juu djest é'uld JER
E ó'useme'VER ít wez ateb dhik wái, soo djest é'ud dhe

L náiz, en bi kwó'iet til é'i v dæn. luk ii'R næ'u!
C Ró'u, é'uld bwa'i, en juu é'isht til é'i v dæn. aark)i!
E náiz, mæn, en hó'isht til é'i bi dæn. AARK'n!

4. L é'i bi zærtin é'i ii'rd em zái—zæm v dhem vooks ez
C é'i bi shuur é'i JERd en sái—sæm o dhem tjaps az
E é'i bi shúuer ez é'i híuerd em zái—zæm v dhái vook ez

L went DRó'u dhe wæl dhiq vròm dhe væst dherze'lvz—dha't
C náud aal vbo'ut ít vròm dhe vest, did é'i shuurlo'é.
E went DRó'u dhe wæl dhiq vròm dhe væst dhíerze'lvz—dhæt

L é'i did zeef enaf.

C

E é'i did see'f enaf.

5. L dhæt dhe jæqest zæn izze'lf, v greet bwa'i v næ'in, ná'ud
C ez dhe litlest bwa'i izse'l, v jæq'en o næ'in JER é'uld, náud
E dhæt dhe jæqest bwa'i izze'lf, v gréet bwa'i v næ'in, ná'ud

L iz vee'dherz váis et wænst, dhoo ít wez zoo kwíier en
C iz fiádherz váis et wænst, al ræmi en
E himz vee'dherz váis et wænst dhoo v wez soo kwéer en

L skwiiki, en é'i)d træst 'im te spiik dhe truuth eni
C skwiiki)é'id, en 'im ud)ne tel noo ló'iz ta noobædi,
E skwíekín, en é'i ud træst 'im te spiiek dhe truuth aní

L dáí, áí, i)ud.

C noo v ud)'nt.

E dáí, áí, é'i ud.

6. L en dhe Aad æmen ERZE'lf ul tel ENi on ju ez la'fs næ'u,
C en dhe é'uld æmen ERse'l ul tel ENi o ju tjaps ez iz [wæt)s]
E dhe é'uld æmen ERZE'lf ul tel ENi on dhe ez lófs næ'u,

L en tel ju stráit of, tuu, edhó'u't mætj bødher, ív ju)l
C egrí'nín, widhó'ut noo fæs NAR bødher, íf juu
E en tel dhe stráit of, tuu, udhó'u't mætj boother, íf dhii)dst

L ooni a'sk ER WENT ER?

C ooni aksez ER, áí, ER ul

E onli a'ks ER WENT ER, máí bi?

7. L liistwáiz v toold ít mii wen é'i a'kst ER, tuu ER DRII
C liist)áiz ER did tel)mi wen é'i akst ER tuu AR dhrii
E lestwáiz ER teld ít mæf wen é'i akst ER, tuu AR DRII

L tǝw'inz oover, ɐr dɪd, ɛn 'ɛr aat)'nt tɛ bi raaq on dha't
 C tǝw'inz ǝ'uver, ɛn 'ɛr dɛ nǝu ɛz wɛl ɛz moost,
 E tǝw'inz ɔver, dɪd ɐr, ɛn 'ɛr ad)'nt aat tɛ bi rɛq in dhɪk

L pǝw'nt, waat d)ʒi dhɪk?
 C wɔt d)ʒɛ thɪk?
 E ʒiɛr kɪɛs, wɔt dɔst dhii dhɪk?

8. L wɛl, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzǝi'in, 'shii)d tɛl)ʒi, ǝ'u wɛr ɛn wɛn
 C wɛl, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzǝi'in, 'ɛr ʊd tɛl)ʒɛ, ǝ'u
 E wɛl, ɛz ǝ'i wɛz ɛzǝi'in, 'ɛr ʊd tɛl)dhɛ, ǝ'u wɪɛr ɛn wɛn

L ɐr fǝnd dɛ dɾɛqk'n biist ɐr kaalz ɐr ɛzɛn.
 C ɐr fǝ'nd dɛ dɾɛqkɛn biast ɛz ɐr dɛ kaal ɛzɛn.
 E ɐr vǝnd dɛ dɾɛqkɛn bjɛst ɐr kaalz ɐr mɔn.

9. L ɐr zoɔr ɛz ʌr zɪn ɪm ɛdh ʌr ɛ'on ǝ'iz ɛlǝ'i'in
 C ɐr dɪd swɛr ɛz ɐr dɪd sii ɪm wɪd ɐr ǝ'un ǝ'iz, ɛlǝ'i'in
 E ɐr sǝɔr ɛz ɐr sii ɪm ʊth ɐr ǝ'un ǝ'iz ɛlǝi'

L zɔrɛtʃt a't vɛl lɛnth ɔn dɛ grǝ'nd ɪn ɪz zǝndɛ
 C ɛt fɪd lɛnth ɔn dɛ grǝ'nd ɪn ɪz sǝndɪ
 E strɛtʃt ǝ'ut ɛt vɛl lɛnth ɔn dɛ ʒaarth ɪn dɔt dhiɛr gɪd

L kɔɔ't, klaas bi dɛ ǝ'us dɔɔ'r dǝ'ʊn ɛt dɛ kaarn'l
 C gɔɔ'in kɔɔt, kloos ɛgɛ'n dɛ dɔɔr ɔv ɪz ǝ'us ɛz dɛ stand
 E zǝndɪ kúuɛt ɛ ɪz'n, klɔs ɛgɛ'n dɛ dúuɛr ɛ dɛ ǝ'us, dǝ'ʊn

L ɛ dha't lɛɛ'n.
 C ɛt dɛ kɔrnɛl ɔv dhat dhiɛr lɛɛn.
 E ɛt dɛ kaarn'l ɛ ʒandɛr lǝɪn.

10. L ɛ wɛz ɛwǝw'ɪn'ɪn ɛwǝi, zɛz-ɛr, vɛr aal dɛ wɛrld lǝ'ɪk ɛ
 C ɪm wɛr ɛwǝw'ɪn'ɪn ɛwǝi, 'ɛr dɛ sǝi, vɛr aal dɛ wɛrld lǝ'ɪk ɛ
 E ɛ wɛz ɛʒǝ'ʊl'ɪn ɛwǝi, sɛz ɛr, fɛr aal dɛ úuɛrld lǝ'ɪk ɛ

L zɪk ʒɛq)ɛn ʌr ɛ lɪ'tl wɛnʃ ɪn ɛ vɛt.
 C ʒɛq ɛn ʌz ɪz bɛd, ʌr ɛ lɪ'tl wɛntʃ ɛ ǝ'ʊl'ɪn.
 E sɪk ʒɛq)ɛn ʌr ɛ lɪ'tl wɛntʃ ɛz wɛz frɛtʃɛt.

11. L ɛn dha't ʌp'nd ɛz 'ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kɛm
 C ɛn dhat dhiɛr dɪd ʌp'n ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr'ɪnlaa dɪd kɛm
 E ɛn dɔt wɛz dʒɛst ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr daatɛr laa kɛm

L dɾǝ'u dɛ bǝk ʒard vɛrɛm ʌq'ɪn ǝ'ʊt dɛ wɛt klɔɔz
 C dɾǝ'u dɛ ʒɛardɪq aatɛr ʌq'ɪn ǝ'ʊt dɛ klwaz
 E dɾǝ'u dɛ bǝk ʒaard wɪɛr ɔd bɪn ɛ ʌq'ɪn ǝ'ʊt dɛ wɛɛt klɔɔz

L tɛ dɾǝ'i ɔn ɛ wɛʃɪn dǝi,
 C ɔn dɛ lǝ'ɪnz ɔn ɛ wɛʃɪn dǝi,
 E tɛ dɾǝ'i ɔn ɛ wɛʃɪn dǝi.

12. L wə'ɪl dʰe ket'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'i:lɪn vɛr tii wən və'ɪn brə'ɪt
 C wɛn dʰe ket'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'i:lɪn fɛr tii, wən fə'ɪn
 E dʰe wə'ɪld dʰe kɪt'ɪ wɛz ɛbə'i:lɪn fɛr tii, wən fə'ɪn brə'ɪt
- L zəməɾ aatəɾnuun ɔɔni ɛ wɪk ɛɡuː kəm nekst θæzde.
 C zəməɾz aatəɾnuun ɔ'ɔnli ɛ wɪk ɛɡə'u kəm nekst θæzɔli.
 E zəməɾ atəɾnuun ɔnli ɛ wɪk ɛɡuː kəm nɛt dʰæzɔli.
13. L ɛn d)ʝi nɑ'u! ɔ'i nɛvɛɾ lɛɾnd nɔɔ moo'r nɛɾ dʰɪs
 C ɛn duu jɛ nɑu? ɔ'i nɛvɛɾ iɪɾd nɔɔ mooɾ
 E ɛn dɛst dʰe nɑ'ù, ɛz ɔ'i nɛvɛɾ lɛɾnd ɔni múvɛɾ nɛɾ dʰɪk
- L ɛ dʰa't bɪz'nɪs ɛp tɛ dʰɪs dái, ɛz zhuu'r ɛz mái
 C ɔn)t ɛp tɛ dʰɪs iɪɾ dái, ɛz shuuk ɛz mə'i
 E ɛ dʰɔt dʰɪɛɾ bɪz'nɪs tɪl tɛdái, ɛz shúuvɛɾ ɛz mə'i
- L nɛe'm)z :dʝaːn :shɛpɛɾd, ɛn ɔ'i doo')nt wɔnt tu nɔ'ɪdʰɛɾ,
 C nɛem)z :dʝak :shɛpɛt ɛn ɔ'i dɛ)na wɔnt tu niɪdʰɛɾ,
 E niɛm bi :dʝaːn :shɛpɛɾt, ɛn ɔ'i dɛ)ne wɔnt tɛ nɛdʰɛɾ,
- L dʰɛɾ nɔ'u!
 C zɛ 'dʰɛt bi dʰe ɛnd ɔn)t.
 E dʰɪɛɾ nɔ'ù.
14. L ɛn zoo ɔ'i)r ɛɡwɛe'n wəm tɛ sɛpɛɾ ɡud nɔ'ɪt, ɛn
 C ɛn zoo ɔ'i bi ɛɡwɛɪn wəm tɛ av zəm zɛp'vɛɾ ɡud nɔ'ɪt, ɛn
 E ɛn soo ɔ'i bi ɡwá'ɪn wəm tɛ zɛpɛɾ ɡud nɔ'ɪt ɛn
- L doo'nt bi zo vaast tɛ kɾɑ'u ɔovɛɾ ɛ bɔdi ɔɡjɛ'n, wən
 C dɛ)ne bi zɛ ɛnkɔ'mɛn kɾɪk tɛ kɔk ɔ'uvɛɾ ɛ fɛlɛɾ ɛɡɛ'n, wɛn
 E dɛ)ne dʰe bi so kɾɪk tɛ kɾɑ'u ɔvɛɾ ɛ bɔdi ɛɡɛ'n, wɛn
- L ɛ tAAks ɛ dʰɪs dʰa't ɛ tɛdʰɛɾ.
 C ɪm dɛ tAAk ɔv dʰɪs jɛɾ ɛɾ dʰa't dʰɛɛɾ.
 E ɛ tAAks ɛ dʰɪk dʰɔt ɛɾ tɛdʰɛɾ.
15. L ɪt)s ɛ puu'r A'uf ɛz pɾe'e'ts ɛldʰə'u't riiz'n. ɛn dʰa't)s
 C ɪm biɪ [ɪz] ɛ haas ɛz biɪ haalɪs ɛ dʝabɛɾɪn rɛbɪʃ. dʰɔt)s dʰe
 E ɪt)s ɛ daandɛɾɪq ɔ'uf ɛz pɾéerts ɛldʰə'u't zɛns. ɛn dʰɔt
- L mə'i laast wɛɾd, ɡud bə'i.
 C bɛst niuuz ɔ'i ɛ ɡɔt fɛɾ ja, ɔ'uld bwa'i! nɔ'u ɔ'i mɛn tɛɛk mə'i
 E biɪ mə'i laast úvɛɾd, ɡud báɪ.
- L
 C danɪɛk, ɛɾ ɔ'i sha)nt av nɔɔ sɛpɛɾ—ʌk ɪt!
 E

Notes to L, the Ledbury cs.

1. *neighbour*, not used in this way in the dialect.

4. *through*. Mr. G. said that iso-

latedly (dʰrə'u) is used, but here he said (drə'u) not reverting (d r), a mere accident, few gentlemen learn to revert

(R) before a vowel. As to the *th*, Mr. Gregg gave, through (dhrə'u), throw (thra'u), thistle (diz'l), thin (dhin), thief (thif), thick = that (dhik), which indicated an inconsistent usage.—*safe* (zeef) meaning sure, but a (zee'f) for meat; the word ought to begin with (s) theoretically.

5. *aye I would, I* becomes (i) under such circumstances, the pron. varying with the construction.

6. *won't her, her* is used for *she*, and the (R) is felt distinctly, as (wənt ə) would = *won't he*.

9. *own* (ə'on) has a glide from the open to the rounded lips, (ə) to (o).—*ground*, at first I wrote (A'A.), considering the glide to be merely in the rounding, as in the last case, but subsequently (A'o) seemed to express it better, the position of the tongue being

also changed. Similarly *growth* was called (grə'oth), nearly (grə'uth).—*that lane*, (ʒən) is found in the dialect and might have been used here.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. Potts says *evening* would be used, Mr. Gregg just the reverse.

13. *shepherd* as a name has (sh), as an occupation (zh).

14. *I are*, this is rare, *I be* is common, *he are, he be* are never used, Mr. G. said that "*be* is invariably used by uneducated people with each of the personal pronouns both in the sing. and pl.," this is probably too wide an assertion. In this case (ə'i biɪ ɛgwee'n) would be more usual, the (ə-) is prefixed only to the present, not to the past participle. *Thou* is not found, but *thee bist, thee wust* are constantly used.

Notes to C', or the Much Cowarne cs.

15. *He is an ass as he always jabbering rubbish. That's the best news I have got for you, old boy. Now I must take my danniock or I shan't have no supper. Hook it!* The word *danniock* was not explained, it may mean *gaiters* for which *dannack* is used in Nt.

Mr. Hallam obtained in 1881 from Mrs. Sarah Griffiths in almshouses at Hereford, b. 1816 at Much Cowarne, where she lived till 7 and afterwards from 10 to 20, the following words, which are very fair D 4.

A- 21 nəm. A: or O: 64 rəq'. A'- 67 ə'i bi gwəin wəm [I am going home]. A': 106 bræd. Æ- 138 fædher. Æ: 161 də'i, mɪd'l dɔ'. Æ'- 200 wɪt'. Æ'- 218 ʃɪp'. 223 dhɛr, 224 wɪr. E- 233

spiik. E: 261 sə'i, 262 wai, — fɪld [field], 279 went. E'- 290 i, 299 grɪn, 314 ɛrn. EA: 322 lɪ', 324 ə'it', 326 ədd. EA'- 347 ʒəd. EA': 350 dɪəd [approaching (dɪəd)]. EI- 373 dhə'i. EO': — ə'i sɪd ɪm [I saw him]. I: 452 ə'i, 458 nə'it', 469 ə'i ʊna [I won't]. I'- 494 tɔ'ɪm. O: 531 dæter, 538 ʊd, — krɒp [crop], 552 kə'rn. O'- 555 shu, 559 mædher, 562 muun. O': 587 də'n. U- 603 ɛkə'mɪn [a coming], 605 sə'n, 606 dɔr, 653 bæt'. U': 663 ə'us'. U. — mæd' [mud]. A.. — plə'ɪnɪʃ [plainish], 841 tʃə'ns, 851 nəvnt [aunt], — gʃərd'n. E.. 892 nəvɪ. I.. 899 nɪs'. O.. — bɪf [beef], — nəqk'l [uncle]. TH. considers that unaccented (i) should be written (i) here and elsewhere.

Notes to E, or the Eggleton cs.

Miss Piper seemed to have no rule for (s, z; f, v) initial and said they were used "indiscriminately." She wrote with (s) *sick, swore, see* [=saw], *swite* [blow], *spittal* [=spade], *swill*, *so, sure, safe*, and with (z), *say, some, Sunday, sumer, sense*; and sometimes with (s) and sometimes with (z) *seed* and *zeed*, to *sow* and to *zough*, *cider* and *zider*, *summut* and *zummat*. Again she wrote with (f) *from, far, frechet-like, for, fine, further, fot* [=fetched], and with *v* *few, father, voice, found, full, fallow, field, vetches, fill, feet, victual, four*. Miss Mary Piper found

these usages correct. If they were, they shewed that at this distance from the centre the instincts of the dialect were no longer felt.

In the same way in construction Miss Piper used *hims* for *his*, which seems a late development, and Miss Mary Piper said *was* was rare. Again *him* had nearly superseded *un* for the acc. *hine*. Although in the examples, *I, he* are never used for the acc. emphatic, Miss Piper considered it common. Miss M. Piper, also said that *think, thing* had (dh) and *sure, sheep* had (zh).

Miss Piper's extra specimens for Eggleton, with her translation interlined.

1. meester, bii ə'i ɐ gwáɪ'ɪn tɐ ɔrɐ dɦɐ píɪs ɐnɛnt
 master, am I a going to harrow the piece (of land) opposite to
 dɦa vɔlɐ vɪld?
 the fallow field?

2. ə'i kə'ne tíɪk dɦɛm dɦíɪɐ ɔsez drə'u dɦat dɦíɪɐ ɟat.
 I cannot take those horses through that gate.

3. dɦíɪɐ bɟɛnt zɪd-vatɟɐz ɐnɛf [ɐnə'u] tɐ zə'u dɦɐ vɪld ɐnɛnt
 there are-not seed vetches enough to sow the field opposite

dɦɐ plɔk ɐn ɪf ɐr wɐz ʌl drɔʃt ɐz bii ɪn dɦɐ
 the flock (small field) and if they were all threshed that are in the

barn, 'lard! ə'i dɛ'na dɦíɪk ɐz dɦáɪ'd vɪl ɐ wɪskɛt vɪl
 barn, Lord! I do not think that they-would fill a basket full

ɐnɛf [ɐnə'u] tɐ ɟɐp ɪm ɛp fɛrdɐr nɐr dɦɐ brɪm.
 enough to heap it up further than the brim.

4. ɐz áɪ wɐz ɐgwáɪ'ɪn də'uɛn dɦɐ láɪn, ə'i sii dɦɐ bɔwáɪ at dɦɐ
 as I was a going down the lane, I saw the boy at the

gafɐrz ɔp'lz ɪtɦ dɦɐ brɔd-ɛk, ɐn, bə'i gɔm! áɪ dɪd
 gaffer's [master's] apples with the broad-hook, and, by gom! I did

gɪv hɪm ɐ swɔ'ɪt ɪtɦ dɦɐ spɪtɐl rɔ'ɪt ɔn ɪz' ɟɛd.
 give him a blow with the spade right on his head.

5. dɦíɪɐ ɪm wɐz ɐláɪ ɐmɔɟ dɦɐ dɛd-dɛk ɐn mɛlɔk dɟɛst ɐz ɪf
 there he was a-lying among the dead-wood and dirt just as if

ɐ wɐz dɟɛd.
 he were dead.

6. ɐ wɐz bɛd, nɔɔ víɪɐ, ɐ wɔr'ɛnt ɟab'l tɐ ɟɛt, ɐn ə'i tɛld ɐn ɐz
 he was bad, no fear, he was)not able to eat, and I told him that

ɪf ɪm ɪd gu ɐn swɪl ɪmz víɪɐ ɪn dɦɐ brɛk ɐz ɐ kɔd go
 if he would go and swill his face in the brook that he could go

ɛtɐr dɦɐ stíɪɐrz ɐn fɔdɐr ɐm.
 after the steers and feed them.

7. sɔɔ ɐ gɔt ɔn ɪmz tuu vɪt ɐn ə'i pɛt ɪm ɪn dɦɐ kíɪɐt, ɐn
 so he got on his two feet and I put him in the cart, and

gɛn ɪm ɐ kɛk tɐ stɪk ɪn dɦɐ sɔ'ɪdɐr [zɔ'ɪdɐr] kɛg, sɔɔ ɐz ɐ
 gave him ɐ keck to stick in the cider keg, so that he

kud get zæmæt tɜ drɪŋk atɜr ɪz vɪtɛl.
could get something to drink after his food [victual].

8. me'i ʊmɛn ɪɪərd ɛbɔ'ʊt ɪt, dhɜ wɔɪld ɛr wɛz sɔ'i in dhɜ mɪlk,
my wife heard about it, the while she was straining the milk,

ɛn, bɔ'i gɔʃh! shɪ dɪd gu ɔn; ɛr)z ælɪz frɛtɪtɛlɔ'ɪk.
and, by gosh! she did scold; she)s always cross.

9. ɔ'i mɛt drɪi ʊmɛnvʊk ɛnɛnt dhɛm dhɪɪv ɔ'ʊz'n ɛ juɪɪn;
I met three women [woman folk] opposite those [there] houses of yours;

dhái wɛz ɛ-magɪn ɛn ɛmɪɛkɪn mɪuɪv nái:z nɜ vɔ'ʊv ʊndɛrt
they were a chattering and making more noise than four hundred

mɛnkɔ'ɪnd ʊd.
men [man's kind] would.

10. tʃɔrlz wɛz ɛlɔŋ, ɛn ɛr æl tɜrnd ɪntu dhɔt dhɪɪv vɔ'ʊld
Charles was along, and they all turned into that [there] fold-yard

ɛ ɪz'n, ɛn drɛv dhɜ ʃɪp ɪntu dhɜ bʊzɪ ʊth ɔ'ʊvɜn.
of his, and drove the sheep into the shed with ours.

VAR. iv. THE SOUTH-EASTERN OR DO. FORM.

Proceeding s.wards from Wl. we come to Do. The dialect is essentially the same, but at the e. end the (v, z) are less used for (f, s), a matter of education. The (ái) varies much as (ɛɛ'i) and occasionally even (ii). The A- is rather (ɛv, ɛe') than (ɪv, i') and falls into (ee) rather than (ii). The first example, a dt., was kindly given me vv. by Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, to whom the dialect was very familiar, and represents the pronunciation of her own district, Hanford (4. nw. Blandford). The same lady had also assisted Rev. E. A. Dayman of Shillingstone (5 nw. Blandford) to fill up a wl., which she subsequently went over with me vv., see p. 80.

A es. was obtained from Mr. Clarke, native of Cranborne (12 ene. Blandford), and was pal. by me from dict. of Major-General Michel, being subsequently corrected in a few points by correspondence with Mr. Clarke, who was Master of the Schools at Ringwood, Ha. (19 wsw. Winchester), the dialect of which place he found to be the same as his own. This was confirmed by a few words I obtained vv. from a carter, native of the place, and from a wl. furnished by Mr. W. W. Farr from the comparatively dialectless district about Christchurch (20 sw. Southampton), and other indications, so that this strip of Ha. is reckoned dialectally as e. Do.

Finally the late Rev. W. Barnes, Winterborne Came, well known through his Do. poems, took great pains with a es., which he wrote in a systematic orthography (see p. 80), and kindly explained by correspondence where any difficulty occurred. He also filled up a

wl. for me, which is given on p. 80, embracing also the most important words in the Cranborne, Hanford, Shillingstone, and East Lulworth (12 se. Dorchester). The Cranborne and Winterborne Came es. are given interlinearly for more easy comparison.

HANFORD, DO.

dt. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour.

1. zoo ə'i də ZEE'i, mi lædz, juu də zii nə'ou dhæt ə'i bi khəw'it
bə'out dhik dheer līt'l mād̩l kom'en frəm dhu skuul əp
jəndər.
2. shii bi go'n də'oun dhu rhooð DRUU dhu rhed giut ən dhu lhiŋt
hænd zəw'id ev dhu wāi.
3. shuu'r enəf dhu tʃəw'ild hev v'go'n strhāit əp tu dhu dōovər
ev dhu rhaq hē'ous.
4. weer shi mīd tjaans tɐ vəw'ind dhik dheer DRHƏqk'en dɛf
shrhəmd wəld tʃəp bəw'i nēc'm ev :rhə'tʃɛd.
5. wii də aal nōou en tərɐ'l wɛl.
6. ɪnt dhu wəld tʃəp suun 'lærn shi nɔt tɐ duu ɛt ɛgi'n, puu'r
szóoul!
7. luk'i dheer! id'nd-it TRHUU?

Notes to Hanford dt.

1. *Say*, not (zái). The words in ÆG wl. 139 to 148, 160 to 166, EG 237 to 243, 257 to 264, EI 372 to 382, and EY 438, 439, are very variously treated in this form of the dialect; see these numbers in the following cwl. But in thus pronouncing disconnected words some errors may have crept in. *Mates* not used; (my zən) is a common address even to an old man. *Now*, the diphthong sounded between (ə'u) and (óu) and I think the effect was produced by commencing the first element without rounding, producing (ə'ó) and then running on to *u*, giving (ə'ou), at least I thus imitated it to Mrs. CKS.'s satisfaction.

2. *Road*, the (ɐ), not (r), at the beginning of a syllable, was aspirated; when I used (rh) it was recognised as

incorrect. *Left*, the voiceless (lh) was distinct and insisted on.

3. *Going*, the sound was rather uncertain; I wrote both (go'n) and (ga'n).

3. *Strait* and 4. *Drunken*, the aspiration of 'r' was apparently shewn by jerking out the following vowel, otherwise Mrs. CKS. seemed to say (TRHƏqkən).

4. *Starved*, properly starved with cold.

5. *Know*, the (oo) was long and distinct and almost (oo), the (u) was a full *u*; the effect (óou) was therefore different from the usually (óou) where (u) is not completely reached. *Terribly*, i.e. *very*; common in all Southern dialects.

11. *Soul*, the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is gradually led.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST DORSET es. (see p. 75).

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-------|-----|-----|---------|
| 0. C | <i>Cranborne.</i> | wa'i | :dʒən | gət | nə | də'uts. |
| W | <i>Winterborne Came.</i> | whə'i | :dʒən | hɛ | nuu | də'uts. |
-
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|----|-----|-----|-------|-------|----|--------|-------|
| 1. C | wɛl, nɛɛbɐr, juu | ɛn | ii | mīd | búuɐθ | laa'f | ɛt | dhíuez | niúuz |
| W | wɛl, náibɐr, juu | ɛn | hii | mīd | búuθ | la'f | ɛt | whɔt | əw'i |

C e mæ'in. uu de kíer? dha't)s náidher i'r ne
W de tel)i. en whət if ja' duu? dha't)s nə'idher híer ner

C dher.
W dhíer.

2. C viúu men de dæ'i, bikə's dhe bi laa'ft et, wii de noo,
W viúu vook de dæ'i e bi'en laa'ft a't, wi de noo,

C do)'nt əs? wət shiúvld míek)em? t)id)'n veri læ'iklǝ,
W doo)'nt wi? whət shəd míek)em? t)id)'n veri læ'iklǝ,

C iz it?
W iz it?

3. C uuzú'ver dhíez bi dhe fa'ks e)dhe)ki's. zuu djíst
W ə'useme'ver t)iz djíst ez ə'i shel tel)i. zuu djíst

C whoold dhæ'i tæq, míet, en bi kœ'í'et tǝl æ'i)v e)ðæn.
W hoold jər ná'iz, gud ma'n, en be kœ'í'et tǝl ə'i)v e)ðæn.

C hhaa'rk)i!
W ha'rk)i!

4. C æ'i bi sɛrt'n ə'i jíerð)em zái, zəm e dheə vooks dhət
W ə'i)m sa'rten ə'i híerð)en zii, zəm e dheem vook dhət

C went druu dhe wəl dhíq vrəm dhe vɛst dherze'lvz, dha't
W zid dhe húel æ)t vrəm dhe vɛst tɛ laa'st. dha't

C æ'i did, síef enæf.
W ə'i did, síef enæf.

5. C dhət dhe jæqst zæn izze'lf, e gært búoi e næ'in, nood híz
W dhət dhe jæqgest zæn hízze'lf, e gært búoi e næ'in, nood híz

C feedherz vóis et uuns, dhoo it wær za kœ'eer en skœ'úek'n,
W faa'dherz vá'is et uuns, dhoo t)wær ze kœ'eer en skœ'úiki,

C en æ'i)d træst)'n tɛ spíek dhe truuth eni dáí. áai,
W en ə'i)d tíek híz wœrd ini díi. dha't

C æ'i ud!
W ə'i ud!

6. C en dhe woold umen herze'lf il tel eni)ev)i dhət de laa'f
W en dhe ũoold umen herze'lf ul tel ini)ev)i dhe síem, dhoo

C næ'u, en tel)i stree'it əf, tuu, wí)æ'u't
W juu de laa'f nə'u, en tel)i ə'utræ'it, tuu, vɛst

C matj bodher if juu)l ooni a'ks her, oo wo)'nt ɛr?
W enæf. if juu)l oonli a'ks ɛr, aa', ə'i 'bliiv shi 'ul?

7. C lɪ'stwee'iz shi túeld ɪt mii, wen ɛ'ɪ a'kst)er, tuu ɛr drii
 W et líest shi túeld 'mii, when ɛ'ɪ a'kst)er, tuu ɛr drii
 C tɛ'imz oover, shi dɪd, en 'shii dɪd)'n AA'et te bi raq ən
 W tɔ'imz Aaver, shi dɪd, en 'shii Aat)n te bi matj ɔ'ut
 C sɪtj ɛ pʊó'nt ɛz dhɪs, wɔt)ɛz 'dhii dhɪqk?
 W ɛpən sɪtj ɛ pʊɔ'nt ɛz 'dha't, whɔt de 'juu dhɪqk?
8. C wel ɛz ɛ'ɪ wez v)zál'in shii)d tel'i, ɛ'u wɛr en
 W wel ɛz ɔ'ɪ wɛr v)zɪ'en, shii)d tel'i hɔ'u en wheer, en
 C wen shi vɛ'und dhe drɛqk'n bíes shi de kaal hɛr
 W wh'in shi vɔ'un dhe drɛqk'q bíest ɛz shi de kaa'l hɛr
 C ɛzbən.
 W hɛzbən.
9. C shi zoo'r shi zɪd)'n wɪ ɛr oon ɛ'iz v)lee'in stretjɪt
 W shi zúer dhɛt shi zɪd)'n wɪ ɛr oon ɔ'iz v)lɔ'i'en v)stra'tjɪt
 C et vul leqkth ən dhe grɛ'un, in hɪz bíes zændi
 W ɔ'ut et vul la'qth ɛpən dhe grɔ'un, in hɪz best zændi
 C kúuet, klúes, bii dhe dúer v)dhe ɛ'us, dɛ'un et dhe kærner
 W kúet, klúes bii dhe dúer v)dhe hɔ'us, dɔ'un et dhe kærner
 C v)dhe kæn JɔNDER.
 W v)JɔNDER kæn.
10. C hii wɛr wɛ'in'in ewee'i, zes shii, vɛr aal dhe wɛrl
 W dhíer hi wɛr, shi zed, ɛ wh'ɪnpɛrən, vɛr aal dhe wɔrl
 C la'ik ɛ zɪk tʃɛ'ild ɛr)v, lit'l mee'id v)vrɛt'n.
 W lɔ'ik ən áilən tʃɔ'íl, ɛr)v frɛtvul lit'l máid.
11. C aal 'dha't wɛr when shii ən hɛr daater-in-laa
 W ən dha't ha'p'md ɛz shii ən hɛr daater-in-laa wɛr
 C kɪm druu dhe ba'k jáerd vɔəm aqən ɛ'ut dhe wɛt
 W v)kæmən druu dhe ba'k ía'rd vɔəm ha'qən ɔ'ut ɛ dhe wɛt
 C klóoz te drɛ'i. ən ɛ weeshən deéí.
 W klóoz te drɔ'í ɛpən dher wɔshən díí.
12. C wɛ'il dhe kɪd'l wɛr bɔ'ilín fɛr tíi uun brá'it
 W whɔ'il dhe kɪt'l wɛr v)bʊɔ'ilən vɛr tíi uun fɔ'in brɔ'it
 C zæmɛr aaternuun, ooni ɛ wiik eguu kɛm nɛks dhærzdi.
 W zæmɛr a'fternuun, oonli ɛ wik eguu kɛm nɛks dhærzdi.
13. C ən dæst dhi noo? ɛ'ɪ never la'ɛnt eni moo'r dhən dhɪs ɛ
 W ən d'ɪ noo? dha't)s aal)z ívɛr ɔ'í híerd ɛ

C dha't dɔb ɛp tɛ tɛdɛɛ'i ɛz shúuɐ)z mæ'i níem iz
W dha't dɔb vɾem vɛst tɛ lɑɹst, ɛz tru)z mæ'i níem iz

C :dɔn :shɛpɐɾ, ɛn ɛ'i dɔ')nt want tɛ
W :dɔn :shɛpɐɾ, ɛn ɔ'i dɔo)nt wɔnt tɛ híɐr ɪni múɐr ɔ)t

C nɛdɐɐ. dɛɐɐ nɛu.
W nɛdɐɐ. dhíɐr nɔ'u.

14. C ɛn zuu ɛ'i bi ɛ)gɔɹ'ɛn wúɐm [húɐm] tɛ zɛpɐɐ. gɹd
W ɛn zuu ɔ'i)m ɛ)guuɐn húɐm tɛ sɛpɐɐ. gɹd

C nɛ'it ɛn dɔ')nt)i bi zuu kɔɹk tɛ kroo ɔɔvɐɐ ɛ bɔdi ɛgíɛn
W nɔ'it ɛn dɔo)nt)i bi sɛ rɛdi tɛ kroo ɹɹvɐɐ ɛ bɔdi ɛgíɛn

C wɛn hii dɛ taa'k ɛ dhíɹ, dha't or t)ɹdɐɐ.
W íf hii dɛ spíɹk ɛ wɔɾd ɛ dhíɹ, dha't ɛr t)ɹdɐɐ.

15. C t)iz ɛ wɛk fíuɐl dhɛt tɹɹ'ts ɛdhɛ'ut rɛɛz'n.
W t)iz ɛ nɪni dhɛt dɛ taa'k ɛdhɛ'ut ɪni grɔ'uɹz var'r.

C ɛn dha't)s mæ'i læɛst wɛɾd. gɹd búɹ'i.
W ɛ dha't)s ɹɹɹ ɔ'i ha'v tɛ zii. gɹd búɔ'i.

Notes to W, or Winterborne Came.

1. *at what I do tel ye, or, (ɔ'i)m ɛ'guuɐn tɛ tɛli*; *h* aspirated in *what*. This variant occurs in another copy which Mr. Barnes sent to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte. These variants will be marked LLB. in future.

2. *very ɔvɐɐ* LLB.

3. *'t is just as I shall tel ye, (dhíz iz dɹɹst hæ'u t)wɔɐɐ* LLB. *good man, (mæ'i gud ɹɹɹ)* LLB. *hark ye, (hark'n tɛ wɔt ɔ'i dɛ zii, hearken to what I do say,* LLB.

4. *certain, or (shuuɐɐ). say, Mr. Barnes says Do. (zii), not (zái).* Gen. Michel gave (zɛɛ'i) which Mr. Clarke corrected to (zái). *safe (síɛf)* LLB.

5. *great, or rather (ha'ɾd). father's, or (feedɐɐɹz). squeaky, or (skúik'n-lə'ik). I would take his word for it, (ɔ'i d trɹst hii ɛɐ spíɹkɛn dhɛ tru)th)* I would trust *he* for speaking the truth, LLB.

6. *laugh, (gliɪn zuu) sneer so,* LLB. Mr. B. says he did not catch the meaning of the original. *fast enough, (wídhɔ'u't ɪni shɛli sha'li)* without any shilly shally. Gen. Michel said that *bother* was used in the country. *Ah, I believe she will, (dha't shi wɛl)* that she will, LLB.

7. *at least (inihə'u') LLB. told me, (túɛld) is nearer than túɛld,"* says Mr. B. (túɛld it ɔ'ut tɛ ɔ'i) told it out to me, LLB. *She oughtn't to be much out. (kaa'nt bi mɹtɹ ɔ'ut)* can't be much out, LLB., or (vɛɹi rɔq) very wrong, not (ɹhɔq), which is the rung of a ladder. *upon such a point as that, (in sitɹ dhiq ɛz dhíɹ),* LLB. *What do you think? (d)ɹɛ dhiqk shi ka'n?)* LLB.

8. *as (dhɛt),* LLB.

9. *swore, (və'ud) vowed,* LLB. *stretched out (strá'it ɔ'ut)* straight out, LLB. *close by the door, (ɹɔ'it ɛp ɹgíɛn dhɛ dúɐɐ)* right up against the door, LLB. *Of yonder lane (ɛ)dhɛ líɛn ɔ'ut jɔndɐɐ)* LLB.

10. *world, (wɔɐɹl),* LLB. *ailing, (zik)* LLB. *fretful (fɹɛtvul)* with (f) not (v), or (ɛ lí't'l má'íd ɛ)ɹɹɛ't'n) a little maid a-fretting.

11. *daughter, or (dɛɛtɐɐ). were a-coming, (kɹm)* LLB.

12. *that's all that ever I heard of that job from first to last. (ɔ'i nɛvɐɐ híɛɾd ɪni múɐɐ ɛ dhíɛz dɹɔb, dhɛn wɔt ɔ'i)ɹ ɛtúɛld)* I never heard any more of this job than what I've a-told you, LLB. *true as (shuu'r ɛz),* LLB. *I don't want to hear any more of it neither, there*

now, (ə'i doo)nt wənt tə hiər ini múer
nadhər, zuu dhíer nə'u, I don't want
to hear any more neither, so there now.

14. *if he do speak*, (whén hi de taa'k)
when he do talk, LLB.

15. *nimmy*, soft poll, LLB. *that do*
talk without any grounds for it, or (de
let hiz taq rhan evoo'r hiz üt) do let
his tongue run afore his wit.

EAST DORSET ewl. combined from several sources.

C Mr. Clarke's Cranbourne (12 ene. Blandford), pal. by AJE. from dict. of
Major-Gen. Michel.

H Hanford, from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour, from dict., rather refined.

L East Lulworth, (12 se. Dorchester) from Rev. Walter Kendall.

W Winterborne Came (2 sse. Dorchester) from Rev. W. Barnes, his wl., es. and
phonetic part of his Grammar, translating his systematic orthography of
figures thus :

long short

1. *sheep* *pity* (ii i).

2. Dorset *e* ship (ii i), this (ii) has hardly
been given me by any others.

3. *mate* *bet* (ee e).

4. Fr. *le* long Fr. *le* short (æ e).

5. It. *a* long It. *a* short (aa¹ a¹).

6. *awe* *dot* (AA, j).

7. *rope* *lull* (oo, æ).

8. *rood* It. *u* short (uu u).

Diphthongs 4. 1. (ə'i), 5. 1. (âi), 6. 1. (ə'i), 4. 8. (æ'u), 1. 4. (ié, íe). I never
had the advantage of hearing Mr. Barnes read.

Note.—The pron. is said to be smooth, clear, and up and down in pitch.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

When C is placed only after sounds, Mr. Barnes agrees with Mr. Clarke. When
C is placed before sounds, it gives Mr. Clarke's pr. only.

A- 3 WL biek, H béek. 4 L tick, H téek. 5 W mick, C miek,
H méek. 6 W mied, H méed. 7 H séek. 10 L aa. 16 H daa'n. 17 W
laa, CL laa. 18 W kiek. 19 WL tiel, H táil. 20 L liem, H lee'm. 21
niem, C niem, H néem. 22 H téem. 23 H séem. 24 H shéem. 25 W
máin. 34 W lest, la¹st, laa¹st, C lææst, H læ'est. 36 H thoo. 37 L 'klaa,
H tlaa.

A: — W ka'g [keg]. — W rha'm [a ram]. 39 C kəm. 41 W tha'qk.
43 H haend. 45 L wa'nt. 48 W za'q. 50 W toqz. 52 W wən. 54 W
wənt, C want. 55 H ces. 56 W wash, C weesh, H wooshi. 57 W a's, H a'es.

A: or O: 58 W vrem, C vřem, H řrem. 64 C raq, H rhaq, rhaq.

A'- 67 W v)guu'en, C v)gwa'in [going]. 69 L nuu. 70 L tuu. 72 LC
uu. 73 zuu H and C, H zoo. 74 tuu. 76 W táed, H tóed. 77 HL lard.
79 oon C. 81 W lién, C li'n, H láin. 82 uuns. 84 W múer, C móoer, H
móer. 85 W zúer. 86 W úets, L woots, H wots, wúets, wets [different
appreciations]. 87 W klooz, C klóoer. 89 W búeth, C búuth. 92 W noo
and C, H nóou [with (oo) and (u) distinct, not a vanish]. 94 kroo C. 97 H
szóoul [the word begins with (s) on to which the voice is led].

A': 101 W ůook, úek, L wook, H óek. 102 W a'ks, H aa'sk. 104 W
rood, H rhood [rh] was recognised as wrong]. 106 brood. 108 W doo. 109
W loo. 110 H nót. 111 W Aat, C AA't, H aat. 113 W húel, C wul. 115
W húem, C wu'm, hu'm. 117 WC uun [Mr. B. also writes *woone*]. 118 W
búan and L, H bó'n. 119 H go'n, ga'n. 120 W eguu, C eguu. 122 nuu,
C noo [no], núen [none]. 124 L stúen, H stó'n. 125 W oonli, C ooni. 126
W oor. 127 W hóoes. 128 H [dhik, dheu] used]. 129 H gòst. — W lúeth
[loth]. — W rhoo [a row or rank]. 137 WC nadher.

Æ- 138 W faa'dher, feedher, LC feedher. 139 W drá'i, H DREE'i.
140 WL há'iel, H háil. 141 W ná'iel, H náil. 142 W sná'iel. 143 W
tá'iel, H táil. 144 WH egien, C egi'n. 145 slá'in and H. 146 má'in and H.
147 brá'in and H. 148 feer. 149 H bláiz. 150 W liest, L and C liest.
— W siit [a seat].

Æ: 154 WC ba'k. 158 W ce'ter. 160 W a'g, H æg. 161 W dāi, C dāi, CH deē'i, L dāi, deē. 163 W lāi, H lāi. 164 HC [māi more used], H māi. 165 WH zed. 166 WL mā'id, C mee'id, H māid. 169 W whān when, HC wen, H whān. — W whāq [a wing]. — ha'ps [hasp]. — wa'ps [wasp]. 171 W beerlō'i. 175 W va'st. — W liet [late]. 177 H dhæt [dhik also used, Mr. Barnes says, for shaped objects]. 179 W what, C wāt. 180 H hēcuth.

Æ': 182 W sūi, L see. 183 L teetj. 185 W riid, H rhiid. 191 W hūil, H hūiel. 192 L mēn, H mūien. 193 W klieu, L kleen. — lien. 194 W īni, C eni. 195 W mīni. 199 W bliit. 200 W whiit, L weet. 201 W hūidh'n, L eedh'n. 202 L het, H hēt.

Æ': 203 L spēetj, H spūietj. — W mīed [mead]. 205 W drīd. 206 H rhed. 208 W īver. 209 C never. 210 W klāi, H klāi. 211 W grāi. 212 W whāi. 213 WH ā'idher. 214 W nā'idher, C nā'idher. 215 H taat. 216 H diiel. 217 W iitj, L eetj. — W glīm [gleam]. 220 W shep'erd, C shēp'erd. 221 H fē'r. 223 W dhīer, C dher, H dhe'r. 224 W whee'r, C wār, H wee'r. 225 L vlesh. — W strīit [street]. 227 WC wet.

E- 232 H brēk. — W brūitj [breach]. 233 spīk, C spīk, H spīk. 236 H fīver. 237 W blāin. 239 W sāl'iel, H sāl. 240 W lāin. 241 W rhāin, L rāin, H rhāin. 243 WL plā'i, H plāi. — W stīl [to steal]. 245 W mīl. 247 W wīn. 248 W mīer, H mee'r. 249 H wee'r. 250 H swēer. 251 W mūt, H mūt. — W iit [to eat]. 252 W kīt'l kīt'l, C kīt'l, H kīt'l.

E: — W hūy [heave]. 256 W strā'tit, C stre'tit [stretched]. 260 H lāi. 261 W zāi, C zāi zē'i. — W trāi [a tray]. — W lā'g [leg]. 262 W wā'i, C weēi, H wā' weēi. 263 CW ewēēi. 264 W ā'il. 265 W strā'tit, C stre'tit, H strūāt [rh after str replacing rh]. 266 H wel. 269 W dhurze'lvz [dhemselves]. 270 H i. belas, ii. baeli. 271 W tel. 272 W elēm. — W helēm [the helm]. 273 W mēn. 275 H stīnsh. 276 W dhīqk. 277 H drānsh. 281 W lā'qth, C lēqth, H lēqth. 282 H strēqkth. 284 LH drash. — W bēst [to burst]. — W zet [to set], W set [a set]. — W bēst, bās [best].

E'- 293 W wīl. 294 H spīd. 296 W bliiv. 298 W tī'l. 300 HL kīp. 302 H mūt. 303 H swūt. E': — brīitj [brech]. 305 H hō'i. 307 H nō'i. 308 H nūt. 309 HW spīd. 310 H hī'l. 311 W tēn. 312 W hīer, C ēer, H hīer. 314 W hīerd, C jīerd, H hard. 315 H fūit. 316 W neks.

EA- 317 W flā'i, H flāi. — iel [ale]. 320 C kīer.

EA: 322 W leef, lā'f, C laā'f. 324 W ā'it, H āit. 325 H waak. 326 ūold, LC wōold, H wald. 327 W būold. 328 W kūold, H kōold. 329 W vūold, vūeld. 330 W hōold, C whōold. 332 CW tūeld. 333 L keef, H kaaf. 334 W heef, L heef, H haaf. 335 WC aal, H aal. 336 W vaal [the fall of the year is aal], H faal. 337 H waal. 338 W kaa l, C kaal. 340 W iā'rd, C jā'rd. 342 W iērm, H jērm. 343 LH waarm. — viern [iern]. — iern [earn]. 346 W giēt, LH giēt gee't.

EA': 347 W hīd hed. 348 W ō'iz, C ā'iz. — W biēt [to beat]. 349 WC viuu. EA': 351 W līd. 352 W rīd, H rhed. 353 W bred. 355 W dīf, L dīf, H de'f. 357 W dhoo. 359 W nāiber, LC neeber. — W sēm [a seam]. — W strēm [stream]. 361 WL būm. 364 H tēp. 365 W nīer. — W nīt [neat, cattle]. 366 W gēort, HC gērt. 370 H raa'. 371 W strēe, H straa'.

EI- 372 W ā'i, C āai, H ee'i. 373 L dhāi, H dhe'e'i. 374 nā'i, H nee'i. 375 rheez. 376 bā'it, H bāit. EI: 377 H stee'k. 378 W wīk, C week, H wheek. 379 W hā'il. 381 W swā'in, H sween.

EO- 383 W zēv'n zeb'n. EO: 388 H m'l'k [as nearly as I could appreciate, same as D 10]. 390 C shiūeld. 394 WCH jōnder. 402 W līern, C lā'rn, H lārn. 405 W haarth.

EO'- 409 H hūi. 411 WH drūi. 412 WH shūi [emphatic]. 413 W dīv'l. 416 H dūer. 420 W vō'uer, H fō'o'r. 421 H fartī. EO': 424 H rhāf. — W wīl [a wheel]. 427 H bi. 428 WH zii. 430 W frīnd, H frīind. 431 H būer. 433 W brīst. 436 W truu, H trūuu.

EY- 438 W dā'i, C dā'i, H dāi. EY: 439 trāst.

I- 440 W wīk, C wīk. 444 W stō'iel, H stō'il. 446 W nō'in and H, C nā'in. — W en [him, acc.]. 448 H [(dhīezier, dhīiz'm) used].

I: 452 W and H ə'i, C ə'i. 455 H lə'i. 458 W nə'it, C nə'it. 459 H rhə'it. 460 wə'it, H wə'it. 465 L sɛtɪ. 466 tɹə'il, C tɹə'ild, H tɹə'ild. 467 H wə'ield. 468 H tɹɪldɜrn. 469 ul [in the Vale of Blackmore (wɔl wɛl, wyl)]. — WL rhɪm [a rim]. 471 H tɪmbɜr. 474 H rhə'ind. 475 H whend. 477 H və'ænd, H və'ind. 480 C dhɪq. — W rhɪq [a ring]. 481 H vɪgɜr. 484 C dhɪvɜz, H [(d)hɪs-ɪr, used]. — W kɹɪps [crisp]. — W zɪks [six].

I'- 490 H bə'i. 491 H sə'i. 492 H zə'id. 493 L dɹeɛv, H dɹhə'iv. 494 WH tə'im, C tɛ'im. 496 H ə'ɪɜrn. 497 W ɛrhə'iz. 499 L bɪ'tl.

I': 500 W lə'ɪklɪ, C lə'ɪklɪ. 501 H wə'id. 502 WL və'iv, H lə'iv. 503 H lə'if. 504 H nə'if. 505 H wə'if. 506 WL ʊmən, H ʊmən. 507 H wɪmɪn-vək. — W hɑi. 508 H mə'il. 509 WH whə'ɪl, C wə'ɪl. 510 C mə'in. 511 H wə'in. 512 H spə'ɪɜr. 513 H wə'ɪɜr. 515 H wə'iz.

O- 519 W ʌvɜr, C ʊvɜr. 520 H bə'ou [see 643]. — W boord [bored]. 524 W wɜrl, C wɜrl, H wɜrld, [wɜrd'l not known]. — W dɹoot [throat]. O: — W ɡɔspɛl [gospel]. 525 C ʌf. 526 H kaaf. 531 W daatɜr, HC daatɜr. 534 W hool. 535 W vook. 536 WH ɡəuld. 537 W muuld. — W hoom [a holm island]. — W hɔlɜr [hollow]. 541 C wɔ'nt, H ʊnt. 546 WC vɜr. — ɔrtɹɛd [orchard]. 547 bʊɔrd, H bɔɜrd. 548 H fɔɜrd. 550 CH wɜrd. 551 WH stɑrm. 552 WH kaarn. 553 WH haarn. 554 H kra's.

O'- 558 H lɛk, lɛ'ɛk. 559 WH mə'ɪdɜr. 560 W skuu'l. 561 [L (blu)ʊth used], H blɪ'm. 562 H mə'ɪn. 564 H suun. 567 W tɛdɜr C.

O': 569 W bɔk, H bɔ'ɛk. 570 W tɔk, H tɔ'ɛk. 571 W ɡɔd. 572 W blɛd. 575 H stɪ'ɛd. 576 W whɛnzdi. 579 WH ɛnɛf. 586 WH duu [ɪdoo'nt, C dɔ'nt don't]. 587 W ɛ'dan. 588 WC nuun, H nɪ'ɛn. 589 H spɪ'ɛn. 590 H flɪ'ɛr. 591 H mə'ɪɜr. 592 W zɪɜr, C zɔɔ'r. 594 H bɔ'ɪt. 595 H flɪ'nt. 596 W rhuut.

U- 601 W vɔ'ul. 603 W ɛ'kɛmən [a-coming], H kɛmən. 604 W zɛmɜr. 605 W zɛn. 606 CW dɪɜr, H dɔɔɜr. U: 609 C vɔl, fuul. 610 H uul. 612 W zɛm. 614 H rhə'und. 616 W ɡrə'ʊn, C ɡrɛ'ʊn. 619 W və'ʊn, C vɛ'und. — W rhɔq [rung of a ladder]. 625 C tɛq. 627 WC zɛndi. 629 W sɛn, H zɛn. 630 W wɔn, H whɔn. — W hɛntsɛmən. 631 WC dhɛrzdi. 632 H ɛp. 633 H kɛp. — W vɔɜz [firs]. 634 WHC dɹuu. 639 WL dɛ'ʊst.

U'- 641 hə'u, C ə'u, [and] ə'ʊsɛmɛvɜr, C ʊzʊ'ɪvɜr [howsoever]. 642 [not used generally, except to children or when wrangling]. 643 nə'u, C nɛ'u, H nɛ'ou [the diphthong seemed to be made into a triphthong by beginning with the mouth open and the tongue in the position for ɔ and closing up to ʊ, this is what nɛ'ou implies: and so in all other cases; this triphthong was heard only from Mrs. Clay-Ker-Seymour]. 646 H bɛ'ou. 647 H ɛɔl. 648 H [ɛ'ouɜrn] used]. 650 H bɛ'out. U': 655 W tɔ'ul, H tɛ'oul [see 643]. 656 rhuum and H. 658 W dɔ'ʊn, C dɛ'ʊn, H dɛ'oun [see 643]. 663 W hɔ'ʊs, C ə'ʊs, H hɛ'ʊs [see 643]. 665 H mə'ʊs. 666 W hɛzbɛn, C ɛzbɛn. 667 W ə'ʊt. 671 H mə'outh. 672 H sɛ'outh.

Y- 673 W mɛtɪ. 674 W dɪd. 675 W dɹə'ɪ, H dɹhə'ɪ, C dɹɛ'ɪ. 676 H lə'ɪ. 679 W tɪɛtɪ, H tɹɛtɪ. 680 H bɛzi. 682 WH lɪ'l, C lɪ'tl. Y: 684 H bɹhɪ'dɪ. 685 W rɛdɪ, H rhɪ'dɪ. 686 H bə'i. 687 H flə'it. 688 W sɪtɪ. 693 H sɛn. 696 WH bɛrth. 698 WH mɛrth. 699 W rhə'it. 700 uus, H wɛs. — vɛz vɛz'n [furze]. 701 WL vɛst. 704 W vɪks'n [female fox]. Y- 705 WH skə'ɪ. 706 WH whə'ɪ, C wə'ɪ. 707 W thɛrtɪn. 708 H hɔ'ɪr. Y': 709 H lə'ɪr. 711 WH lə'ɪs. 712 H mə'ɪs.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 H lɛd. 718 W tɹɪd. — W bɑ'ɪl [bail or bucket]. — rɑ'ɪl [a rail]. — dɹɑ'ɪl [the drail or iron for hitching on the horses to a plough]. — :kɑ'ɪn [Cain]. 725 zɪl. 726 tɑk, C taak. — H shɪrham. 732 W hɑ'p'md. — W haarl, haard'l, hɑ'rel [to hurl, entangle]. — W klɑ'ps [clast]. 737 C mɪet, H [not used, replaced by (mɪ zɛn) even when addressing an old man]. — W dʒɛ [jaw].

E. — W kɹɪk [to creak]. — W tɪl [a teal]. 744 H mɛz'lz. 745 W tʃɛt. — W pɪt [peat]. 746 W brɪdh. 747 H ɪndɛvɜr. 748 flɪdɪd.

— W AAVER whelem [overwhelm]. 749 H lhift. 750 WL ba'g, H bæg.
 — WL pa'g [peg]. 752 fretvul [fretful], C v)vret'n [a fretting].
 I. and Y. — W :rhitjed [Richard]. — W smœ'iel [a smile]. 758 H
 gærl. — W tũærd'l, tũærl [twirl].
 O. 761 L lœud, H lœud. 765 W :dɔpn, C :dɔpn. 767 WL ná'is, H næ'iz.
 776 W gud bū'oi, C gud bū'oi. 778 W avúærd. 781 C bodhæ. 791 W
 bū'oi, C bū'oi, H bói.
 U. 797 W skũiki, C skœ'i'kin. 798 W kũææ, C kœ'e'r. 799 L [(pool)
 used]. 801 and 802 rhæm. 804 DRæqk'q, C DRæqk'n, H DRHæqkæn. — W
 kœrl, kœrd'l, kœrl [curl]. — W pœrl, pœrd'l, pœrl [purl]. 808 H pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W fies, H faa's. 811 W plies, H plaa's [pl. (plaa's'n) not heard].
 814 W mies'n. — W bá'iel [bail in law]. — W má'iel, [a mail or bag].
 — W pá'il [pail]. — W vlá'il [flail]. 819 H rhaa'dj. 820 W gá'i. 821
 W dí'ai. 822 W mái. 823 W bá. — W pá'i [pay]. 824 W tje'e'r. 826
 W iig'l. 827 W iiger. — W trá'il [to trail]. — W rhiim. 829 gá'in.
 830 H tráin. — W á'ier [air]. 832 W má'ier. 833 H péæ. 835
 W riiz'n, H rheez'n. 836 W siiz'n, H siiz'n. 837 W liish. 838 W
 triit. — W píel [pale]. 841 H tjaas. 847 H deendper. 849 H streendper.
 — W kíen [cane]. 850 L deens, H daans. 851 H aant. — píper [paper].
 — W djá'iel [gaol]. 852 H eepær. — W giærd'n [garden]. — W
 tjærm [charm]. — W kíærd [card]. 857 L kíes, H kaa's. 858 H braa's.
 859 H tjaas. 862 W síef, C sí'i. 864 C bikas. 865 H faa'lt. 866 H píuær.
 — W stá'i [stay].

E.. 867 WC tti. 868 WH djá'i. 869 W viil, H víiel. — W siil
 [to seal]. 874 W rhá'in, H rheen. — W pá'int [paint]. 875 H fáint.
 — W píil [peal of bells]. 881 sæs. 885 W væri. 886 H fræ'i'r. 887
 H klærdj. — H tærb'l [terrible, extremely]. — væs [verse]. 888 W sa'rtæn,
 C sært'n. 889 siis. 890 W biæst, C bi's [H pl. biæstesiz]. 891 H fi'st.
 894 WH disiiv. 895 WH risiiv. 896 biivær.

I.. and Y.. 899 W niis. 900 H prái. — W nini [ninny]. 904 HW
 væ'iet. 905 rhæ'i'et. — W æ'il [isle]. 909 W briiz. 910 H djæ'ist.
 912 H rhæ'is.

O.. 917 H rhoog. 920 W pũæ'int, C pũoint. 922 H bashel. 924 W
 tjá'is, H tjæ'is. 925 W vá'is, H væ'is. 926 W spũæ'il, H spáil. 929 W
 kœukæm. 930 H læ'in. — W fũoos [force]. 938 WCH karær. 939
 W klæus, C klu's. 940 W kúut, wæstket [waistcoat], C kuu't, H kœ'et. 941
 C fuu'l. 942 W bætper. 947 būæ'il, C bæ'il, H báil. — W tũæ'il [to toil].
 950 W zapær C. 955 W dæ'uts C. — W kraust [crust]. — W ræ'ut
 [rut, route]. 957 H emplái. 959 W kœnvá'i.

U.. 961 H graul. — W wá'it [wait]. 963 H kwæ'i'et. 965 H áil.
 968 W æ'istær. 969 HC shuu'r. 970 djist.

WESTERN DO.

A few words from Whitchurch Canoncorum, noted by N. W. Wyer, Esq.,
 originally written in Glossic. With the exception of (kuut) cut, the words
 are unimportant, but they serve to continue the Dorset dialect up to the
 Axe-Yarty form, p. 87.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 makin [making]. 14 draad [drawed=drew]. 17 lau. A'- 67
 góon. A': 110 nat. 122 noon. 124 stóon.

Æ- 142 snáil, sneel, sneel. — pruti [pretty]. Æ: 166 máaid.
 — hapsiz [hasps]. 173 waaazs. Æ': 209 naræwæn [never a one].
 214 nedhær.

E- 243 plái. 251 meet. E: 269 mize'l. EA: 324 æ'it. 326 woold,
 wol, wool. 338 kaal. 346 gjet, gjeet, gjeet. EA'- 347 hid. EA':
 359 neæber, néber. 363 shiip [cheap]. 371 straa. EO: — shart [short].
 EO'- 411 drii.

I- — in [hine, him acc. also for hit (ái ken put in iin) I can put it in].
 — búet [bit]. I: 467 wiild. — iin [in]. — viniid [mouldy]. I'-
 490 báimbái [by and bye]. 494 táiemz. — shiin [shíne]. — sá'ivz
 [scythes]. I': 502 vā'iv. — haa, hái, hee, haagh, háai [hay].
 O- — smóuk [smoke]. 519 over, aver. O: tæp [top]. 551 staarm.
 — marnin [morning].
 U- 606 dor'. U: — wunerfól [wonderful]. 631 verzdee. 632 æp æp.
 634 dru. Y: — hiil [hill]. — thiien [thin].

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gærl.

O. — stakiq [stocking]. — kark [cork].

U. — kuut [cut].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — æktā'iv. — flail [flail]. — plaag [plague]. 820 gee [bright].
 822 máiv. — páai [pay]. 845 anshint.

E.. 885 vāri. — terēb'l [terrible]. — saarvin [serving].

I. and Y.. 900 tē prāi'i.

O.. — moov [move].

VAR. V. THE LAND OF UTCH FOR I, SM.

The Elizabethan English writers, when they want to indicate a S. peasant, continually use *ich*, *cham* = *ich am*, *chill* = *ich will*, *chud* = *ich would* (see *suprà*, Part I. p. 293 *b*, *c*). It is also found in D 1, p. 30*d*. For the existence of this form of the personal pronoun I, search was made in Sm., and at last it was found as (ætj ætjii) in a very small district, which I have therefore called 'the Land of Uteh.' Through Prince L.-L. Bonaparte and the late Mr. Pulman, I found that *uteh* was certainly used in Montacute (:mā'n/kiú), (4 w-by-n. Yeovil, Sm.), and I was fortunate enough to be directed to Mr. George Mitchell, then a vestryman of Kensington, marble and stone mason, of 166, Brompton Road, S.W., with "manufactories in Belgium, France, Italy, and Walton Street, Brompton, estab. 1851," but a native of Montacute, and unable to read or write till he was 23 years old, together with Mr. Stephen Price, son of a dissenting minister and schoolmaster at Yeovil, Sm., where he was born, but who had lived at Montacute from 10 years old, and had acted formerly as Mr. Mitchell's secretary. On 17 Aug. 1880, both of them came to my house and gave me the following information. The Land of Uteh occupied the angular space between the two railways which have their vertex at Yeovil, Sm., on the b. of Do. The following villages were named as using *uteh*, proceeding from Yeovil to the w., all distances measured from Yeovil Station. East Coker 2 ssw., East Chinnock 3 sw., Mid and West Chinnock 5 wsw., Merriott 7 wsw., Chisselborough 5 w-by-s., Montacute 4 w-by-n., Martock 6 nw., Norton 5 w., South Petherton 7 w-by-n., and possibly Kingsbury 8 nw. In the same region (æs) is also employed, which Mr. Price thought to be a corruption of (ætj); (iis) was not known except as meaning *yes*.

There was no knowledge of *ice* (æ'is?) mentioned by Jennings in his Glossary as "common." The *ice* in Shakspeare's King Lear 4, 6, 240 *ice try*, one of Edgar's Kentish speeches, is probably *I shall*, for which it is not an uncommon abbreviation.

Mr. Price gave me the following joke on (ætj) which passes current in the district. In the Montacute dt. however neither he nor Mr. Mitchell used (ætj) at all. Another version of this joke was given by Miss Ham, a native of Sm., in a letter (dated Clifton, 30 Jan. 1825) addressed to Jennings, who prints it in his glossary; this I interline in her orthography.

bred'n tpiiz, ætj'ev'e'ad
bread and cheese, 'c' have a had

'n)wot ætj'a'd, ætj'ev'e'eet
that 'c' had, 'c' have a eat

'n muur etj'u'd, if ætj) ed'e'e'd
more 'ch wou'd, 'c' had it

Mr. Price's version seems more trustworthy and is certainly more intelligible. Observe the S. past part. (e'ad, e'ect' = a-had, a-eaten. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard (ætji) from a man of 94 at Cannington (3 nw. Bridgewater, Sm.).

MONTACUTE, SM., dt.

Pal. by AJE. from dict. of Messrs. Mitchell and Price.

1. zuu æ'i de)zee, mæn, dhii də)zii næ'u dhet æ'i bi æ'i't ebə'ut
dhik lɔ'l mee'id ekə'min vrəm dhik) dheer skuul.

2. ær'z e'gwē'e'in dæ'un dhe rhoo'd dheer druu dhe rhəd gjet
ən dhe lef an zæ'id e dhe wái.

3. shuu'r enæ'f dhe tpiil hav egə'n stree'it ap tɛ dhe doovə e
dhe rəq hæ'us,

4. wær ær'l ma)bi væ'ind dhik dræqkɪn def skramd tuu'd bi)dhe
neem e :təməs.

5. æs də aal noo)n veri wel.

6. uu'nt dhe woold tɔp zuun teetj shii nɔt tɛ duu it egii'n,
puu'r dhiq!

7. lək'i! id)'n it truʊ?

Notes.

1. *I* (æ'i) analysis adopted with hesitation. I seemed often to hear (æ'i) and it may have been (æ'i).—*say* (zái) also used.—*mates* (mee'its) according to Price, scarcely used, (sooz) hardly known, (tɔps) common.—*now*, Price said (niæ'u, diæ'un), but Mitchell would not hear of it; the diphthong was often (æ'u) to my hearing, and may have been (æ'u).—*right*, a strong tendency to

(rh) initial in all cases of *r*.—*that*, Barnes's distinctions of (dhiez, dhik). = *received* this, that, "personal," that is, for things having a definite shape, and (dhis, dhat) "impersonal," for other things (Dorset Grammar, p.21), was recognised, although never thought of before.—*maid*, (mee'id, mææ'id) both said at times, but (má'id) was not admitted; no distinction in meaning

recognised between *maid* and *girl* (gærl), which was (wentj), not an insulting term.—*come* ultimately sounded (kom), but I thought (kam) was meant.—*thick there*, (JEND'R, JÆND'R, also used, but more Do.

2. *her's*, always (æR) before (z), but (shii bi) used.—*road*, the (Rh) distinct, but a difference of opinion about (oo, óov, úuv), (Rhúuvd) seems to me most correct, and Price said it would be used by the old people.—*there*, to say (dhæR) would be "bad."—*red*, (hæRD) not admitted.—*gate*, (gjet) distinct, (giæt, giæt) not admitted.—*left*, (lif) also used.—*left hand* (left hand) also said, the vowel (a) throughout varied as (ah, a), but did not reach (æ); it was generally my (a).

3. *child*, (tjil) always used by old people, (tjæ'ild) "not so natural."—*gone*, (egwón) also used.—*straight*, (STRæ'it STRáit) also used.—*door*, (dúuvæR) not used in Montacute.—*wrong* (ræq) has been used.

4. *maybe*, *chance* is not used.—

drunken, there was a difference of opinion, as to ('n, in, 'q) in the last syllable.—*deaf*, (dif) not used, M. preferred (v æRD v iæRin túuvd) a hard of hearing toad, but P. said (v fælæR v z æRD v iæRin) a fellow as is hard of hearing, would be more regular.—*name*, (NEEM) for (neem) was emphatic, (niem) was not admitted.—*Thomas* = (:tómæs) at Montacute, but (:támæs) at Bradford (3 wsw. Taunton, Sm.) in D 10.

6. *won't*, (wænt) also used.—*old chap* (woold vælæR) also used, with (v) after (d) but (fælæR) with (f) is the common form.—*teach*, this word is used, and not (læRN) as I expected; in Sunday schools (*teetjæR*) is always used.

Notes on other words, dictated by the same: (s)noo, (s)jiaR) doest thou know? doest thou hear? Alphabet, (ææ bii sii dii éei ef dji ætj diæ kææ æl em en oo pii kiú æR es tii jiú vii dæb'L-JU eks wæ'i zad æmpas-sii). Names of places: Montacute (:mænikú), Tintinhull (6 se. Langport, Sm.) (:ti'qo).

MONTACUTE, SM., cwl.

From dict. of Mr. George Mitchell, native, and Mr. Stephen Price, as above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 hav. 21 NEEM [not (niem)]. A: 43 an. 51 mæn. A: or O: 58 vrom. 64 ræq. A'- 73 zuu. 76 tuu'd. 84 muur. 94 noo. A': 104 rhood, rhóovd, rhúuvd [rhúu'd, from older people]. 110 not. 119 egwæe'in egwón egón, [a-going, gone].

Æ- 144 egii n. Æ: 166 mee'id mæe'id [not (máid)]. 177 dhæt [weak form]. 179 wot. Æ'- 183 tectj. 197 tjiz. Æ': 223 dheer. 224 wæR.

E- 231 dhæ [weak form]. — vjæet [have eaten]. E: 261 zee, zái. 262 wái. 265 STREE'it. 266 wel.

EA- 326 woold. 335 aal. 346 gjet. EA': 352 rhed. 353 bred. 355 def [not (dæi), but æRD v ii'rín hard of hearing is used]. 364 tjap.

EO'- 412 shii. EO': 427 bi. 428 zii. 436 truu.

I- — en 'n [him, acc. form]. 447 æR [her, for she]. I: 452 æ'i æ'i, ætj, ætjii. 459 ræ'it rhæ'it. 467 tjil. 477 væ'ind. 480 dhæq. 482 id'n [is'nt]. 484 dhæz [this, for a shaped object]. I'- 490 bi [weak]. 492 zæ'id.

O: 525 v [weak form]. 538 ud. 541 uu'nt want. 543 on. O'- 556 tæ [weak form]. 558 lks,i [lookest thee?]. 560 skuul. 564 zuun. O': 579 vnaef. 586 duu.

U- 603 vko'min [a-coming]. 606 doovæR. U: 632 æp. 634 druU. U'- 642 [dhii, used]. 643 næ'u næ'u næ'u, næ'u. 650 vba'ut. U': 658 dæ'um, dæ'um [see 643]. 662 æs. 663 hæ'us.

Y- 682 lid'L.

II. ENGLISH.

E. 749 lif læf left. I. and Y. — dhik (that, for a shaped object). O. 770 tómæs [(:támæs) at Bradford in D 10]. U. 804 draqkin, —k'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 866 puur. E.. 885 veri. U.. 969 shuu'R.

VAR. vi. THE SOUTH WESTERN OR SM. FORM.

The late Mr. G. P. R. Pulman made a certain small portion of Sm., Dv., and Do., his own dialect ground. He called it the Axe-Yarty district in his "*Rustic Sketches*" (3rd ed. 1871) and his "*Book of the Axe*," because it is watered by the rivers Axe and Yarty, the latter flowing from n. to s. and joining the former about Axminster, Dv.

It forms a little subdistrict, which is not very clearly defined, except on the w. Beginning at the mouth of the Axe, it follows the w. b. of D 4 through Dv. to Buckland St. Mary, Sm. (7 sse.Taunton), and then turns e. to the n. of Yeovil, passing which it turns suddenly s. between Yeovil and Sherborne (5 e.Yeovil), in Do. and passes sw. between Mosterton (8 n-by-e.Bridport) and Beaminster (5 n.Bridport) to the sea just s. of Charnmouth (6 w.Bridport). This district was constantly perambulated by Mr. Pulman, who lived at Crewkerne, Sm., for fishing and archaeological purposes, and thus he learned to give great weight to a few peculiarities which do not seem to have the importance he attributed to them. Thus he distinguishes the district from the rest of Do. by its not having (uun, læg læg, uup) one, leg, up, which he spells *oone*, *lag* or *laig*, and *oap*, of which Barnes gives (la'g, uun), but (uup) has not been found in any part of Do., the nearest approach to it being Mr. Wyer's (kuut) cut (p. 84, l. 13). Mr. P. seems, from his communications to me, to have heard the word specially from an ostler at Henstridge, Sm. (11 ene.Yeovil); and this may have been in saying (kûp) come up to horses, as I heard a farm labourer say in Bu. In going through the list of "chief peculiarities" of the district in *Rustic Sketches*, p. xxxiii, I find they represent general Sm. and have been localised in this district apparently because Mr. P. was familiar with it and wished to confine his information to the places to which he knew it applied. As I give specimens of this general dialect, I omit Mr. P.'s list of peculiarities.

Mr. Pulman was kind enough to give me a es. and dt. for the Axe-Yarty district and es. professedly for Merriott in the Land of Uteh, Var. v., which was only 3 m. from his residence at Crewkerne (19 sse.Bridgwater). This Merriott es. was full of *uteh*, whereas the dt. given me from Montacute (p. 85) had none. All three were written in the orthography adopted in his *Rustic Sketches*, and unfortunately Mr. Pulman died (3rd Feb. 1880) before I was able to go over these versions with him. In this case I think it better to omit all three than merely to give my own conjectures. But Mr. P. had previously written me a wl. for Merriott which I had the advantage of correcting from his dict. (Nov. 1877), and this follows. Singularly enough it contains no (atj) at all. Moreover Mr. P. said that in Merriott the final (r) became a mere vowel, while at Crewkerne it was distinct. In dictating, however, he pron. a genuine (r), as I also heard from Montacute. He also said that the intonation at Merriott was almost unintelligible beyond the parish itself. There was nothing of this in his dictation. Hence I attribute his wl. to the whole of his district, and thence practically to the whole of Sm., from which he gave no lines of demarcation.

AXE-YARTY cwl.

Representing e.Sm. generally, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of G. P. R. Pulman, author of *Rustic Sketches*.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tek. 5 mek. 6 meed. 8 hev. 12 zaa^l. 13 naa^l. 14 draa^l. 17 laa^l. 18 kek. 20 liem. 21 niem. 22 tiem. 23 siem. 24 shem. 33 ['zunder sooner, used]. 34 las. 37 klaa^l. A: 39 [kæm, bsd]. 40 kwem. 41 tha'qk^l. 43 an. 46 ka'n^l. 48 ['ziqd] used. 54 want. 55 eshez [Crewkerne ashez]. 56 weesh. 57 a's. A: or O: 63 draq. 65 zoq. 66 dhaq.

A'- 67 guu. 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 zoo. 74 tuu. 75 streek. 76 too'd. 77 lard. 80 o'ledee. 81 lien. 84 muur. 86 wats. 87 tlooz. 89 buu'th. 91 moo. 95 droo. 96 zoo. A': 101 wak. 102 aks. 107 loov. 111 aaft. 113 wul. 115 wem. 118 bóovn. 122 nóovn. 123 naart. 124 stóovn. 125 óni. 126 war. 127 húuvers. 130 bóovt. 134 wath. 135 klaa'th.

Æ- 138 vâ'dher [sometimes with f]. 140 há'il. 141 ná'il. 142 sná il. 143 tá'il. 144 egen. 146 máa'ind. 148 fa'êr. 150 leest. 152 waader. 153 za'turdi. — parti [pretty]. Æ: 155 dha'ti. — stadi [steady]. 158 a'êr. 160 ig. 161 dee. 163 lai. 164 [mid] used. 165 zed. 166 máa'id. 168 tá'lar. 169 wen. 170 har'is. 172 gra's. 173 wiz, wöz [strong]. 181 pal'th. Æ'- 182 see. 183 teetj. 185 reed. 187 lef. 189 wái. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 mi'nê. 196 weer. 199 bleek. 200 weet. 202 jet. Æ': — mied [mead, meadow]. 205 dred. 207 niild. 213 edher. 215 [teetj] used. — jel [eel]. 217 eetj. 218 ship. 219 sleep. 221 fiêr. 223 dheer. 224 weer. 226 maast. 228 zwet. 230 fa't.

E- 233 speak. 239 sâ'il. 241 rá'in. 243 plói. 250 zweer. 252 kid'l. 253 nâ'tl. E: 260 zá'i [rhymes 262]. 262 wá'i. 265 strææ'it. 270 belis [bellows]. 273 meen. 280 leb'n. 281 liqkth. 282 striqkth. — gærn [grin]. 283 mæri. 284 dra'sh. 285 kriis. E'- 296 bliiv. 300 kip. 301 hær. 303 swit [not (i)]. E': 306 hæ'ith. 311 teen. 312 hær. 314 jêrd. 315 vit [not (i)]. 316 neks.

EA- 319 gææp. EA: 321 [(zid) used]. 322 laf. 324 eet. 325 wææk. 326 wæl. 328 kûæld. 300 hool. 331 zwoold. 332 twald. 333 kææv. 335 æel [sometimes]. 336 vool. 337 wøl. 343 wæærm. 346 get.

EA'- 347 heed. 349 viú. EA': 351 lîd. 352 ærd. 355 dif. 358 nâ'ist. 361 been. 366 gart. 367 dret. 370 raa^l. 371 straa^l.

EI- 372 eê'i. 373 ee. 375 ráiz. 376 bóit. EI: 377 steek. 378 week.

EO- 383 zeb'n. EO: 388 m'lk. 390 shuud. 393 biê'nd. 402 larn. 403 var. 406 a'th [rhymes 696 and 698]. 407 vard'n. 498 [nood, used].

EO'- 411 drii. 413 div'l. 414 vla'i. 417 tjaa. 420 va'ur. 421 varti. EO': 425 lât [instead of lât this exceptional pronunciation prevails for 3 or 4 miles from Crewkerne 19 sse. Bridgewater. It is properly Do.] 428 zei. 430 fêrnd. 433 brist. 434 biit.

EY- 438 da'i. EY: 439 tærst.

I- 440 wik. 441 ziiiv. 442 iiivi. 443 vræ'idi. 449 git. 451 zoo. I: 452 æ'i. 460 wáit. 465 zitj. 466 tjiiild. 467 wiild. 474 ræ'in. 477 va'in. 478 græ'in. 481 viqger. — hærn [run]. 484 dhi'z. — hærsh [a rush]. 485 dhis'l. 487 yesdee. 488 it.

I'- [is generally (æ'i)]. 496 æ'ir. 499 bir'l. I': is generally (æ'i). 502 va'iv. 504 nê'iv. 505 wa'iv. 506 æmen. 507 wimin. — lán [line, Crewkerne exceptional pr., otherwise (læ'in)]. 513 wa'ir.

O- 521 vool. 522 oop. 524 wêrd'l. O: 531 dææter. 538 uud. — ærtjît [orchard]. 547 buurd. 549 wêrd. 551 starm. 552 kærn. 553 hærn. O'- 559 maadher. 564 zuun. 565 naaz. O': 592 [zweerd] used. 593 mæs.

U- 601 va'ul. 602 zæ'u. 605 sin. U: 609 vuu'l. 610 uu'l. 611 bælík. 612 zam. 615 pæ'un. 619 va'm. 620 græ'on. 621 ['winded used]. 629 sin [see 605]. 630 [wind used]. 631 dhazdi. 634 druun. 636 vârdêr.

U'- 640 ka'u. 646 bæ'wi. 652 kuud. U': 670 buu.

Y- 674 did ded. 675 DRÆ'u. 682 lid'L. Y: 684 bærdj. 685 ærdj. 690 kæ'in. 691 mæ'in. 696 be'th [I think I heard [be'ɹth]. 698 me'th [rhymes 696]. 700 wæs. 701 fæst. — darsh [a thrush]. Y- 707 dhærtin. Y: 709 væ'ir [but see 772].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 725 zæel. E. 744 meez'lz. 745 tjeet. 747 indiver. 751 piert. I. and Y. — ærtpit [Richard]. 755 vilbød. O. 761 u'd. 772 bænfæ'ir [but see 709]. 773 dæqki. 778 evuurd. 779 arts. 790 gæ'und. 791 bwói. U. — kærd'lz [curls]. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jæb'l. 818 æædj. 822 mææ'i. 824 tjer. 827 eeger. 828 eegi. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 838 treet. 840 tjermer. 842 pla'ntj [a flooring, not a single plank]. 845 a'nshent. 847 da'ndjer. 848 tja'ndj. 849 stra'ndjer. 852 æp'rn. 853 bargin. 855 kart. — skes [scarce]. 856 peert. 862 sæef. 864 kaaZ. 865 faat.

E.. 867 tee. 868 djææ'i. 869 veel. 874 ráain. 878 sæleri. 879 feemeel. 883 dændla'ient. 888 sart'n. 890 beest biest [s. and pl. alike]. 891 teest. 892 nevi. 894 duseev. 895 reseev.

I.. and Y.. — 904 læ'iant [lion]. 910 dja'ist.

O.. 916 æ'injen. 920 pæoint. 923* mæóisti. 926 spæoil. 929 kja'ukemær. 938 kærner. 940 kæuut. 942 buutjer. 943 tåtj. 946 mæóil. 947 bæóil. 950 sæper. 952 kuus [coarse]. 954 kashin.

U.. 967 suut. 969 siúer. 970 djist.

For the remainder of e.Sm. (excluding D 10), JGG. made a complete wl., from the dict. of a native of Wincanton (13 ne.Yeovil), who, however, had resided long in Cu. After many trials and much correspondence, I reluctantly found his memory of the dialect not sufficiently accurate to be accepted in its details. The other contributions I have received were in io., but they are quite sufficient to shew that at Langport, Castle Carey (16 ene.Langport) and Wedmore (7 w-by-n.Wells), the pronunciation differs insensibly from the Axe-Yarty; while at Combe Down (2 s.Bath) it seems indistinguishable from Wl. The following examples from Wedmore shew the nature of the dialect in the m. of e.Sm.

WEDMORE, SM. (18 ssw.Bristol).

Specimens sent by Mr. C. A. Homfray, Manor House, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.

1. (míester, æ'i biént e-gwáin druu dhe mak.) master, I be-not a-going through the muck.
2. (tæ'in dhe dúer, ut?) shut the door, wilt?
3. (duus)en dhi naa dhæk dhær hæs?) dost-not thou know that there horse?
4. (cas)en hæ'ir?) canst-not hear.
5. (dhe læm)z e-væ'ir.) the chimney's on fire [I only knew *lum* as a N. or L. word].
6. (dhe gæækomí túed ev e hæs e gælíd æ'i, :gud)naa.) this frolicsome toad of a horse has frightened me, God-knows. [I do not know the word 'gaacomey' so spelled, see No. 18.]

7. (gii 'a'i dhw slá'is.) give me the fire-pan [or fire-shovel].
8. (dhw bæki kɾɪtʃ ɛz ɒn dhw klævi-tæk.) the tobacco jar is on the mantel-piece. [The last word is given as *clavel-tack* in Wright.]
9. (hæst dhi lukt in dhw kræk tɜ zii if dhw teetiz bi dæn?) hast thou looked in the pot to see if the potatoes be done?
10. (vædhwɜr jɪv)nt kəm whóvəm it.) father is)not come home yet. [I doubt (wh)].
11. (bæ'i ɛnə'n.) by and bye.
12. (dhii'z naa dhæt s'lɛ'k.) thou) dost know that, (it) is like [probably].
13. (t)wær dhi zɪstɜr, (t)wærd)ɛn :zæl.) it)were thy sister, it)were) not Sall.
14. (ɛ'i'l zii if shæd)ɛn duu ɛt; ɛt)ɛn?) I'll see if (thou) shalt)not do it; wilt)not?
15. (iiz, ɛ'i ul, mææ-bi.) yes, I will, may-be.
16. (wæ'i duus)ɛn dɒf dhi klaadz ɛn mɛnd dhɪk lɪrɒp?) why dost not doff (take off) thy clothes and mend this tear.
17. (laa! wæt ɛ ləmper!) law! what a stumble [or noise of falling, also (ləmber)].
18. (gɪt ʌp, ji dræækɒmɪ aald gæækɛm.) get up you stupid old frolicker [to a horse, but the words 'dracomey, gacome' are unknown].
19. (duu)ɛnt i tææk ɒn zoo, zoos.) don't ye take on [trouble yourselves] so, companions.

WORDLE (:WÆR'L, :WÆRD'L), 16 w.Bath, cwl.

Written by Rev. W. F. Rose, vicar in io. and subsequently pal. by AJE., serves to show how the dialect is preserved to the Bristol Channel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3. biék. 5 miék. 6 míed. 8 eev. 14 draa. — stag [stack]. 21 niem. 22 tiem. 23 siem, seem. 24 shiem. 25 mien. 28 iier. 32 biédh. 33 reedhwɜr. A: 43 han. 44 lan. A'- 77 lard. 81 lien. 84 múer. 93 tɜ snooji. 95 droo. A': 101 wok. 104 róed. 128 dhóez. 130 boot. Æ- — jek [ache]. — lædhwɜr [ladder]. — blædhwɜr [bladder]. 144 egien. 146 meen. 149 bliez. 150 lies. 152 waader. — pærti [pretty]. Æ: 155 dhɛti. 166 míed [probably confused with *made*]. 170 hærest. 172 grææs. 181 pææth. Æ'- — hærði [ready]. 187 lɛf. 192 míen. 193 klíen. 200 wíet. Æ': — bliit [bleak]. 207 mid'l. — jɛl [eel]. 218 ship. 224 wíer. E- — liit [leak]. 248 míer. 252 kit'l. E: 261 zee. 284 dræsh. E'- 298 viil. 301 hæ'ir. EA: 326 ool. 327 bool. 333 keef. 334 heef. 335 æel. 336 vææl. 342 jarm. 343 warm. 346 gért. EA'- 347 hiid. EA': 355 diif. 363 tɪp. 366 gært. EI: 378 wíek. EO- 383 zév'n. 385 bine'th. EO: — smert [smart]. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 drii. EO': 423 dhæ'i. 428 zii. I: 477 vɛ'ín. — behæ'i'n [behind]. 485 dis'l. I'- — strík [strike]. I': 502 vɛ'iv. O: 534 haal. 547 búerd. 551 starm. 552 karn. 553 harn. 554 kraas. O'- 564 zuunder [sooner]. O': 579 inɔ'u. U- 605 zon. U: 610 ul. 612 zam. 629 zan. 631 dhæzdi. 634 dru. 635 with.

Y- — piil [pillow]. 682 lid'l. Y: 685 rhadj. 686 bardj. 691
ma'in. 700 was. 701 fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 triéd. 741 miéz. E. — zim [seem]. O. — soog [soak].
— lart [a loft]. — poog [poke]. U. — küid [cud, compare a *quid* of
tobacco]. 805 krædz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 plies. — fækot [faggot]. 833 píer. — mænder [manner].
852 jeepern. — kar [carry]. — kûar [quarry]. E.. 888 sart'n. —
sar [serve]. 890 bies. I.. and Y.. — harver [river]. O.. 938
karnér. U.. — stæd [study].

D 5 = e.MS. = eastern Mid Southern.

Boundaries. Beginning at the w. b. of Ox. just opposite Moreton-on-Marsh (19 e.Tewkesbury) and go along the w. b. of Ox. and then of Be. as far as Hungerford (24 w.-by-s.Reading) and then continue in a n. to s. line through Ha. passing just w. of Andover, to Nursling at the n. point of Southampton Water and then to the sea by Lymington (10 e.Christchurch). Cross the Solent to the nw. corner of Wi. (and not just e. of it as appears on the map). Run along the coast of Wi. to the ne. corner of it. Then again cross the sea to Selsey Bill, s.Ss. and continue along the s. coast of Ss. to the mouth of the R. Adur. Then sweep ne. through m.Ss., e. of Bolney (8 se.Horsham) and w. of Cuckfield (9 ese.Horsham) through East Grinstead (15 ene.Horsham). Then pass through the extreme se. corner of Sr. and proceed in a ne. direction to Knockholt (14 s.Woolwich), which is a conjectural point from which no information has been obtained. Dialect speaking now ceases on approaching D 8 in the Metropolitan Area, but we may sweep sw. w. and nw. through n.Sr. keeping probably s. of Croydon and Leatherhead (12 ne.Guildford), n. of Stoke (1 n.Guildford), w. of Sandhurst (10 se.Reading) to Reading. Then proceed along the w. b. of Ox. to the projection of Be. into Ox., which cut off, passing s. of Cumnor (3 wsw.Oxford) and n. of Appleton (5 sw.Oxford). Then enter Ox. and pass w. of Ensham (4 nw.Oxford) and of Handborough (6 nw.Oxford) and then go nearly n. to the e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton (12 nw. and 17 nnw.Oxford) to a point just e. of Moreton-on-Marsh, the starting-point, to which proceed.

Much of this line is very uncertain for at least a few miles on each side of it. The division between Be. and Ox. is altogether uncertain. The sweep through n.Sr. may be considered almost conjectural, so great was the difficulty of obtaining any satisfactory evidence of native dialect. The population is shifting and seldom native. But Stoke (1 n.Guildford) was well marked. The e. b. through Ke. presented insuperable difficulties, but the line between the mouth of the Adur and East Grinstead is tolerably clearly defined. If in the most uncertain parts the line be taken 5 to at most 10 miles wide, it may be accepted as a very fair boundary.

Area. Most of Ha. and all Wi., much of Be., s.Sr. and w.Ss., and a small portion of w.Ox.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List for the following places where prefixed marks show * vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in so., ° in io.

Be. °Bucklebury, °Cholsey, °Coleshill, °Denchworth, °East Hendred, ||Hampstead Norris, °Kintbury, °Shefford, ||Stanford in the Vale, ||Steventon, °Streatley, °Wantage.

Ha. || Andover, °Corhampton, °East Stratton, °West Stratton, *Winchester to Southampton.

Ke. No information.

Ox. °Alvescot, °Charlbury, °Chastleton, †Ducklington, †Leafield, †Lew, †Milton, 5 ||†Witney.

Sr. °Charlwood, °Elstead, °Ewhurst, °Godalming, °Godstone, °Haslemere, °Leatherhead, *°Ockley, *Stoke, °Weald of Sr.

Ss. °Bolney, °Compton, °Ertham, °Kirdford, °Twineham, °West Wittering, °Wisborough Green.

Wi. °Northwood, °Shorwell, °whole Isle.

The district is not so well represented as the last. The greater number of notes are meagre and imperfect. There were only three vv., from Winchester Ha., Ockley and Stoke Sr., a pal. transcription of part of a cs. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte from Hampstead Norris, Be., a pal. specimen and cwl. from Andover by Prof. Arnold Schröer, a few notes by TH. in Ox., and some in Glossic by Mrs. Parker in Be. and Ox. But these are sufficient to understand the notes of the other informants.

Character. The (r) remains generally quite distinct, the (z, v) for (s, f) initial die out eastward, the (ái) for ÆG, EG is uncertain, *I be* remains, but the *a-* before the past participle becomes lost. It will be most convenient to consider four varieties or forms, V i. w.Ox., V ii. Be., V iii. Ha. and Wi., and V iv. s.Sr. and w.Ss. There is no special information from the very small portion of Ke. involved, the dial. of which, being so near to the metropolitan area, is probably very slightly marked indeed, but does not shew the characteristics of D 9. These different varieties cannot be distinctly defined by any clear characters, but still there is some amount of local distinction.

VAR. i. Ox. FORM.

WITNEY, dt.

Originally written in gl. by Mrs. Angelina Parker, then pal. by TH. from her dict. and finally corrected by TH. from information obtained by him at Witney Sept. 1884. As the pronunciation of this district is thought very strange at Oxford, great pains have been taken to represent it correctly. See the following cwl. embracing words from Witney, Ducklington, and Leafield, another primitive place, all of which were well examined by TH. This form of D 5 shews the transition from D 4 very clearly. The reverted (r) was distinctly noticed by TH. after a vowel, but before a vowel he seems not to have felt its difference from common English (r, r.), and he also did not notice its assimilating effect on adjacent (t d n l), which is inevitable when (r) is used. But he noted how much more marked the reversion was in w. than in m. and s.Ox. I have therefore retained his notation. There is a great peculiarity in this district. As far s. as Witney there is a plentiful sprinkling of (u₂, o) in place of (a), but at Ducklington (:dæk'ltən only 1 s.Witney, this entirely ceases, (a) alone being heard. In other respects the dialect at Ducklington is identical with that at Witney. This shews that the incursion of (u) into the n. part of S. should not be considered to affect the dialect district. (See also D 4, Var. ii., Gl. Form, p. 60. The symbol (u₂), a variety of (u), is especially considered in the introduction to the M. div.)

1. só [sáu] ɔ'i sâi, meets, ʒə siz nə'u ez ɔ'i bi rə'it vba'ut dhat dʒər lɪt'l gʒərl [gʒal] ɛkə'mɪn frəm dʒu skuu'l jander.

2. ɛr'z ɛgwə'in [ɛgwè'in] də'un dʒu rood [ràud] dʒər [dʒər] θruu dʒu red gʒɛt [gʒɛ't] v'dʒu [an)dʒu] lɪft and sə'id v)dʒu wâi.

3. shûer enu₅f dhe tʃæ'i'l)z gʌn stráit u₅p tɛ)dhe dûer v)dhe rɔq' æ'us,

4. wɛr ær)l mwæst læ'ikli fæ'ind dhat dher' dru₅qk'n def' sriveld fele v)dhe neem e :tɔmɛs.

5. wɪ aal nooz [náuz] i veri [ʔ vari] wɛl.

6. wɛnt dhe ould [áuld] tʃap' sun lærn ær nat tɛ du)t vɛjɛn, pûer thiq'!

7. lak'! jent it tru?

WEST Ox. cwl.

From the following sources:

B. wn. by TH. from Mr. James Brain, native of Ducklington, aged 81.

M. words given in io. by Rev. W. D. Macray, rector of Ducklington, also chiefly taken from Mr. Brain, and pal. rather conjecturally by AJE.

L. Leafield, wn. by TH. from natives of 87, 84, and 74 years old.

W. Witney, wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 12 M saa. 14 M draa. 21 BLW neem. 23 BL seem. 24 M shem, shíem. 33 L reedher. 37 M thaa. A: 39 M [kəm used]. A: or O: 58 B írem, W íram. 64 BL rɔq', W rɔ'q. A'- 73 W sò saa. 81 L leen [so all his life, 84 years old]. 84 L mùer. 85 M suur. 86 W wats. 89 M bódh. 92 L náhu. A': 104 B rood, W rood, ràud. 115 BL oom. 118 W hwan. 124 M stō'en, stan. 130 M bō'et.

Æ- 138 LW faadher. Æ: 154 B bak'. 155 M thetʃ. 158 L aa'ter-nun. 161 B dái, LW dee. 171 W bārli. — L kjáht. Æ'- 192 L mœen. 197 L tʃiz. 200 LW weet. Æ': 223 L dhíer. 226 BW mwæst, M móest.

E- 233 B speak, dhe spɛks [they speaks], W speekín. 241 L reen, W ráin. — B líe:zin [leasing = gleaning], L leezín, líe:zin. 252 L kjät'l. E: 261 BW sái, L sái, sái [new form (sêi)]. — L leg [leg]. 262 WL wái wái'i, B wái wái. 265 L stre'it [old form (stráit)], W stráit. 266 W wɛl. — W fíld [field]. 276 W thiq'. 278 L wentʃ [used when young, now (gjár)]]. E'- 299 L gríin. E': 314 L îerd. EA- 319 M gíep. EA: 324 L áitiin, W áiti. 326 BW ould, W also áuld. 328 M kóuld. 329 M fóuld. 335 W aal. 346 W gjet, L gjet, M. giet. EA': 350 L dɛ'd. 352 W red. 355 W def. 359 náí'ber. — B bjɛ'm [beam]. 361 W bjæn. 363 L tʃap. 364 W tʃap. 371 B straa, L straa [old form (straa)]. EI- 373 L dhái, W dhái. EO- 383 W sev'm. EO: 394 W jander. 395 W jæq. 396 B wærk. 402 W lærn. EO'- 420 W fôer. 421 W fà'rti. EO': 428 W si. EY- 438 L dɛ'i.

I- 440 B wik. 446 nɔ'in. — W pee:z [pease]. I: 452 W ə'i. 458 nɔ'it. 459 BW rɔ'it. 465 sittʃ. 466 B tʃæ'ild. 468 B tʃældern. 477 W fæ'ind. 488 B jít. I'- 492 W sá'id. 494 L tɔ'im. I': 500 B læ'kli.

O- — L dráp [drop]. 524 B wɛrld. O: 531 BL daa'ter, W daater. 538 B ud. 543 BLW an'. — W krap: [crops]. 551 L stá'rm. — B às' [horse]. O'- 559 W madher. 560 W skuul. 562 B muun. 564 B sun. 568 W bradher. O': 578 L plá'u. 579 W un₅t. 586 L dwant [don't].

U- — L úd [wood]. 603 B kəm, W ɛkəmín. 604 W su₅mer. 605 B sɛ'n, L sù₅n, W sɛ'n. 606 BW dûer. U: 612 W su₅m, som. 613 L dru₅qk. 619 L fu₅n. 629 B sɛn' [compare 605], W su₅n. 632 LW u₅p, ɛp. 633 k₅p, kap. 634 W thruu. 636 L færdér. U'- 643 WB ná'u. 650 L [between (vɛbə'ut) and (vɛbôut)] W vɛbə'ut. U': 658 W da'un. 659 W tɛ'æn. 663 BW æ'us. 667 L ɛ'ut.

Y- W lit'l.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W meet. E. 749 W lift. I. and Y. 758 W gjaɹl, gjaɹl'.
 O. 761 M lóed. — L :lu_onən [new form (:lu_onden)]. — W la'st. 791 L
 bwa'i, W bô'i. U. — W tɹ b, tob [tub]. — W dæk [a duck]. 794
 W dja_og, djo_og. 803 W dja_omp, djo_omp. — W gən [a gun]. 804 W dru_oqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 828 M eger. — L plá'in [plain, unadorned]. — W plez [please].
 — W saaser. 862 BW seet. E.. 867 W tee. 885 B vəri, W vari, vəri.
 890 L bjest [now bèst]. 891 L fjest. O.. — W pomp, pu_omp [pump].
 — mu_oni [money]. 935 L ku_oentri. 938 BL ka'rner. — W ñmpahseb'l
 [impossible]. 947 L bwó'i. — W kəler [colour]. U.. 970 W dju_ost.

Examples.—B (ə'i sɪ dʰe ɔld tʰap' i'sterde), I saw the old chap yesterday.
 L (ə'i bi ɛgwə'in oom tɛ E' mɪ sʰapɐ). W (am', am', biútɪdʰal am'! dʰem
 ɛs kənt iit it a't tɛ klam') [ham, ham, beautiful ham! them as can't eat it ought
 to clam (starve)].

VAR. ii. THE BE. FORM.

Although I have been quite unable to obtain vv. communications from Be., and the information I have received leaves much to be desired, it is sufficient to shew the continuation of practically the same dial. as in w.Ox. throughout Be.

Beginning in the n. I have a dial. test obtained by Mrs. Parker for Steventon (5 ne.Wantage), and I had others from Stanford in the Vale (5 nw.Wantage), which I could not sufficiently trust. The short list of words from Wantage, corroborated by those from Denchworth (3 n-by-w.Wantage), and Cholsey (11 e.Wantage), continues the information through the n. of Be. From Hampstead Norris (11 se.Wantage) I have a considerable portion of the cs. written from dict. by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, from which the general character of the dial. can be safely inferred. It will suffice to give the Steventon, Wantage and Hampstead Norris specimens.

a. STEVENTON (5 ne.Wantage, Be.) dt.

Written in gl. by Mrs. Parker from the dict. of Mr. Leonard, both of Ox., and pal. by A.J.E. Mrs. Parker has not marked the reverted, or, as she considers it, retracted (r), but I have supplied it to the same extent as before.

1. Soo ɛ'i sái, ʌʌl(ə)n)i, jɛ siz nɛ'u ɛ'i bi rə'it ɛbɛ'ut dʰæt ɛr lɪt'l
 gjaɹl ɛkə'mən frəm dʰe skuuld jændɐ.

2. shii)z ɛgwaa'in dɛ'ʌn dʰe ɹaɹd dʰɛr θruu dʰe red gɪst a
 dʰe lɪft and sɛ'id ɛ dʰe waa'i.

3. shuur ɛnɔf dʰe tʃɛ'ɪld ɛv gaan stráit ɛp tɛ dʰe duur ɛ dʰe
 rɔq ɛ'us.

4. wɛr shii)l tʃɛnts tɛ fa'ɪnd dʰæt ɛr drɔqk'n def, srɪv'ld fɛlɛ ɛ
 dʰe neem ɛ :toməs.

5. wii ʌʌl nɛa'u)z)n vɛrɪ wɛl.

6. wɛnt dʰɛ'ʌʌ'uld tʃap sɛn lɛrn ɛr nɛt tɛ duu)t ɛgja'n, puur θɪq.

7. lɛk! jɛnt it truʉ?

b. HAMPSTEAD NORRIS, BE., part of cs.

Written by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte in his own letters from the dictation of W. B. Banting, Esq., hon. sec. of the Newbury District Field Club, by whom it was approved when read out; translated into pal. by A.J.E. Most probably I should have appreciated some sounds differently, as shewn by the notes, but I have thought it right to retain the Prince's own spelling, translated into pal. It shews a strong D 5 dialect.

0. wə'i :dʒən æz nuu dáu'ts.
1. wəl, náai-bæi, ʒə'1 ænd hii máai beə'u'th laa'f æt dhis njuuz əɹ mæ'in. hə'1 ki'ʒs ? dhæt iz nœdhɹɪ hɪ'i náai dhɪt.
2. fruun men də'i kəs dháai bi laa'ft æt, wii neə'u, də'nt wii ? waat shə'd meek əm ? t-ənt veə'ri lə'iklɪ, iz ət ?
3. áusəmdə-vəɹ dhi's aat dhaat væks ə dhaat ki's, zoo dʒest hɪə'uld ʒer nə'iz, frend, ænd bii kwə'i't tɪl v'i aa dən. aatkn !
4. v'i bii zeə'tɪn v'i hœd əm zái-i—zəm əv dhem vək ə'1 went thrə'1 dhaat uu'l dhɪq vrom dhaat vœst dhæisəl'z,—dhæt dɪd v'i zɪ'f enəf.
5. dhæt dhaat ʒəq'gest zən ɪssəlf, æ gɪ't bwe'i ə mæ'in, neə'ud iz feə'dhœɹz vœ's æt wens, dhæ'u et wæz zoo kwœɹ ænd skwek'ən, ænd v'i wəd drœst en tə'1 speek dhaat druuth en'i dái, aa, v'i wəd.
6. æ'nd dhaat v'ul-d-um-ræn hɪə'isəl wəl tel eni ə-n-i dhæt laa'f náu, ænd tel ii stráat v'ə'f, tə'1, wɪ)áut mətʒ bœdhvɪ, ɪ' ʒə'l ə'n-lɪ æks əɹ, ə'1 ! wænt shii ?
7. li'stwæ'iz shii tə'uld ət mee, wen v'i æksd əɹ, tə'1 aat drii tə'imz əv-vœɹ, dɪd shii, ænd shii dɪd'nt aat tə'1 bii rəq ən sɪk aat pœ'ɪnt æz dhis, waat də'1 ii dhɪq ?
8. wəl æz v'i wæz æ zái'n, shii əd tel ii, v'ə'1, wœɹ ænd wen shii vœ'ə'nd dhaat drəqk'n bi'st shii kælz əɹ əz-bæn.

Notes to Hampstead Norris.

0. *why*, the usual MS. diphthong, differently appreciated as *a'i* *ə'i* *ə'i* (*ái*). Mr. Banting wrote *whoy*, as usual.—*has*, this is the strong form.—*doubts*, analogy would have required (*də'uts*), see 8 (*vœ'end*).

1. *neighbour*, the final 'ɹ' or glottal ɹ, which is sometimes written *ɹ* or *r*, followed by permissive *r*, was evidently at that time the Prince's appreciation of 'r', the only real *r* of this district.—*you*, the appreciation (*ʒə'1*) is very doubtful. Mr. B. wrote *yough*, perhaps (*ʒə'u*).—*bath*, Mr. Banting writes *bœveth* perhaps *bœdh* was intended. I do not attribute much importance to Mr. Banting's approval of the Prince's reading, for as Mr. Banting was not used to phonetic appreciation, and the Prince was a foreigner, Mr. Banting would be easily satisfied with a rough approximation to his own sounds.—*who*, the appreciation (*hə'1*) is very doubtful,

Mr. B. has *who*.—*neither*, here again (*ə*) is doubtful. Mr. B. has *næther*.

2. *should*, (*ə'1*) doubtful.

3. *these*, the final 's' probably an error for (*z*).—*the*, this dhaat is difficult to understand, Mr. B. writes *thæn thæ væks* or *thæn kœs*, which is equally puzzling.—*noise*, Mr. B. *nais*.

4. *heard-who-through*, Mr. B. *hœrd-oo-throo*, the (*ə*) is doubtful.

5. *trust, truth*, Mr. B. writes *dtrust, dtruth*, which were probably his errors, (*træst trœuth* might have been expected).

8. *how-found* by the appreciation (*v'ə'1*) the diphthong in these words is made to resemble the Dy. diphthong. Mr. B. writes simply *œw*. If the Prince heard him correctly, he must have had a very peculiar pron. of *uu*, *œw*, *a'u* not belonging to the district. The Prince was not able to finish writing the whole cs. from dictation.

c. WANTAGE, BE., cwl.

Written by Mr. Davey io., rather conjecturally pal. by AJE. The reverted (r) not before a vowel has been supplied, as it was certainly pronounced. I had also a considerable number of words from the Vicar of Denchworth (3 nww. Wantage), which so far as they go confirm this list, and a dt. from the schoolmaster of Cholsey (12 e. Wantage), which has a suspicious number of initial (z) and other doubtful points, hence I can only use these as confirmations on the whole.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 92 náu. A': 118 búen.
 Æ- 148 fáir. Æ: 158 eetter aater. — wops [wasp]. Æ': 208 ær
 v- [e'er a, any]. 209 nær v- [ne'er a-]. 218 ship. 223 dhær.
 E: 261 zái. 263 ewái. 265 stráit. — ethart [athwart]. E': 312
 jar. EA: 324 áit háit. EA': 366 gært græt. EO: — em [them].
 — shart [short]. 407 fardhiq.
 I'- — gii [give]. I': — hái [hay]. O: 538 ud. 552 karn. —
 marnen [morning]. O': 586 duu't [do it], dun)náu [don't know]. U:
 612 zæm)et [somewhat, something].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — ráilz [rails]. — market [market].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — pái [pay]. 890 bíst. — puurter [porter].

Sentences: (dóunt)i don't you, (wæt)s want tæ græ'ind ii fœr? what dost want to grind he (=it?) for? (jæ)nt it, (bæ)nt it) is not it, be not it, (ænkid) dreadful.

VAR. iii. HA. AND WI. FORMS.

The dialect at the north of Hampshire cannot differ much from that of Hampstead Norris, Be. The late Dr. Burnell, a native, writing from West Stratton (7 ne. Winchester), says that the *r* final is fully reverted, that (z) for *s* initial is very rare, (v) for *f* he had heard in 535 (vooks) folks; (h, wh) initial were used, 553 morning, 87 clothes, were (marn'en, klaaz), and 304 beetle a mallet, was (báit'l), which is singular, 394 yonder (jander). In grammar *I be, he be, we am, they am*, are heard, not *I are. I lives not I do live, he live, we lives*. The dialect seemed already (1879) much altered, and so many inhabitants had been in service in London and elsewhere, or at sea and about, that Dr. B. doubted the value of what they told him. The man he had reckoned on as his principal authority was ill.

From East Stratton, which is close by, I got (gwín, enuu, gíet) going, enough, gate; Dr. Burnell repudiated the last.

Towards the s. of Ha. the great towns of Winchester, Southampton, and Portsmouth have acted seriously on the dialect, which however crops up again in Wi.

The Rev. T. Burningham, when Rector of Charlwood, Sr. (6 ssw. Reigate), a Hampshire man, said that in his younger days (b. 1808) the labourer alway put *v* for *f*, and *z* for *s*; a fallow would be a roller (vøle?), and gives the following examples of Ha. at that time (I preserve the spelling), "I was a gwine (gwáin) hoh-um (hóœm) to git my káwfee, but set down under the hullumun (hæ'lœmœn=elm) tree to git out o' th' rah-in (ráin). Terrable watchet (tærb'el watjet) a gwine across that air veeyuld (viiæld)." [1528]

Here *watchet* is *wetshod*, wet for the feet. He notes *waps wapsen* = wasp wasps, *een amoast* = even almost, *on-emp* = un-empty, = empty "on-emp that air payul," *leer* = hungry, empty, = German *leer*, but not derived from it, mid. Eng. lær. (See D 4, p. 52, *Hornet*, l. 23.)

SOUTHAMPTON TO WINCHESTER.

This es. was written from the dictation of Mr. Percival Leigh, 22 March, 1876, who was born in Scotland in 1813, but was taken to Hampshire when a month old and had been there constantly since, so that he had known the dialect all his life. Mr. Leigh did not use (r), but pronounced in the usual received manner, initial (r), final as (e). I have used final (r), because from other sources I know that it prevails in Hampshire. Mr. Leigh was also strict in not leaving out (h), but admitted that it was sometimes put in. Altogether it seems that this version gives rather a refined form of speech, with occasional outbursts of real dialect. Towards Portsmouth Mr. Leigh considered the speech as finer still.

0. wə'ɪ :dʒən hæənt ɡət noo də'uts.

1. wel, náibər, dhii ən hɪm med buu'th laaf ət dhis hii'r niúz o mæ'ɪn. huu kee'rz? dhæt eent nədhər hii'r nər dhee'r.

2. fiú tʃæps də'ɪz kAAZ dhee bi læaft æt, wii nooz, duu'nt)əs? wət shəd miik ɛm? ət beent veri læ'ɪkli, bi ət?

3. hə'usendev-ər dhiiz hii'r bi dhə rə'ɪts o dhə stə'rii, zoo dʒest dhii hoold dhi nə'ɪz, vrend, ən bə'ɪd kəwə'ɪ-ət til ə'ɪv ɛdɪn. dhii lɪs'n tə mi.

4. ə'ɪ bi saart'n ə'ɪ hii'rd ɛm zee zæm o dhɛm fooks ɛz went druu dhə hoold dhɪq frɛm dhə vɛst dherzel-vz—dhæt did ə'ɪ zeef ɛnɛf—

5. dhæt dhə jæ'gəst zæn hissɛl'f, ɛ gært bʊ'ɪ o nə'ɪn nood hɪz vii'dhərz və'ɪs ət wɛns, θəf twez zoo kwɛe'r ən skweɛk-ən, ɛnd ə'ɪ ʊd trɛst 'hii tɛ spɛɛk dhə truuth ɛn'ɪ dái, iis, 'dhæt ə'ɪ ʊd.

6. ən (dh)ool(d)əm-ən hɛrzɛl f 'l)tel ɛn'ɪ ɔn'ɪ ɛz læəfs nə'u, ɛn tel'ɪ stráit əf, tuu, widhə'ut mətʃ fɛs, ɪf juu'l wɛn'li æəsk ɛr, oo, wɛnt shi?

7. leestwáiz shi toold ət 'mii, wɛn ə'ɪ æəst ər, tuu ɛr drii tə'ɪmz wævər, did shi, ɛn 'shii didn't aat tɛ bi rɔq ɔn sɪtʃ ɛ pə'ɪnt ɛz dhis, wət dəst 'dhii thi:k?

8. wel ɛz ə'ɪ wɛz ɛ zái-ən 'shii ʊd tel'ɪ, hə'u, wɛe'r ən wɛn shi və'und dhi drɔk-ən biist shi kAAlz hɛr hæz-bɛnd.

9. shi soor shi sAA ɛn wi ɛr ɔon ə'ɪz, ɛ-lái-ən strɛtʃt ət fəl lɛqkth ɔn dhə grə'und, ɪn ɪz gud zæn'di kwuu't kloos bi dhə duu'r o dhə hə'us, də'ʊn ɛt dhə kæərnɛr o dhə leen jæəndər.

10. ər wɛz skwɪn'ɪən ɛwái, sɔz shii, fɛr aal dhə wɛrd'l læ'ɪk ɛ zɪk tʃə'ɪld, ɛr ɛ lɪ'l ɡɛrl vɛt-ən.

11. ɛn dhæt hæp'nd ɛz shii ɛn hɛr dəæ'tər ɪn lAA kɛm druu dhə bæk kuur't frɛm hæq-ən ə'ut dhə wɛt klooz tɛ drə'ɪ ɔn ɛ wɔsh-ən dái.

12. wə'ɪl dhə kit'l wɔz ɛbə'ɪlɛn fɛr tee wɛn brə'ɪt zɛm-ɛr æəternuun wɛn'li ɛ week ɛguu' kɛm nɛks dherz'di.

13. ɛnd dəst 'dhii noo? ə'ɪ nɛv-ər læarnt noo muu'r nɛr dhis hii'r ɛ 'dhæt biz'nəs ɛp tɛ tɛ-dái, ɛz shuu'r ɛz mæ'ɪ nii'mz :dʒən :shɛp-ɛrd ən ə'ɪ duu'nt wAant tɛ, eedhɛr, zoo dhee'r!

14. ɛn zoo ə'ɪ bi ɡwə'ɪ-ən wɔo'm tɛ zɛp-ɛr. gud nə'ɪt, ɛn

duu'nt bii zo kwick tɛ kroo wævər v tʃæp ɛɡɪn, wen v tʌks o dhis dhæt ɒr tædʒər.

15. ʊt's ə week fuul ɛz sez muu'r nɜr i niid. ən dhæt-s mæʊ'i last wɜrd. gud bæʊ'i.

Notes.

0. *hasn't got no doubts*, or simply *has no* (v *noo'* or *has not got* (v *not got*). The vowel (ə) was Mr. Leigh's ordinary (ə) and was not (o).

1. *neighbour*, Mr. L. gave both (nái-) and (næi-).—*thee-him*; *thee* is used for both nom. and acc.; *him* is nom. and (hii) emphatic, (ɛn) regular unemphatic S. acc.

2. *ain't* is most natural, but (beent) is also used.—*few* with (f) not (v).—*chaps*, Mr. L. varied, apparently unconsciously, from (æ) to (a¹) wherever the short sound occurs.—*what*, simple (w) no (wh).—*bain't* or (bii'nt). The use of *be* in the third singular here and elsewhere is doubtful.

3. *rights of the story*, for *facts of the case*, which is not a dialectal expression.—*thy* (dhæʊ'i) emphatic, (dhi) unemphatic.—*friend*, the (v) is doubtful.—*adone*, the use of (v) before the past participle is more frequent than not, among the regular old-fashioned people.

4. *say* sometimes (zái).—*through* as dictated, but this change of *thr-* to *dr-* implies that the real change is into (dr-) and this is doubtful in Ha.—*thing* (dhiq) is only occasionally used for (thiq)—*from* is more naturally pronounced with (f).

5. *voice* is not a regular term, perhaps (váis) would be said.—*though* (thof) was so dictated, but the (th) is doubtful. The word was said to be not common but still used.—*he*, emphatic form of acc., (ɛn) unemphatic.—*any* (ɛni), never

(æn'i).—*day* (dái) is heard, but not so often as (dee).—*yes* (iis) is the regular form, but (yæks) is also used.

6. *old woman*, the (d) of (*ool*) is perceptibly made the beginning of the word (*um'en*), as common in S.—*on-ye*, *tell ye*, sometimes (jɛ) is used in place of (-i), but this must be a modernism.—*fuss* is the common word, not *bother*.—*only* (oo'ni) is also used, but (wæn'li) is more frequent.

7 and 14. *over* (wævər).

8. *saying*, also pronounced (see'ən) or (seen).—*found* generally with (v), (f) sometimes among the younger.—*beast* or (beest), plural (bii'stiz).—*husband* or (æz'bænd, æzbən), not *man*.

9. *saw* or else (sææ, zææ, sid, sin, sii) might be used.—*a-lying*, a general error for *a-lying*, which would be (ə-læʊ'i'ən).

10. *world*, this pronunciation is not very common now.—*girl* or else (máid).

11. *law* is generally (lææ), but in this connection may be (læa).

12. *week* uncertain, Mr. Leigh at first wrote *week* (wiik), I expected (wik, wik), but both *wicu* and *wuce* are found in Ws.

13. *name's*, or (nææmz).—*shepherd*, (ship) is used for *sheep*.

14. *a-going* (gæʊ'ɪn) is probably an error for (ɛgwáɪ'an).—*this*, no (dhik) is used in Hampshire, but (dhik'ɛn) is said in the plural.

15. *says*, the word *prates* is not used, (reez'n) is said.

ANDOVER, HA., specimen and cwl.s

Prof Dr. M. M. Arnold Schröer, from Vienna, of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, Germany, who had studied phonetics under Dr. Sweet, and had had much experience in observing, analysing, and criticising differences of speech in various parts of Germany, and speaks English with an excellent pronunciation, having spent the summer of 1887 near Andover, Ha., exercised himself in writing Ha. speech from dictation. His two chief authorities were Mr. Benjamin Manning, of Appleshaw (4 wnw.Andover), between 40 and 50 years old, who had lived all his life in the county and been in constant communication with farm-labourers,

and Mr. Archard, a native of Ha., educated at Winchester, then national schoolmaster at Andover, and consequently in the constant habit of hearing dialect, to whom Prof. S. had been recommended by Canon Collier, the vicar, as the very man he wanted. Of these Prof. S. considered Mr. M. as his chief authority. The number of points, however, in which he differed from Mr. A. is considerable. Prof. Schröer selected as an example a letter originally published in *Punch* (vol. ix. p. 264, 1845) and reprinted in the Rev. Sir William H. Cope's *Ha. Glossary*, p. xii. This was read to him by both Messrs. M. and A., and their pronunciation most carefully analysed in Dr. Sweet's revised Romanic spelling (*Sound Notation*, Trans. of the Philological Society, 1880-1, pp. 177-235), with which Prof. S. is perfectly familiar. These versions, transliterated into pal. from the references to Mr. Melville Bell's notation and other indications given in the paper cited, are here annexed, with a translation. In the cwl. Mr. M. has been generally followed, and some words in his own orthography have been added. In a few cases Mr. A.'s pron. is specially noted.

Prof. S. considers that the Ha. dialect

"is rapidly dying out, and has been so for the last two generations. Even the oldest farm-labourers are so much accustomed to educated London pronunciation, that this certainly influences their natural speech. I attended," he adds, "a harvest-home festival at Longstock House, Fullerton 4 s. Andover, and waited upon a poor blind old man of 80, who, owing to his blindness, could not always know that I was near him or within hearing. Still, though I spent almost the whole afternoon in his company, always listening and secretly taking notes, I did not find more than a very few peculiar pronunciations, except the general tendency of influencing vowels by the reverted *r*."

There are several points which will strike the reader in the following spec. Prof. Schröer having been, as already stated, a phonetic pupil of Dr. Sweet, his appreciation of sounds, as referred to Mr. Melville Bell's scheme, seems to differ in some respects from mine. He has been before all things anxious to make the most accurate transcription possible of the speech actually under consideration. Mr. M.'s own spelling in the cwl. will shew that the speaker evidently thought he was saying *i*, *eo*, while Prof. S. heard only *yy*, *ee*. The *eo* which constantly occurs corresponds in unaccented syllables to my *e*, from which, and also from *eh*, which sometimes occurs, the audible difference is small, though the difference of the position of tongue and lips, which determines the symbol, is often considerable. Probably most of the words written with *yy/o*, I should have heard with *oe*, *ie*, *ie*. Those written with *oh*, considered as Fr. *o* in *homme* and answering to short *u*, I should probably have heard as *o*, but both Mr. M.'s *oh* and Mr. A.'s *u* in *pohnt*, *pont*, *punch*, in place of *(a)*, are extremely strange to me. As regards *I'* words having *áy*, I may refer to JGG.'s use of the same symbol at Chippenham (supra p. 51), which I then thought very remarkable. The symbol *eo'oh*, which is the pal. rendering of Dr. Sweet's sign for received London *ow*, is intended to imply that in Ha. Mr. M. used that sound, beginning with *eo*, and ending with the rounded form of the same vowel, that is, not coming up to *u* or altering the position of the tongue at all, but merely partly closing the lips while saying *eo*. I am accustomed to analyse my own utterance of this sound as *á'u*, and do not hear *eo* at all: in fact, when I first heard initial *eo* from Mr. Trotter (supra p. 60d), it had an extremely strange provincial effect to my ears. This *eo'oh* is, however, not universal. In *count* both M. and A. give *káunt*, which I might have heard as *(k'áunt)*, a very singular form. This *(úa, úuá)* is the common form of what I, perhaps, should have written *úe, úe, úue*, as *báuk, stáuk* book, stood, which I should probably have heard and therefore written *(báuk, stáuk)*. Some other usages

also seem strange, as the diphthong in (nɛɛ'a'z), noise, the advanced high (æ) in (væɛ'ɾ), for, the accented use of ə, in (pəgz, :y'æmzɪ'ɾ, hæst, yə'bl, pigs, Hampshire, hast, able, the use of 'æ' in zæns), sense, the double form of 'æɛ'a'l, æa-a'l), oil, where (æa-a'l) seemed to be an advanced 'aa' ending with a slight motion of the tongue into the position for (a¹); the hyphen merely separates symbols, so as to form a kind of (a'i) diphthong.

These observations of Prof. Schröer are, I think, very valuable as shewing almost personal varieties of nw.Ha. pron. differing so widely as Mr. M.'s and Mr. A.'s, and analysed with the greatest minuteness and conscientiousness. I feel greatly indebted to him for his kindness in sending them, with long explanations, although it was extremely inconvenient for him to do so in time to appear in this place.

TWO ANDOVER PRONUNCIATIONS OF HAMPSHIRE FARMER'S LETTER.

Written in Dr. Sweet's Romie by Prof. Arnold Schröer and translated into pal. by AJE. All the t, d, l, n, r both here and in the sentences and cwl. on p. 104 should be ɾ, ɖ, ɭ, ɳ, ʀ, and hence tɪ, dɪ should be ɾɪ, ɖɪ = tsh, ɳɪh, as at Chippenham (p. 51), but as this was not known till the proof was corrected, I considered it safer to let them remain as they are with this intimation.

M. From the dictation of Mr. Manning.

A. From the dictation of Mr. Archard, when the same for any word as in M., only (,) is written.

T. Literal translation, *not* the original in *Punch*.

1. M myst'ɾ :pohntɪ, z'ɾ, yf ɾəh'ɾ [ɾə'əh] plyy'əz, z'ɾ, əy by'ə
A ,, pɪntɪ, ,, yf ɾ'ɾ
T Mr. Punch, sir, if you please, sir, I be a

M :y'æmzɪ'ɾ væɛ'ɾməhɾ.

A ,, væɛ'ɾm'ɾ.

T Hampshire farmer.

2. M əy rəyts tə ɾə'əh kəz əy nə'əhɪz ɾə'əh uant məynd məy
A ,, ,, tu ɾə kə'az ,, nəaz ju wənt ,,
T I write to you because I know you won't mind my

M nɪat by'əɳ ə zɡələ'ɾd əɳ u'l a'kskɛiz byy'əd zɒæləɳ

A ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, əl [u'l] ykskjuuz ,,

T not being a scholar[d] and will excuse bad spelling

M əɳ ɛɛ'l dhɛɛ'ət [dhyy'ət].

A ,, ə'al dhyy'ət.

T and all that.

3. M lɪakəɳ ə'əhɪvə dhə pyy'əpə təɒdh'ɾ myy'ərkəɳ dəay
A ləkəɳ uavə ,, ,, tɪadhə ,, dyy'əɳ
T Looking over the paper t'other market day

M əɳ :wəntɪyst'ɾ əy zyɪɾd [zyd] ə kɪant ə dhə prəyɪz

A ,, :wɪntɪystə'ɾ ,, zyɪ

T at Winchester I see'd a count of the prize

M *kyy'əʔt'l)zhəw'əh úap yn :lənən [:ləhnən].*

A „ „ *zhúu* „ „ *yn :ləhnən.*

T cattle show up in London.

4. M *áy wEE'əntyd tə núa wEE'əʔt ə zəd əbúat ə pəgz ;*

A „ „ *wúantyd* „ „ *núa wúat ə zəd əbúat ə pygz ;*

T I wanted to know what he said about the pigs ;

M *úaz dhə wEE'əʔz ən wEE'R dhə kúam vrəm.*

A „ „ „ *wúaz* „ „ *wəh'r* „ „ *kohm vrəm.*

T whose they was and where they come from.

5. M *áy və'əhənd əz ə'əh dhEE'R wʔə'rnt ə ziqg'l pəgz vrəm*

A *áy və'əhnd* „ „ „ „ „ „ *úag vrəm*

T I found as how there were'nt a single pig [hog] from

M *:y'əmzh'r [:jəmzh'r] məq dhə ləʔt.*

A „ „ „ *əməq* „ „ *lúat.*

T Hampshire among the lot.

6. M *jə'əh núaaz dhEE'əʔt, áy'd'r zEE'a¹, əz wə'l əz áy*

A *júa núaaz dhyy'əʔt, „ dhyy'ə'R zyy'əʔ, əz wel „ „*

T You knows that, I dare say, as well as I

M *dúa, ən vəh'r láyk jə'əh béey zdəná'ysht yy'əʔt)əʔt*

A „ „ „ *vərry* „ „ *júa bys əzðnyzhd əʔt)yt*

T do, and very like you be astonished at it

M *[jəʔt)əʔt] zohməʔt. tə'l áa¹ ə'əh)əʔt)əʔz)z'R.*

A „ „ *zohm't. tel yz ə'əh[óu] tyz z'R.*

T somewhat. Tell you how it is, sir.

7. M *wá'y və'əhks ən :y'əmzh'r bREE'ədz [bryy'ədz] pəgz əz*

A *wy vúaks yn „ „ bryy'ədz pygz)əʔz)*

T We folks in Hampshire breeds pigs as

M *pəgz ə'əht)ə bá'y, ən dúant gúa vəʔnən ən əm úap*

A *pygz úat ə by, „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „*

T pigs ought to be, and don't go fattening on them up

M *ty'l dhə kyy'əʔt wEE'əʔg.*

A *tyl „ „ „ wyy'əʔg.*

T till they can't wag.

8. M *wá'y zəz pə'əh'r k ə'əht)tə hEE'əʔv lyy'əʔn əz wə'l əz*

A *wy sez púark úat tu „ „ „ „ wel „ „*

T We says pork ought to have lean as well as

M *vyy'əʔt, ən wa¹ láyks úar byy'əʔkn stryy'əʔkyd. zyy'əʔm*

A „ „ „ *wy „ „ „ „ stryy'əʔky. „ „*

T fat, and we likes our bacon streaky. Same

M wy kyy'ætl.

A „

T with cattle.

9. M wæ¹'r)z) dhæ zæns æ¹'r ree'æzn æ stohfæon æn krææmn

A wæ¹'r)z) „ „ „ rææ¹'zn æ stof'n „ krææmn

T Where's the sense or reason of stuffing and cramming

M æ bulyk ty'l yy byy'ænt y'æbl tæ zyy jæ'æht? [out

A æ hæks ty'l æ „ yy'æbl „ „ úat

T an ox [bullock] til he be not able to see out [out

M of his eyes, not used]

A æ yz æyz?

T of his eyes]?

10. M wee'ænt jæz dhæ jæ'æhs æ ee'l dhe'e'ænt ee'æor vyy'ænt

A wúat iz „ juuz æ æe'l dhyy'ænt yy'æor „

T What is the use of all that ere fat

M [vee'ænt] áy wee'ænts tæ næ'æh? úa jæz dhææh'r æz

A „ wúants tu núa? „ iz „ „

T I wants to know? Who is there as

M jæts)ænt?

A yy'æts)yt?

T eats it?

11. M dhæ æ¹'al kyy'æk, t'rmæts, mæqg'lz[w'rzlz) æn ky'æbydj

A „ áa-a¹ „ „ mæqg'lw'rz'l æn kæbydj

T The oilcake, turnips, mangelwurzel, and cabbage

M æz)æz wee'æstyð æn mee'ækæon wyn bulyk æ [monster]

A æz)yz wyy'æstyð yn myy'ækæon wúan „ „ monst'r

T as is wasted in making one bullock a monster

M ohd gúa tæ kee'æp drá'y æ¹ væ'æh'r váyn ky'ætl yn

A ud „ tu „ dry „ væ'r „ hæks'n yn

T would go to keep three or four fine oxen [cattle] in

M gúad kondysh'n.

A

T good condition.

12. M uáy, z'r, dháa-a¹ med dÿyst)æz wæ'l væt)æhp

A „ „ dhæ-a-a¹ máyt dÿúast)æz wæ'l vyy'ænt „

T Why, sir, they might just)as well fat up

M zdægz)æon yy'æh'rz æn ree'æbohts, áy æn vee'æz'nz æn

A „ „ ee'æorz „ ræbohts, „ „ væz'nz „

T stags and hares, and rabbits, aye and pheasants and

M pEE'ærdra'djyz vÆ'R dhæ mee'æotæR æ'dhEE'æot.
 A pæE'rdrydjyz ,, ,, mæot'R æ dhyy'æot.
 T partridges, for the matter of that.

13. M tæ'l aa' wEE'æot [tæoz] :myy'æst'r :pohntj, yf zda'd æ vlyqæon
 A tæ'l yy úat, ,, pumtj yf zled æ ,,
 T Tell you what [it is], Master Punch, if stead of flinging

M æwáa-a' gúad prævnd'r tæ t'rn Æ'Rnd yæænmæ'lz y'ntu
 A æwáy ,, prævnd'r tu ,, ,, ænmæ'lz æntu
 T away good provender to turn horned animals into

M :ðænwæl :læmb'rts, dháa-a' wúaz tæ gyy bryy'æd æn maa'y't
 A ,, :læmb'rts dháy úaz tu bryy'æstúa ,, ,, myy'æot
 T Daniel Lamberts they was to give [bestow] bread and meat

M æn t'rmohts tæ :krystænz æn myy'æk zohm æn'æm
 A ,, ,, æn :krystænz ,, ,, ,, æ'dhohm
 T and turnips on Christians, and make some of them

M æ h'yt væt'r dhæn dháa-a' bá'y dháa'a'd dúa múa
 A æ l'yt'l vyy'æot'r dháæon dháy byy dháy'g,d dúua múua
 T a little fatter than they be, they'd do more

M gúad æ práa'yshæws záy't, æn á'y)m bæ'æhn jæ'æh bá'y
 A gúad æ pree'æshæws záy't, ,, ,, báund júua byy
 T good a precious sight, and I'm bound you be

M dhæ zyy'æom pynæon.
 A æ dhæ ,, æbrynæon.
 T of the same opinion.

14. M á'y ba', z'r, jæ'æh'r báa'y'djæont zÆ'Rvnt :djúam :græ'æhts.
 A ,, byy, ,, ju'r byy'djæont ,, ,, :gráuts.
 T I be, sir, your obedient servant, John Grouts.

Notes to the above Letter.

1. *knows*, M. writes (á'y næ'æhz) and says *not* (núaz) which is what A. gives; but M. says that 'to know' is (tæ núa).

3. *looking*, an octogenarian at Redenham (5 nw. Andover and 1 nw. Apple-shaw) agreed with A. here.

5. *found* or (væ'æhud).—M. says "hog not used," that is in the sense of a male pig; but as a young and as yet unshorn sheep, the word is common in Ha., so that a *Hampshire Hog* means a country simpleton. There is a 'Hampshire-Hog Lane' at Hammer-smith, London, W.

6. *very*. M. says the final *y* is frequently omitted.

9. *bullock*, M. says *ox* is not used in Ha., but A. gives it.

11. *oil* (æE'yli) in cwl.—*making* not (myy'ækæon) says M., as A. has, it is only the infinitive which is (myy'æk). M. says *monster* is not used, and Prof. S. put a ? against (mee'æonst'r) as a possible pron.—*four* is (væ'æh'r), but *fourteen* is vÆ'r'tæn.—*cattle* was *æwn* in the original, but M. says the word is not used, though A. has it.

13. *tell you what*, according to M. should have had 'tis appended.—*a bit*, M. says *not* a little, which A. uses.—*bestow* is not used says M., but it is given by A.—*you be* [æf, to be omitted according to M.] *the same opinion*.

ANDOVER COLLOQUIAL SENTENCES.

Written by Prof. Schröer from dictation of Mr. B. Manning. See p. 100.

1. (dhæt háyv wəz múua dhəon hɛɛf brúuəd), that hive was more than half brood.
2. (t)yy'ənt láyk dhyy'ət), it [=the thing said] is not like that, [=is not so].
3. (y yy'ənt núua gúuəd), it [referring to a rake] is-not no good.
4. (yy'is dhyy hæst, dhyy'st stóulst my mEE'ə), yes thou hast, thee hast stol'st my maw=heart. [The phrase is said to belong to a well-known anecdote, using stol'st for stolen.]
5. (gymy dhýk zEE'ə. uy'tm? dhýk)n), give me this saw. which one? this)one.
6. (dhyy'ə byy'əst ə bEE'əd bóə), thou be'st a bad boy.
7. (dhyy'ədst [dhyy'əldst] nee'ə byy núua gud)ən), thee'dst [thee'ldst] never be no good one.
8. (tyz máyn bEE'əd, z'r), it)is main [=very] bad, sir.
9. (áy kyy'ənt kə'əhnt)əm dhEE'ə EE'a'l əməq), I can't count them there all among [mixed up together].
10. (uáy dúuant júua gúua húuam [wúuam]), why don't you go home?
11. (dúuant mEE'əhk sytj)ə nee'a'z), don't make such a noise.
12. (áy t'a'l dhý uát)yz, mən!), I tell you what [it] is, man!
13. (wæɪ'r byy'əst [hyst] dhyy gwáuh)n?), where be'st thee going? [In (gwáuh) "the first element low-back-wide, the second rather mid-mixed-wide, but certainly labialised by the (a). I [Schröer] make it (uh) lower, between (oh) and (uh), but more (y) than (oh)."]
14. (wEE'ənt hyst gwáyn wæɪ'r?), what be'st thou going for? [=why are you going?]
15. (uát)s dhyy wEE'ənt?), what)is [it that] thee want?
16. (máyn smyyty, máyn smyy'rt), main (=very) dusty, main smart.
17. (áy wynt. áy úant gúa úam tənáy), I will)not. I won't go home to-night.
18. (lúakyy yy'r; y túald my túadhə dáay), look ye here; he told me the other day.
19. (yf dhyy wast gwáuh)n tə :əksf'rd, wytj wáy wudst gúua?), if thee wast going to Oxford, which way wouldst [thou] go?
20. (wytj wáy udst əv yt; a'ət ə kúa'ld [kə'əha'ld]?), which way wouldst [thou] have it; hot or cold?
21. (myy'ənt dháy mEE'ənt), meet thy mate.

ANDOVER cwl.

from the phonetic observations of Prof. Arnold Schröer, chiefly on Mr. Manning and Mr. Archard, who are sometimes distinguished as M and A. Mr. Manning also gave Prof. S. a list of many words in the cwl. in his own orthography, which I annex in *Italics* because it serves to shew his own appreciation of his own sounds. I preserve even Mr. M.'s division of a word into two. See p. 100.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 zúa. 3 byy'ək. 4 tyy'ək. 5 myy'ək, mEE'əhk. 6 myy'əd. 8 [hEE'əv. 9 byyy'əv. 11 mEE'ə. 12 zEE'ə. 14 dREE'ə, dræɪ. 15

[(æ'afʊl, ɛɛ'ɔfʊl) awful]. 17 M lee'ə, A lɛæ'. 18 kyy'ək. 19 tyy'əl, tɔy'. 20 lyy'əm [more decided dialect], lee'əm [less broad]. 21 nyy'əm, nee'əm. 24 zhyy'əm, shyy'əm. 30 kyy'ə'r, kyy'r'. 33 ryy'ədhə.

A: 39 kyy'əm, kɔym, keem [not much used. M.]. 40 kuum. 41 dhəqk. 43 lhyy'ənd. 44 lyy'ənd. 45 wee'ənt. 46 kyy'əndl. 47 wyy'ənd'r. 48 zyy'əq, zohq. 49 yy'əq. 50 təqz [doubtful whether ever (tyy'əqz)]. 51 mən. 55 M ɛɛ'əshyz [never (yy'ə-)], A yy'əshyz. 56 wee'əsh [very seldom (wyy'əsh)]. A: or O: 58 vrəm, vrohm. 60 ləq. 64 ree'əq.

A'- 67 gūna, gu. 69 nūna. 70 tūna, tūna, tūna? 72 ūna, hyy'u, hūna. 73 zūna. 74 tūna, tūna. 76 tūnad. 77 lɛæ'rɔd. 78 ūna. 79 ūnan. 80 ɔl'rdə'i, ɔl'rdə. 82 wons, wūnans. 84 mūna. 85 zūnə'r, zə'əhə. 86 ūnats, [usually (wūnats)]. 87 klɛæ'az, klee'əz. 89 būnath, bee'əth. 91 mə'əh. 92 nūna, nə'əh. 96 zūna [but mostly (zə'əh, zə'əhd, zə'əh,ə) sow, sowed, sowing]. 97 zuu'l. 98 M nɛɛ'əd [knowned], A nūnan [known]. 99 drə'əhd. 100 zə'əhd [but the (z) is gradually giving way to (s)].

A': 101 wūnak. 102 əks, ax. 103 əkst, ɛɛ'əkst, éykst, axt. 104 rūnad. 106 brūnad. 113 ūna'l. 115 ūnam. 117 ūnan. 118 būnan. 122 i. nūnan, ii. nūna. 124 stūnan. 127 haa'rz. 133 rūnat.

Æ- 138 (v)tyy'ədh'r. 140 ɛɛ'əjl. 141 nee'əjl. 142 snee'əjl. 143 tee'əjl. 144 əgyy'ən əgee'ən. 146 máyn [rarely (myy'ən, mee'yn)]. 147 bryy'ən. 148 vee'ə'r. 149 blyy'əz. 152 ūtəw, wootəw [“with voiceless d, ‘Stimmlose lenis,’ the pron. (ūtəw) apparently dialect, (wootəw) influenced by educated pron., heard both from old country people.” AS.] 153 zəf'rdāay.

Æ: 154 byy'ək. 158 ah ter. 159 ɛɛ'əz, əz. 161 dáay. 162 tudāay. 163 láay. 164 máay. 165 zed. 166 mee'əd. — waps [wasp]. Æ'- 184 lee'əd, lee ad. 187 lee'əv. 189 woy. 190 káy. 194 ɛɛ'əm [occ., but oftener (əy)]. 195 mee'əni, məny. 197 djee'əz. 198 lət. 199 blee'ət. 200 wee'ət. 202 ɛɛ'ət.

Æ': 203 zbɛɛ'əti. 204 yndɛɛ'əd [indeed]. 205 dhɛəd. 208 M ɛɛv'r, A əv'r. 209 M neev'r, A nəv'r. 210 klāay. 211 grāay. 212 wāay. 213 əydh'r, ɛɛ'ədh'r. 214 nəydh'r, nee'ədh'r. 215 tūnat. 216 dee'əl. 217 ɛɛ'əti. 218 M zhyy'əp, A zhee'əp. 220 M zhyy'əb'rd, A zhee'əp'rd, zhəp'rd [“the latter rather confirming the pronunciation of M.”]. 223 dhəh'r, dhɛæ'r. 224 uɛæ'r, A uəh'r. 226 mūast. 227 wət. 228 zwət, zwɛɛ'ət.

E- 231 dhə. 232 breɛ'ək. 233 spyy'ək, A speɛ'ək, [M makes (speɛ'ək) he spoke]. 234 nee'əd. 235 wee'əv. 236 vee'əv'r. 238 ɛɛ'əd. 239 zāa-a'l. 241 rāa-a'n. 243 plaa-a'. 244 waa'l. 246 M kwɛɛ'ən, A kwāa-a'n. 248 mee'ə'r. 249 wee'ə'r. 250 zwɛɛ'ə'r. 251 M maa'yt, A myy'ət. 252 kytl.

E: 256 zdygy'ət, stree'əti. 257 ɛɛ'əd. 260 lāa-a'. 261 zāa-a'. 262 wāa-a'. 263 əwāa-a', wāa'a'. 265 zdree'ət, zdraa'a't. 266 waa'l. 269 zaa'lf. 271 taa'l, tyy'l. 272 aa'lm. 273 myy'ən. 274 byy'ənti. 275 zdygy'ənti, stee'ənti. 276 dhəqk. 279 wee'ənt. 286 a'rəh'r. 288 lət.

E'- 289 jee'ə and jyy'ə. 290 lhyy. 291 dhyy. 292 mee'ə [not much used. M.]. 293 M wāa'y, A wee'ə, wy. 294 vee'əd, rɛəd. 296 bylee'əv. 297 vəl'r. 298 vee'əli. 299 gree'ən. 300 kee'əp, kéey. 301 lhyy'r. 302 M myy'ət, A mee'ət, méeyt. 303 zwɛɛ'ət, zwéeyt. E': 305 lhay. 306 hoight. 307 náy. 308 naid. 311 tin. 312 hé ere. 314 lhyy'rɔd. — bləsn [blessing]. 315 vedé.

EA- 318 leɛft. 320 kyy'ə'r. EA: 321 [(zyd) see'd, used]. 322 láafe. 324 əyty [eighty]. 326 ūna'ld, ə'əhld. 330 lūna'ld, lə'əhld. 332 tūna'ld, tə'əhld. 333 kə'af. 334 heɛf. 335 ɛɛ'a'l ɛɛ'l. 338 kee'a'l. 339 [(hyy) used]. 340 jyy'ə'rd, jyy'rd [orchard is (ɛɛ'ə'rɔd, -əti)]. 342 yarm. 343 wayarm. 344 tyy'ld. 346 gee ate. EA'- 347 hé áde. 348 áy [pl. (ɛɛ'a'z)]. 349 fyəə'əh. EA': déeade. 351 lid. 352 ree'əd. 353 bryy'əd. 355 dyf. 357 dhə'əh. 359 náyb'r. 360 tee am. 261 bee an. 363 tyy'əp, tɛɛ'əp, tɛp. 366 gryy'ət. 368 d'ath. 371 strád.

EI- 373 dháy [“of course not genuine instead of (hyy) the old Southern form”]. EI: 380 dhəm, əm [“in (ə) perhaps the old genuine Southern form Anglo-Saxon heom, him”].

EO- 384 *heb n.* 386 *yow.* 387 *nee'u.* EO: 388 *mu'lk.* 390 *shohd,*
shaud. 392 *jæn.* 394 *jænd'r.* 396 *wærk,* [*'wærkd,* worked]. 399 *brævt.*
 402 *læa'rn.* — *smyy'rt* [to smart]. 406 [*'never heard it used*"] M].
 EO'- 409 *bây.* 412 *shy,* *hy.* 419 *jæ'oh'r.* 420 *væ'oh'r.* 421 *væa'ty.*
 EO': 422 *zyk.* 427 *baa'y* [been (ba'n)]. 428 *zaa'y,* *zy.* 430 *væud.* 433
bræ'ast. 435 *jæ'oh.* 436 *dræ'oh,* *druu.* EY- 438 *dây* [and (*dâna*) ?
 died (*dâyd,* *daa'y'd*)].

I- 440 M *waayk,* A *wæe'æk.* 446 *noine.* 449 *gyt* [forget (*f'rgyt*)].
 I: 452 *ây.* 455 *lay.* 458 *nâyt,* *nyy'æt* [the latter "*most decided dialect*"].
 459 *râyt.* 465 *syt.* 466 *tty'ld,* *ttyy'ld.* 469 [*ây w'l*] I will]. 475 *wôind.*
 484 *dhÿk* [*'dhÿk'n,* this one]. 485 *thee'sels.* — *solns* [since]. I- 490 *by.*
 492 *zayd.* 494 *tây'm.* 496 *ây'rn.* 498 *râyt.* I': 500 *layk.* 506 [*waman.*
507 wum'en.

O- — *smaa'æk,* *smânuak* [smoke]. 519 *æ'ohvæ.* 521 *vow'el.* 522 *oop'un.*
 524 *warld.* O: 527 *bout.* 528 *thout.* 529 *browt.* 531 *deetæ.* 532
ko'æl. 534 *ho'æl.* 535 *væ'ohk.* 536 *goo uld.* 541 *wynt,* *stant.* 550 *ward.*
 552 *kæa'rn.* 553 [*hæa'rn.* O'- 555 *zhoo.* 558 *luak.* 559 *wooder.*
 562 *moo'un.* — *mouth* [mouth]. 564 *ziuan,* *zun.* 565 *nâuaz.* 566 *ohdh'r*
 [*'but usually 'tohdhæR, 'tâudhæR, tæ'ohdhæR*; I heard an old farm-labourer,
 80 years old, at Longstock (9 nw. Winchester), say (*mây tohdh'rz,* = my others." AS.]
 AS.] 568 *braadh'r.*

O': 569 *bânuak.* 570 *tânuak.* 571 *gûuad.* 572 *blûuad.* 574 *brânuad.* 575
stûuad. 576 *wânuazdæ,* *wohnzdæ.* 578 *plaa,* *plæ'oh.* 579 M *inæ'oh,* A *nohf*
 [which M doubts]. 580 *tæ'oh.* 583 *tânuajl.* 584 *stûuajl* [*'that is inverted*
(t almost like tj; this sound is said to be frequent, though M does not admit
it in ru, two, where I heard it distinctly myself, though not always." AS.]
 585 *brânuam.* 586 *dûua.* 587 *dohn.* 593 *mîst.* 595 *voo'ut.*

U- 599 *ah'boone.* 601 *vowul.* 602 *zow,* *plu.* *zows.* 603 *kohm,* *kooam.*
 604 *zohm'r.* 605 *zohn* [see 629]. 606 *dæ'er.* — *uud* [wood]. U: 609
vu'l. 612 *zohm.* 613 *drohâk.* 615 *pæ'ohnd.* 616 *græ'ohænd.* 623 *væ'ohænd.*
 625 *too'ung.* 626 [not used. I *be'a moin hunger'd,* M]. 629 *zohn* [see 605].
 632 *ohp.* 634 M *dræ'oh,* A *druu.* 639 *dowst.*

U'- 640 *kow hu,* *pl. kow'ho's.* 641 [*hæ'oh.* 644 *zohk,* *zak.* 645 *dûuav.*
 — *dhûuam* [thumb]. U': 658 *dæ'ohn.* 663 [*hæ'ohs.*

Y- 673 *mohtj.* 675 *drây.* 680 *byzy.* 682 *lee'dle.* Y: 684 *bree'adge.*
 685 *ru'dge.* 688 *zohtj.* 692 *johqæst.* 694 *wærk.* 695 *æa'rkæ,* [*hyy'rk.*
 700 *wos'er,* *wuss.* 701 *væa'rst.* 702 *wy.* Y- 706 *uây.* Y': 709
vy'er, *voj'er.*

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bee'æd,* *bæd.* 714 *lee'æd.* 732 *æpn.* — *æpy* [happy]. 736
læas, *lee'æs.* 737 *myy'æt,* *mee'æt.* E. 745 *tjæe'a't.* 749 M *lyt* [*'which*
I myself heard," AS.], A *lee'æft.* I. and Y. 758 *gæe'l.* 759 *vyt.* 760
zhryv'ld. O. 761 *loo'ud.* 765 *djûuan.* 766 [I believe this word *moidered*
to be purely Irish, I never heard it in Ha., M.]. 767 *nææyæz,* *nee'a'z.* 769
moo'el, *uuant.* 773 *dæky.* 774 *pûuani.* 776 *gûuad bæax.* 783 [*poultry* is
 not used or they would say *powel try,* M.]. 791 *bææ'y,* *bôoe.* U. 796
bloo'u. 801 *ram.* 802 *rohm.* 804 *druqkn* [compare 613]. 808 *poht.*

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *væ'ass.* 811 *plæ'ass.* 813 *byy'ækn.* 818 *ææ'ædj.* 822 *maay,*
moy. 826 *ææ'æg'l.* 828 *æægy.* — *kæmpl ægnyn* [complaining]. 833 *pyy'æ'r.*
 — *plaa'yæz* [*'plyy'æz* is probably not genuine dialect"]. 835 *æa-a'zn.* 836
zyy'æzn. — *myy'æst'r.* 849 *chamber.* 841 *ttyy'æns.* 847 *dænger,* *doinger.*
 849 *zdrændj'r.* 850 *dyy'æns.* 851 *ææ'nt.* 852 *ææ'æp'rn.* 854 *bææ'r'l.*
 855 *kææ'rohts.* 856 *pææ'ært.* 857 *kyy'æns.* 862 *zyy'æf.* 864 *kæa'æws,*
 [shorter (kæs)]. 865 *vææ'lt.* 866 *pææ'r.*

E.. 867 *tææ'r'l.* 869 *vææ'æjl.* 874 *ryy'æzn.* 875 *vææ'ænt.* 876 *dææ'ænty.*
 877 [not used, M.]. 885 *væh'r,* *væ'ri* [*'an old man of 80 in Redenham (5 nw.*

Andover¹, apparently eager to avoid the dialectal change of (f) to (v), said (fer'y),'' A.S.]. 888 *sartun* [often it is *zartun zure*, M.]. 890 *byg'ast*. 893 *vlə'oh'r*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *dyləyt*. 898 *nəys*. 900 *præ'ɪ'y*. 901 *vəyn*. 903 *dəyn* [not vulgar]. 904 *vəyləst*. 912 *rəys*. O.. 913 *kúatɪ*. 915 *zdohf*. 916 *ənjən*. 918 *fay'ble*. 920 *pæ'ynt*. 922 *bəhshl*. *bəshl*. 923 *maist*. *moin de'amp*. 924 *chof'iss*. 925 *væ'ɪ'ys*, *vææ'ys*. 926 *zbæ'ɪ'ylj*, *zbææ'yl*. 929 *kə'əhkəmb'r*. 930 *lææ'yɪn*. 935 *kəhntɪ*. 939 *klúas*. 940 *káut*. 941 *roo'ul*. 942 *bohty'r*. 943 *titch*. 950 *zohp'r*. 951 *kəhpl*. 952 *koo'us*.

U.. 965 *ææ'yɪl*. — *pəhnish* [punish]. 969 *zhu'r*. 970 *djəast*.

ISLE OF WIGHT.

The *Isle of Wight* may be regarded as part of Ha. dialectally as it is politically. Owing to its separation from the mainland, and the absence of commercial ports, it has not been so much exposed to the influence of great towns as the county generally. The MS. form of dial. is strongly marked. The reverted (r) is well recognised when final. My information, independent of books, is derived from Rev. C. E. Seaman, the vicar of Northwood (2 s. Cowes), for the n. of the island, and Mr. Titmouse, schoolmaster of Shorwell (5 sw. Newport), for the s. The latter says that initial (z) is not frequent, but occurs in (*zəmet*) somewhat, and there is a tendency that way in many other words, and also that the tendency is generally to use initial (v) for *f*, as (*vərloq*, *vəg*) furlong, fog. Mr. T. says that *thr-* does take the sound of *dr-* in a very pronounced manner, and points to *dresher* for *thresher*, but Mr. Seaman does not admit this, but introduces an auxiliary vowel, as (*th'ru*) through. The transposition of (r) has not been noticed. *I be, we'm going, don't us, I've a walked, I do know*, are general. Mr. T. (a native of Hu.) had been previously a schoolmaster for six years in n.Sm., and the Wi. speech struck him as bearing a very strong general resemblance to n.Sm. speech. Having some difficulty in interpreting some of Mr. Seaman's spellings, I confine myself to giving those words which Mr. Titmouse has re-spelled.

SHORWELL (:shə'r'l), 5 sw. Newport, Wi.

cwl. furnished by Mr. Titmouse, 14 years schoolmaster, pal. conjecturally by AJE. The diphthong (ə'i) may be (æ'i), but is not (ái). The MS. character is very evident from this list.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *biek*. 4 *tiek*. 5 *miek*. 7 *siek*. 8 *hee*. 12 *saal* [part. (*saaliq*) perhaps (L)]. 14 *draal*. 19 *tiel*. 20 *liem*. 21 *míem*. 24 *shiem*. 31 *liet*. A: 41 *theqk*. A'- 70 *tuu*. 74 *ty₁* [written *tue*, and Mr. Seaman said that it approached Dv. (y), possibly (*te'u*)]. 86 *whats*. A': 102 *aast* [asked]. 108 *doo*. 115 *whóem*. 118 *bóen*. Æ- 138 *veedhər*. Æ: 155 *dha'tɪ*. 158 *aater*. 166 *míed* [the common word, but apparently confused with *made*]. 172 *graas*. 179 *wot*. 181 *paath*. Æ'- 182 *see*. 183 *teetɪ*. 190 *kee*. 196 *weer*. Æ': 224 *weer*.

E- 232 *briik*. 236 *feevər*. 252 *kit'l*. E: 265 *street*. 272 *elem*. 284 *dra'sh*. EA: 323 *fə'ut*. 342 *jíerm*. 343 *warm*. EA'- 349 [“f more like v”]. EA': 359 *neeber*. EO- 386 *joo*. EO: 393 *bíənt*. 399 *brə'it*. 407 *fard'n*. EO'- 411 *drii*. 420 [f as v]. 421 *varti*. EO': 425 *lə'it*. 426 *fə'it*.

I- 449 git. I: 458 nə'it. 459 rə'it. 462 sə'it. 484 ['dhik' used].
 488 jet. I': 505 [*my wife* (mə'i mɪsɪs, mə'i ʊl,d,amen)], 506 amen.
 O- 521 fəʊl. 524 wɛr'ld. O': 597 sɛt.
 U- 606 door [Mr. Seaman (dʌʊər)],
 Y: 700 wɔs. 701 fɛst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 miɪt. E. 750 bə'g. O. 767 nə'iz. 772 bɒnɛfə'ɪr. 773
 dɔːkɪ.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fɪs. 811 plɪs. 824 tʃɪər. 851 naant. 852 eepɜrn. 853
 bɑrgen. 854 bɑr'l. 866 pɔər. E.. 890 biɛst [pl. (biɛstɪz)]. 891 fiɛst.
 I.. and Y.. 899 nɛs. 904 və'ɪlɛt. 910 dʒə'ɪst. O.. 923 mə'ɪst. 926
 spə'ɪl. 930 lə'ɪn. 942 bɑtʃɪər. 944 [I allows it will rain = I think, admit,
 etc.]. 947 bə'ɪl. U.. 965 ə'ɪl. 968 ə'ɪstɪər.

VAR. iv. SR. AND SS. FORM.

The n. of Sr. will be treated under D 8. The s. of Sr. and w.Ss. vary but slightly from the Ha. var. iii. of D 5, but the dialect is manifestly dying out. The initial (z, v) have vanished. The (ái) for AEG, EG, scarcely appear, having become (ce', ee, ee), as frequently even in D 4. The A- fractures remain generally. The I' remains (ǽ'i) or nearly so, but as we go eastward becomes more confounded with (a'i, ɔ'i). This last diphthong has been constantly given me from other districts, when subsequent vivâ voce information has shewn it to be (ǽ'i, ái) or even (ái). Here Rev. T. Burningham, then Rector of Charlwood (6 ssw.Reigate), wrote *aw-i*, and hence I give his words with (a'i). In e.Ss. and in Ke. most informants give *oi*, but I have found (ǽ'i) in n.Ke. At the same time (ǽ'i) so often simulates (ɔ'i) that an unaccustomed ear would unhesitatingly give the latter. Mr. Burningham finds s.Sr. and n.Ss. more mincing than the s.Ss. He says: "It is difficult to give a notion of the close, mincing, squeezed-in pronunciation of the s.Sr. and n.Ss.: '*haaow* much a *paaround* is that *raaround* of beef?' as also to give the *burr* of the *r's*." The *aa* is explained by *hay*, and the italicised words are closely (héu, péund, réund) common in London and n.Ke. "A Sr. man would say 'rebbit,' a s.Ss. man 'rahbut,' e.g. 'eve a'-got a rahbut in ees pawkut' (ii,v egot ɛ rabut in iiz pʌkɛt). I speak of the pronunciation of 50 years ago. It still prevails among the old, but is polished off a good deal among the rising generation by 'education.'" My information from w.Ss. is very meagre, but there can be no doubt that it continues Ha. speech with a still further falling off of the dialect in the direction of Ke. The separation between e. and w.Ss. depends on the use of (d) for (dh) in certain words. This is unknown even at Bolney (12 nnw.Lewes) in w.Ss., but has been heard from old people at Cuckfield (3 ne.Bolney). The commencement of the line at the mouth of the Adur is due to the late Mark Antony Lower. In these districts *I be* remains, but

I are is found in Ke. The cwl. on which I rely are those obtained vivâ voce from students at Whitelands, and these I annex, including some other words.

SOUTH SURREY AND WEST SUSSEX cwl.

Pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Jane Sayers, native of Ockley (8 sw.Reigate), where she had lived all her life; Miss M. A. Forth, not a native, but who had been always resident at Ockley and had spoken Sr. talk when a child; and Miss Alice Slyfield, native of Reading, who had lived 7 years at Stoke (1 n.Guildford, all in Nov. 1877 students at Whitelands. The reverted R) of Miss Sayers was perfect. The C, G, W were pal. by AJE. from indications.

C Charlwood (:tjold) (6 ssw.Reigate) from Rev. T. Burningham.

G words from Dr. Grece's dt. for Weald of Sr. Since Dr. G. marked numerous words in his wl. as having the vowels in rs., I have given some of them in ro. and in Italics.

O Ockley only
S Stoke only } unmarked, both O and S.

W Wisborough, Ss. (8 sw.Horsham) from Rev. W. A. Bartlett.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bake* [no 'ee'j vanish]. 5 *make* [no 'ee'j vanish]. 12 *saa* [no euphonic (R)]. 13 C *naa*. 17 *laa* [no euphonic R] and C. 20 *léem*. 21 *neeem* and G. 23 *séem*. 24 *shéem* and C. 33 *raadher*, O *rædher*. 36 C *thaa*. 37 *klaa*. A: 41 C *theqk*. 43 *a'n* [h always omitted], W *haand*, G *haand*. 51 *man*. 64 *waant*.

A: or O: 58 *from*. 60 *long*. 61 O *emæq*. 64 *wrong*.

A'- 67 *guu* and C [egween, a-going O, not S]. 69 *noou*. 70 *tóou*. 73 *sóou*. 74 *too*. 76 *too'd*. 77 C *lærd*. 79 *oo'n*. 85 C *sóover*. 86 *wats* and C. 87 *flooz* [(tl, dl) for initial *cl- gl-* general]. 92 *nóou*. A': 101 *oo'k*. 104 *róovd* and G. 106 *broo'd*, C *braad*. 107 *loo't*. 108 *dóou*, C *doo*. 111 *ought*. 115 O *oo'm* and C, S *oom*. 122 *næn*. 123 W *naathæn*. 124 *stoo'n* and C, *stan* [as a weight]. 131 *goovt*.

Æ- 140 *ee'l*. 141 *nee'l*. 142 *snee'l*. 147 *bree'n*. 152 *water*. 153 *sa'lderdee*. Æ: 155 *thetj* and W. 166 *mee'd* ['gæl usual, quite London]. 170 *arvist* [no change of (v into 'w)]. 171 *barley*. 172 *graas* and C. 174 *resh*.

Æ'- 182 *sea*. 183 *teach*. 184 *lead*. 190 *kee*. 193 *clean*. 194 *eni*. 197 *cheese*. 200 *wiit*. Æ': C *eedher*. 215 C *taat*. 218 *ship* and C. 219 C *slip*. 224 G *wéevr*. 226 C *móovst*. 227 S *wet*.

E- 233 *speak*. 235 *weave*. 236 *fever*. 241 C *ráin*. 246 *i. queen*. 250 *swíer*. 251 *meat*, W *meet*. 252 *kid'l* [common], C *kit'l*. 254 [C *lídær* (old Sr.)]. E: 261 *say*. 265 *strá'it*, G *street*. 272 *elem*. 278 [a term of depreciation]. 280 *leeb'n*. 282 C *strenth*. 284 *thresh* and W.

E'- 296 C *bliv*. 299 *green*. E': 310 C *húel*. 312 C *úiv*. 314 C *húerd*. 315 *fit*. 316 *nikst*.

EA- 319 *gee'p*. 320 *kéevr*. EA: 322 C *laaf*. 323 *fá'ut* and C and W. 324 [tendency to *áit*]. 326 O *ood*. 330 *ood* [same as 326]. 333 *calf*. 334 *half* [no h]. 340 *júerd*. 343 *WAARM*, C *waarm*. 346 *gee't* and G.

EA'- 347 *ed*. 348 *ái*. 349 *few* and C. EA': 355 *deaf*. 357 *though*. 358 S *niist* [nighest, heard in use]. 360 C *túem*. 361 C *búen*. 368 *death* and C. 371 *straw*, C *straa*.

EI- 373 *they* [no (d) for (dh) as in D 9]. EI: 377 *steak*, C *stiik*. 378 *weak*.

EO- 383 *seb'n*. 386 *joo*. 387 *new*. EO: 393 *beyond*, C *bíev'nd*. 394 G *jender*. 397 *soo'rd*, C *súuvrd*. 399 O *brá'it*, S *brá'it*. 405 *arth*. 406 *earth*. EO'- 412 *she*. 413 *devil*. 414 *fly*. 417 *tíoo*. 420 *fóovr*. EO': 423 *thigh*. 424 *roof*. 425 *laít*. 426 *fáit*. 433 C *briist*. 435 *you*. 436 S *tríu*, O *troo*, C *tríu*. 437 C *tríuth*.

EY- 438 *dái* [once O said (*déi*)].

I- 440 O *wík*, S *wiik*. 442 C *A'ivi*. 444 *stáil*. 446 *náin*. 448 *these*. 449 *gít*. 450 *Tuesday*. I: 452 *ái*, *ái*, C *A'i* [often]. 457 C *ma'it*. 458 O *náit*, S *náit*. 459 O *káit*, S *ká it* [and so for I']. 465 *sít*. 467 *trá'ld* and C. 469 *tíder*, -*ern*. 472 *sriqk*. 475 *wind*. 484 *this*. 487 O *jisterdee*. 488 *jít*.

I'- 494 *táim* [C (*A'i*) for I']. I': — *dik* [ditch]. 503 *laif*. 505 *wáif*. 507 *amen*. 508 *máil*. 509 *wáil*.

O- 521 *foal*, C *íóol*. 522 *open*. 524 *world*. O: 526 *kaaf*. 527 *bought*. 528 *thought*. 529 *brought*. 530 *wrought*. 531 *daughter*, C *daater*. 532 *coal*, C *kóol*. 533 O *del*. 536 *gold*. 546 C *íáuerd*. 549 *úuerd*. 550 *ward* and C. 551 C *starm*. 552 *corn*, C *karn*. 553 *horn*, C *harn*.

O'- 555 *shoe*. 559 *mother*. 562 *moon*. 564 *sun*. 566 *ædher*. O': 569 *book*. 570 *took*. 573 *food*. 575 *stood*. 578 *ple'u*. 579 *enough* [never heard (*en'a'u*)]. 580 *tough*. 586 *do*. 587 *done*. 588 *noon*. 589 *spoon*. 592 *soor*. 594 [*shoes* always said even for boots]. 596 *rat*, *rat*. 597 *sat*.

U- 605 *son*. 606 *dúuer* and G. 607 *butter*. U: 611 *bullock*. 613 *drunk*. 615 S *tuu pan* [two pounds]. 618 *wan*. 619 *ian*. 620 *gran*. 625 *tongue*. 629 *sun*. 631 *thæzdee*. 632 *up*. 633 *cup*. 634 *through*. 636 *færdher*.

U'- 640 *ke'u* [all U' like this]. 641 C *he'u* [and all U' like this]. 649 *the'uzend*. 653 *but*. U': 656 *rum*. 662 *us*. 663 *e'us*, C *héeus*. 665 *me'us*. 666 *uzben* [O (*gaqer*) commonly used]. 671 *me'uth*.

Y- 676 *lai*. Y: 689 *build*. 691 C *ma'ind*. 700 *was* and C. 701 *fast*. Y': 711 *lais*. 712 *maís*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 *dréin*. 737 WG *méert*. E. 743 C *skreem*. I. and Y. 758 G *gael*. O. 761 *luu'd*, C *lóed*. 769 *móoul*. 790 *ge'ah*, C *ge'and*. U. 808 *pæt*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *able*. 810 *fee's*. 811 *plee's*. 813 *bacon*. 840 *chamber*. 843 *breñsh*. 850 *dens*. 852 *apron*. 854 C *barl*. 861 *tee'st*.

E.. 868 C *dái*. I.. and Y.. 899 *niée*. 906 C *va'íper*.

O.. 913 *káuetj*. 916 *iq'n*. 919 *a'intment*. 920 *pá'int*. 926 *spá'il*. 929 *ke'ukember*. 930 C *le'in*. 934 C *be'anti*. 938 C *karnner*. 940 *koo't* and C. 947 *ba'il*. 948 *ba'ul*.

U.. 961 *gruul*. 965 *a'il*. 968 *a'ister*. 969 C *shíuer*. 971 *flíut*.

D 6, 7, 8 = BS. or border of S. as against M. and E., forming the Border Southern Group.

Boundary. This cannot be determined with great accuracy, and will be given for each district separately.

Area. Extreme n.Gl., most of W.o., sw. Wa., most of Ox., extr. se.Be., n.Sr., and extr. nw.Ke. This was an area of continual conflict and mixture of the S., W., M., and E. populations.

Character. A mutilated S, which is strongest in the w. and gradually fades towards the e. and s., becoming finally scarcely perceptible in D 8.

D 6 = n.BS. = northern Border Southern.

Boundary. Begin at Bewdley, Wo. (2 w-by-s.Kidderminster), and go along the reverted *w* line 3 (see p. 17) through Wo., Wa., and Np. to the b. of Np., which pursue as far as its sw. angle (6 sw.Banbury), and then cut across the projection of Ox. and proceed w. to Moreton-in-Marsh, Gl. (17 ne.Cheltenham). Then continue direct w. to the s. of Tewkesbury, Gl., and of Eldersfield, Wo., and n. of Staunton along the n. b. of D 4. Here turn n. and pass over Red Hill and the Malvern Hills and their n. continuation to the starting-point, Bewdley. Although this b. is laid down with much minuteness, it is often uncertain, and must be considered to be at least six miles broad.

Area. The extreme n. of Gl., most of Wo. and s. of Wa., the extreme n. of Ox. and sw. of Np.

Authorities. See the following places in the Alphabetical County List, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Gl. †Ashchurch, †Buckland, †Ebrington, †Fairford, °Kemerton, *†Shenington (locally in Ox.), †Long Marston, †Tewkesbury.

Np. †Ashby St. Legers, †Badby, °†Byfield.

Ox. °†Banbury (part locally in Np.).

Wa. Butler's Marston, †Claverdon, †Kineton, †Knowle, †Pillerton Priors, †Stratford-on-Avon, °†Tysoe.

Wo. †Abberley, †Bengeworth, †Bewdley, †Birt's Morton, †Droitwich, †Dunley, †Eldersfield, †Evesham, †Great Malvern, †Great Witley, *Hanbury, Hartlebury, †Kidderminster, †Malvern Wells, †Saleway, †Stourport, †Upton Snodbury, †Worcester.

Character. This complicated district, containing the transition from S. to M., is naturally by no means well marked. Except at Eldersfield, the use of initial (z, v) for (s, f) seems lost; the (r) is inclined to approach (r) when initial, at least all my informants so hear it, and Mr. Hallam generally writes (r) only, even when final; and finds only traces of (r) in parts, which fail especially towards the e. *I be* remains, with *her* for *she*, and *I, she, we*, as emphatic forms of the object. It is convenient to distinguish four geographical varieties, though the differences between them are small. These are Var. i. s.Wo., Var. ii. s.Wa., Var. iii. Banbury, Var. iv. sw.Np. The general character of all is A- (éé) as (néém) name. A'=(oo, wə) as (rood, wəm, stwən), road, home, stone. Æ:=(ái, éi, ee), as (dái, déi, dee), day. EG:=(ái, éi, ee), as (ràin, réin, reen), rain. EA'=(iə, év, éi, ee), as (biənz, béunz, gréit, greet), beans, great. O=(a) occ., as (drap, starm, kras), drop storm, cross. U=(ɛ, u), as (kɛm, su, m), come, some. U'=(ɔ'u, ɛ'u, áu), as (ɔ'u, nɛ'u, dáu), how, now, down. The variations from these normal forms are so slight and probably individual that they cannot be formulated, but they must be collected from the following cwl. The whole district lies in the mixed *sum*, *sööm* or *som* region, and *sööm* prevails more and more as we approach the Midlands.

Illustrations. A cwl. derived from numerous places for each variety, dt. for Worcester, Hanbury, Claverdon, and Shenington; cs. for Banbury.

VAR. i. WO. FORM.

WORCESTER.

dt. pal. by TH. from dict. of Mr. W. Brown, native, about 42, who had gone to Wolverhampton 9 years previously.

1. *dí sêi*, tɹaps, ʝə'si dɪ'm rə'it' vbo'ut dhat lit'l wensh kəmin frəm dɦe skuul.

2. ɛr)z gu'in də'um dɦe rood dɦar thruu dɦe red gjéit ɔn dɦe left and sə'id v dɦe rood.

3. luk dɦar! ɛr)z gən stre'it u_p' tɛ dɦe dóvɛ v dɦe roq ə'us'.

4. wɛr ɛr)l vɛri lə'ikli drɔp ɔlt [=hold] v dhat ɔuld dru_ɔk'n dɛf' rɪqk'ld :təm.

5. ju aal noo'im vɛri wɛl.

6. wɔ'nt dɦe ɔld tɹap sən tel)ɛr nɔt tɛ kəm vɟjɛn, púv thiɔ !

7. luk dɦar! ɛ'nt it truɪ ?

Notes.

Words omitted: *yonder* jɔndɛr, *girl* ɟɛrl, *so* soo, *now* nə'u, *way* wɛi, *sure*

enough shúv ɛnɔf, *child* tɹáild, *fellow* fɛlv, *name* nɛm, *shrivelled up* sɹiv'ld u_p, [with (sɹimps, sɹə'ud)] *shrimps*, *shroud*.

HANBURY (6 WSW.Redditch).

dt. pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Turner, then a student at Whitelands Training College.

1. soo ə'i sái, méets, ʝɛ sii nə'u dɦut ə'i bi rə'iet vbo'ut dhat lit'l gjɛrl ɛkəmin frəm dɦe skuul jəndɛ.

2. ɛr)z v gu'in də'um dɦe róovd dɦar thrúv dɦe red géet ɔn dɦe left a'nd sə'id ɛv dɦe wái.

3. shúv ɛnə'u dɦe tɹə'ild)z gən stráit ɛp tɛ dɦe dúv ɛv dɦe rɛq ə'us,

4. wɛr ɛr)l lə'ikli fə'ind dhat tipsi dɛf fɛlv ɛv dɦe nɛm v :tɔmɛs.

5. wi aal nooz)im vɛri wɛlv.

6. wɛnt dɦi ə'uld tɹa'p sən teetɟ ɛr nɔt tɛ duɪ it vɟn, púvɛr thiɔ !

7. lukɛ ! bɛɛnt it trúv.

Principal variants in the dt. from Hartlebury (4 s-by-e.Kidderminster), sent by the Misses Haviland, daughters of the then Rector :

1. *so* su, *say* sɛz, *see* siiz, *girl* wentɟ, *school* yɔndɛr skúul jɔndɛr. 2. *there* dhéev, *through* thru, *gate* gjet, *way* wéei. 3. *enough* ɛnɛf, *is* bi, *straight* stréet, *door* dóovɛr, *wrong* raɔ. 4.

where wéev, *chance* tɔ mɛbi ɛp'n, *Thomas* :tɔmɛs. 6. *old* ɔld, *soon* súvɛn. *won't* ɔnt, *teach* laɛx, *again* nɛmúvɛr. 7. *is* nɔt, *biént*, *true* truɪ.

S. WORCESTERSHIRE CWL.

Made up from the following sources:

- A Abberley wn. by TH. (r-, -r), doubtful if one (*u*), no (z-, v-, h-).
 B Bewdley wn. by TH. mostly from Mrs. Ashcroft, a centenarian, one (z-), (*u*) frequent, occ. verbal pl. in *en* as (*du* n-jr, wi tɔ k'n, wi n do you, we took, we have, with the He. form (*edh* *edh* 'ut) of 'with without.'
 Bg Bengeworth, a suburb of Evesham, Wo., wn. by TH.
 Bu Buckland, Gl. (11 ene. Tewkesbury), wn. by TH.
 D Droitwich wn. by TH.
 E Eldersfield, Wo. (9 s. Great Malvern), wn. by TH. from Mrs. Knowles, aged 79, native, (*dhá* i kiip'n, they keep, (*kəm* wi *ɔ* i tɔ plái, come with I to play, many (z-).
 Eb Ebrington, Gl. (18 ne. Cheltenham), wn. by TH.
 G Great Witley, wn. by TH.
 H Hanbury, vv. to AJE., the dt. is not included in this cwl.
 M Gt. Malvern and Malvern Hills wn. by TH.
 P from 'quaint words' by 'A PORSON,' that is *a parson*, in s. Wo. from Worcester on n. to Chaceley on s. and Evesham on e. to Great Malvern on w., pal. as well as he could do it by AJE.
 S Salway 7 sw. Redditch wn. by TH., no (z-, v-), but (r-, -r), (*er* z, wi jz) her is, we has, (*jənt*) ain't.
 W Worcester wn. by TH., no (z-, v-).

* * For brevity, when several places are grouped, the medial length of vowels has not been distinguished from the short.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 BS Bu *teek*, H *téek*, F *tèek*. 5 H *méek* ái [make hay]. 20 AE *léem*, S *lêem*, BBu *leem*. 21 ABSW Bu *neem*, W *néim*d [as well as (*neem*)], Eb *niám*. 23 *seem*. — P *əmer* [hammer], A *əmber* [compare inserted *b* in number, timber]. S *əmer*. — P *feer* [to fare, a fare]. A: — P *krəb* [a crab]. 51 P *man*, BW *ma'n*. A: or O: 60 SD *luq*. 64 D *ruq*.
 A'- 67 AD *gwàin*, W *gwéin*. 77 P *lard*. 81 E *leen*. 92 AD *nóu*. A': 104 Bu *rood*. 115 PAWH *wam*, D *wòm*, Bu *oom*, W *òm* [also *home*, refined], — S *uloon* [alone]. 117 AEM *wən*, W *wan*. 118 P *bwən*. 120 D *iærz* *eguu* [years ago]. 122 Bu *nə'n*, H *nən*. 124 P *stwan*, AD *stoon*. 130 P *bwat*.
 E- 138 A *fiadhur*, B *fiædhur*, S *feedhur*, D *fiædhur*. 141 B *ná'ilz*. 147 H *bráin*. — W *stáiz* [stairs]. 152 S *weeter*, D *wieter*. E: 161 PAD *dái*, S *lái*, W *dái*, [in city] *déi*, *dec*, Bu *dec*. — P *əp'l* [apple]. — P *kərt* [cart].
 E'- 182 W *sii*. 192 P *meen*. E': 210 P *klái* [clay]. 211 AS *grái*, B *grêi*. 213 H *iidhur*. 218 PD *ship*. 223 Bu *dhéer*, BDS *dhîer*, Bu *dher*. 224 B *wé'r*, S *wîer*, BuW *wér*.
 E- 233 BW *speek*. 241 AB *ráip*. 243 ABESH *plái*. — P *beer* [to bear]. 248 P *meer*. 252 A *kjet'l*. E: 260 ABBu *lái*. 261 PABSD *sái*, Bu *sái*, AE *zèi*, W *sái*. 262 B *wái*, W *wéi*, D *wái*, [foundations] AAL *gjin wái* [all given way]. 263 ABESBu *ewái*, M *ewêi*. 265 W *stráit*. E': 315 PH *ít*.
 EA- 320 P *keer*. EA: 324 BESH D *áit* [Mrs. A. said (*ái* *sái* *áit* *er* *ná'in*)]. 326 BS *ôud*, EBU *ôudd*. 328 B *kôud*. 333 *kaaf*. 335 Bu *aal*, AAL. 346 W *gjet* [in the city] *gjet* [in the country]. EA'- 347 SD *jæd*, BuW *æd*, *jêd*. EA': 350 B *djêd*. 353 S *brêd*. — A *kráim* [cream]. 360 S *tiim*. 361 P *beenz* [beans]. 366 A *greet*.
 EI- 372 B *ái*. 373 ABS *dhái*, ED *dhái*, Bu *dhái*, D *dhe'i*, *dhe*. EI: 378 B *week*. EO- 383 E *zev'n*. EO: 393 BuD *jander*. 395 S *juq*. — P *born* [barn]. EO'- 409 P *beez* [bees]. 411 AB *thrii*, E *drii*. — H *trii* [tree]. EO': 426 B *féit*. 428 E *zii*, S *sii*. EY- 438 W *dái*, D *dái*.
 I- 446 E *nə'in*. — G *jis* [yes]. I: 452 A *ə'i*, D *ə'i*, W *ái*. 458 W *náit*. 459 WD *ráit*. 469 W *wənt* [won't], Bu *ut* [wilt]. — *spel* [to spill]. — A *rən* [run], S *ru'n* [H added "donkey boys say (*ru'n*)"]. — P *set* [to sit]. — E *ziks*. I'- 490 G *bə'i*. 494 A *tə'im*. I': — BW *tə'idi* [tidy]. 502 E *və'iv*. 506 W *umən*, H *ə'ul* *d'amən*, [a woman, old woman]. 510 W *mái*. — D *lā'in* [line].

O- — S shu₅'l. — D drap [drop]. O: 525, ii. af. 531 D daater. — D krap [crop]. 551 BuD stärm. 552 Bu kàr n. — BS A's [horse]. — GS marnin [morning]. 554 M ekràs [across]. — P pwast [post]. O': 555 W shæ'u. 559 GW mædher. 564 D sun, H sən. 568 B bræ dher. O': 573 D flu₅d. 575 H stæd. 579 D vna₅f. 586 S du₅s dhii [dost thou]. 587 AH dæn, S du₅n. 588 H næn. 589 H spæn. 594 H [has no buuts, only (shuuz)]. 595 PH fæt. 596 H rat. 597 H sat.

U- 601 ASB fæ'ul. 603 M ekamín [a-coming], H kəm æp [come up]. — M tha₅nder. 605 S sæ'n, D sæ'n, ABu sən, BD sòn, D [between] sòn, sæ'n. 606 WD dæ₅r, Eb. dæ₅r. 607 B bu₅ter. U: 612 S sæ'm. 613 B dru₅qk. — M u₅ndærd [hundred]. — Bu Aqgrí [hungry]. 632 BW u₅p. M æp æp. U'- 643 G næ'u, D næ'u. 650 E vba'ut. U': 656 G rùm. 658 ABESW dæ'un, Bu dæ'un. 663 SW æ'us, D æ'us, æ'uz'n [pl.]. 667 D æ'ut.

Y- D mu₅ tɿ. 675 dræ'i. 679 D tɿærtɿ. Y: 691 ES mæ'ind. — P hænnet [hornet].

II. ENGLISH.

— P wægin [wagging]. O. 767 A náiz. 791 H bwa'i. U. — B mu₅k [muck]. 803 M [between] dju₅mp, djæmp. — M ku₅t. 808 Bu put, D put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 D plêus. 820 P gáí. — PD pâi [pay]. — G fâil [fail]. — Bu fâiler. 830 Bu tráin. 833 A pàr. — PS pleez [please]. 847 D dáindjer. 851 W nânt.

E.. 867 P tee. — B prectɿ [preach]. 878 P sælɿri. — P pærs'n, B paasən.

I.. and Y.. 898 Bu næ'is. 900 P prái. — P sperit [spirit]. 910 P djæ'ist. — B bíf [beef]. — P djæ'int [joint]. 923 P mæ'ist. — B nu₅qk'l. 930 P læ'in. — P kærps [corps]. — EG sært [sort]. 940 P ku₅at. 947 A bwól.

U.. 970 M djæst, D [between] djæst, dju₅st.

VAR. ii. s.WA. FORM.

CLAVERDON, WA. (5 e. Warwick) dt.

pal. by TH. from the dictation of S. Job, farm-labourer, b. 1824, native.

1. æ'i se'i, ju tɿaps, ju sái æ'i)m ræ'it' næ'u vba'ut dhat lit'l wensh kəmín frem s' skuul jænder.

2. æ'z egu'in dæ'un dhe rood [róud] dhíer thruu dhe red gjéet æn dhe left and sæ'id [inclining to sáid] v dhe rood.

3. lu₅k jɿ! dhe tɿæ'ild)z gæn stre'it' u₅p' te dhe roq æ'us' [dûer].

4. wíer æ'rl praps fæ'ind dhat dru₅qk'n, def, thín æn agíd [haggard] fehé [kré'iter] ez dhe kaal :tóm.

5. wi aal noo ìm veri wé'l.

6. wu₅ nt dhe óuld tɿap mæ'ík ɿr noo betɿer nɿr gù dhíer ɿgjɿ'n, púɿr thiq'.

7. lu₅k jɿ! jɿnt ít træ'u.

Note.

This has a very neutral character. I find among the wn. from the same person jander old, jander new, etc., and as the latter appears in the dt., it is possible that Job was sometimes "speaking

pretty." I find, also (n'æm, tæb'l), name, table, old, and (n'æm, tæ'b'l), new. Compare following cwl. Job used (sræmps, sræ'ud) shrimps, shroud, (shr-) being a difficulty.

SOUTH WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- B Butler's Marston (10 s. Warwick), pal. by A.J.E. from a nwl. sent by Rev. E. Miller, Vicar in 1877, helped out in parts by K. below. Mr. M. considers that the speech extends for 6 m. round. This would include Kineton. Stratford is only 7 or 8 m. off. As reverted 'r' is heard both at Stratford and Banbury, I conclude it must exist here and have introduced it. As exceptional pron. only were marked, the other pron. in the original wl. must be taken as practically in rs. In this case (*u*_o) would occur only in the words so marked. *I be* is used.
- K wn. at Kineton (9 s.-by-e. Warwick) in 1880 by T.H. from a native of 58, who had, however, resided many years at Warwick as keeper of the gate at the entrance to the common. Only principal words are given. T.H. had not noted the reverted 'r', but as it was strong in Stratford, I have introduced it. *I am* used. The pron. seems to have been tainted by Warwick. Also from Mrs. Pheasey, lived there 50 years from childhood.
- P Pillerton Priors (8 se. Stratford wn. by T.H., in 1886 from a native b. 1819.
- S wn. at Stratford-on-Avon in 1880 by T.H. from an errand boy, native, and G. Phipps, a labourer, 20, native, only absent 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ years. But both had so marked a town pron. that I give very few words. The errand boy had not even reverted 'r', but the labourer and the other people in the town had it strongly. The labourer used *we am*. The (*u*_o) was frequent.
- T Tysoe (11 se. Stratford) wn. by T.H. in 1886, from natives b. 1802 and 1809. *I be* used.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 BP *bæk*. 4 BP *tæk*, K *tæk*, S *ték*. 5 BP *mæk*, T *mék*. 6 B *méd*. 7 B *sék*. 10 B *haa*. 12 B *saa*. 13 B *naa*. 14 B *draa*. 17 B *laa*. 18 T *kék*. 19 B *tél*. 20 BKPT *lém*, S *lém*. 21 BP *ném*, K *neem*, *ném ném*. — K *amer* [hammer]. 23 BP *sém*. 24 B *shém*, T *shém*. 25 B *mén*. — *spír* [to spare]. 31 B *lét*. 35 T *aal*. 36 B *thaa*. A: 39 B *kém*. 40 B *kum* [? confused with *combe* a hill]. 43 B *and*. 44 B *lånd*. 51 B *màn*. 57 B *aas*. A: or O: 59 B *lám*. 60 T *lòq*, *luq*. 61 T *emaukst*. 64 P *roq*, T *roq*. A'- 67 B *guu*, K *egùin*. 75 B *struuk*. 76 BT *túed*. 77 B *lård*. 81 B *lén*. 84 B *múr*. 85 B *súr*. 86 T *úts*. 90 T *bloo*. 92 S *nóu*. 93 P *snoo*. A': 101 B *úk*. 102 T *eks*. 104 T *rood*. 110 P *nat*. 111 B *aat*. 113 B *húel*, T *wool*. 115 B *húem*, K *òm*, T *wóm*. 117 S *wa'n*, T *wøn*. 118 T *bwøn*. 120 PT *eguu*. 121 P *ga'n*. 122 T *na'n*. 123 B *nuçthiuk*. 124 K *stoon*, PT *stwøn*. 135 B *klath*.

Æ- 138 B *téudher* [or *éu*], SK *faadher*. 144 B *egín*. — S *præti* [pretty].

Æ: 158 P *åfter*. 161 KP *dee*. 165 B *sid*. 169 *wen*. 172 B *graa*s. 174 B *áish* [? (e'ish)]. Æ'- 182 B *séi*. 183 B *teetj*. 185 BT *reed*. 187 P *liév*. 192 PT *mîen*. 193 T *kleen*. 195 T *mení*. 196 B *wee'r*. 200 K *wiit*, TP *weat*. 202 B *heet*. Æ': 215 B *taat* [?]. 216 B *diel*, T *dje'l*. 218 T *ship'*. 223 B *dhier*, KP *dhier*. 224 B *wiier*. 226 B *muust*. 228 T *swet*.

E- 232 *brük* [but only very partially]. 233 BKPT *speek*. 237 *feever*. 241 K *re'in*, T *rân*. 243 KT *plæ*. 251 BT *meat*. 252 B *kít'l*, T *kjet'l*. 253 B *et'l*. E: 260 K *lee*. 261 KT *see*. 262 PT *wee*. 263 KT *ewee*. 268 K *eldist*. 270 B *i. belæs*. 272 B *elem*. 279 T *went*. 286 B *hare*.

E'- 294 T *fid*. 299 KT *grün*. 300 PT *kiip*. 301 B *áüer*, P *íer*. E': 307 T *nái*. 312 B *úier*. 314 K *íerd*, T *áird*.

EA: 321 B *saa*. 322 T *láf*. 324 T *á'it*, e'*it*. 326 F *öld*. 345 T *de'r*. 346 B *géet géet*. EA'- 347 B *íed*, K *éd*. EA': 350 B *díed*. 360 P *tíim*. 361 K *boenz*, P *bien*. 363 T [between] *tiap tiap*, KP *tiip*. 370 B *raa*. - EI: 378 *week*.

EO- 383 T *sev'm*. 315 B *beneeth*. 386 BT *joó*. EO: 388 T *mílk*. 393 B *bija'nd*. 394 SP *jander*. 395 PT *juq*. 397 B *súerd*. 402 BP *kærn*, T *lærn*, K *lærn*. EO'- 411 KT *thrii*, T *thrii*. — K *trii*. 420 B

foover. 421 B farti. EO': 423 T thə'i. 425 B láit. 426 B fáit. 432
foerth. 433 T brest. 434 B beat. 438 K dāi [marked as lying between
'a', a)].

I- 443 S frə'idi. 446 T nə'in. I: 452 K ái, P ə'i, T ə'i. 458 B náit,
K [the (a' marked as lying between (a, ə)], P ná'it, T [between] ná'it, ná'it.
469 B ul. 480 T thiq'. — KS ru.n. I'- 490 B bá. 492 K sə'id. 494
K táim, T tə'im. 496 K dūrn. 498 B ráit. I': 502 B fáiv. 503 T lə'if.
505 T wə'if. 506 KT umen. — T ee [hay].

O: 526 B kaat. 527 B baat. 528 B thaat. 529 B braat. 531 B daater,
KP daater. 547 B búerd. 551 B starn. 552 B karn. 553 B harn. —
mārnin [morning]. 554 P ekrās. O'- 559 S modher, K mædher. 562 T
muun. 564 KP sūn. 568 S bru.dher. O': 569 T bak. 579 B enāu, T
enū'i, [plural] enā'u. 581 B saat. 586 P dū. 587 KP dōn [marked as
lying between (ō, ə)], another time merely (dā'n)], S dūn. 588 TKP nuun.
589 T spuun. 595 B fat. 597 B sat.

U- 601 K fā'ul. 603 B kām, KP kām, PS kām. 604 K sūmer. —
S thu nðer [thunder]. 605 K sōn [as in 587] sū'n, TPS sū'n. 606 B dóover.
U: 610 T ūl. 612 SP sūm. 632 BKT u.p. 633 BK ku.p. 635 wath.
636 B fæder. 639 T dūst. U'- 640 T kja'u, P kja'u. 641 K ə'u āu,
T ə'u hā'u. 648 KT ə'uer. 650 T əbə'ut (ə'u). U': 658 KT də'um. 659
TSP tə'um. 663 K ə'us, T [between] ə'us, éus. 666 T u.zben.

Y- 677 T drə'i. 679 S tærtj. Y: 689 B bild. 690 B káind. 691 BHK
máind. 700 B wəs. 701 B fəs. 705 B skái. 706 B wái. Y': 709 B
fáir, ST fáier. 711 B láis. 712 B máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A- 718 B tréed. E. 743 B skriem. 744 B meez'lz. 751 B púert.
O. 761 B lúed. 767 B náis. 778 B efúerd.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 B éeb'l. 810 B fées. 811 B plées. 813 B bék'n, T bék'n.
814 B méus'n. 824 B tjeer. 829 B géen. 833 B peer. — K pliiz [please].
835 BT reez'n. 836 BT seez'n. 837 B leesh. 852 B éepern. 860 T p'a'ist.
861 T tæst. 862 B séef. 865 B faat.

E.. 867 BT tee. 869 B veel. 888 T sàntin. 889 B sees. 890 B beest.
891 B feest. 894 B diseev. 895 B riseev. I.. and Y.. 898 B náis.
910 B dja'ist.

O.. 916 T ə'inen. 919 B ə'intment [the distinctions (ə'i ə'i di' were not
indicated with sufficient precision in 919, 920, 924, 925, 926, 947, but distinctions
of a similar kind at least were intended, AJE.]. 920 pə'int. 924 B tja'is.
925 B váis. 926 B spə'il. 938 B karnen. 947 B bə'il. 948 B bə'ul. 952
B kúers. U.. 965 B áil. 969 S shúer.

Var. iii. BANBURY FORM.

cs. translated in 1875 by Thomas Beesley, Esq., J.P., F.C.S., native and
resident, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and from TH.'s wn. The lw.
which Mr. Beesley sent me was made 40 years previously by his uncle, and he
had purposely abstained from consulting it, so that this is altogether an independent
testimony. Mr. B. considers the dialect to extend for about 6 miles round Ban-
bury, and names the following villages as using the same speech: in Ox., Copredy,
Wardington, Adderbury, Bloxham, Swalcliff, Tadmorton, Sibford, Shutford,
Horley, and Hornton; in Gl. (but locally in Ox.), Shenington; in Np., Middle-
ton Cheney and King's Sutton. Mr. B. does not mark the reverted (r, but
from TH.'s observations I have introduced it. Mr. B.'s letters shew that he
used (æ) for short U, but TH. heard nothing but (u) at Banbury.

O. wə'i :dʒən aa)nt noo də'uts.

1. wɛl, nɛbɜr, ʒau ɛn iɪ mɛ boə'th laaf ɛt dʰi:s iɪ'r nɪuuz ɛ mə'in,
huu kiɪ'rʒ ? dʰat's nɛdʰɜr iɪ'r nɛr dʰee'r.

2. fīuu [fīAA'u] fook də'iz, kəz dhe bii laaft et; hæs nooz. doo'nt hæs? wat shəd mīek'am? tʃ'ent veri lə'ikli, his' it?

3. hə'susem'e'ver dhiiz bii dhe faks e dhe kies, soo djest oold jək bədher, frend, en kiip kə'ot tɪl ə'i bi [ə'i]v dæn. harki!

4. ə'i bi sartin shīuu'r, ez ə'i ii'rd en see—səm e dhe fooks ez went thruu dhi whal thiɔ bə'i dherse-lvz—dhat ə'i did shīuu'r enaf.

5. dhet dhe jəqest sən hizself, e gret bū'əi e nə'in, nood iz fiedherz vóis et wans, dhoo it wər soo kwíur en skwee'kin-lə'ik, en ə'i'd trəst hii tɛ spɛk dhe truuth hani [hɛni, heeni] dee, ái, dhat ə'i had.

6. en dhe oold hūmən ɛrse'lf el tel hani on'i ez laafs nə'u, en tel i street off, tuu, wi'ə'ut mətɔ, bədher if ju oni haks'ɛr—wənt'shi [wənt'ɛr], dhat's aal.

7. leest wə'iz ɛr teld it, mii wen ə'i hakst ɛr, tuu ɛr thrii tə'imz oover shi dɪd, en ɛr had nt aat tɛ bi rəɔ in sɪtɔ e pū'ə'nt ez dhɛ's'n [dhat-eer], wət de juu thiɔk?

8. wel, ez ə'i wɛr ɛsee'in—ɛr d tel jɛ, hə'u, weer en wen shi fə'nd dhe drɛk'n biest shi kaalz ɛr əzbend [man].

9. shi swee'rd ɛr sɪn im wi ɛr oon ə'iz, lee'in stretɪt et fəl leqkth en dhe grə'und in iz gud sɛnde kúuət. kloos bə'i dhe dúuɛr e dhe hə'us, də'un et dhe kaarnɛr e dhat e'e'r leen.

10. hii wɛr e wə'in'in ɛr sez, fɛr aal dhe wɜrld lə'ik e sɪk tɔ'ild ɛr e lɪ't'l gal [li't'l wentɔ] in e fret [in ɛr tantremz].

11. en dhat ap'nd ez ɛr an ɛr daa'tɛr in laa, kəm thruu dhe bak jərd frəm aɔin ə'ut dhe wɛt klóobz,

12. wə'il dhe ket'l wɛz e bū'ə'i'in fɛr tee, wən fə'in brə'it səmɛr aatɛrnuun, ooni e wɪk ɛguu', kəm nekst thəzdi.

13. en, dje noo? ə'i never larnt noo moo'r nɛr dhɛs e dhat bɪznɛs ɛp tɛ tɛdee, ez shīuu'r)z mə'i nɪem)z :dʒən :shepɛrd, en ə'i duu)nt wənt tu needher, dhii'r nə'u!

14. en soo ə'i bi ɛguu'in [gwee'in] wɛm tɛ sɛpɛr. gud nə'it, en duunt bi sɛ kwɪk tɛ kroo oover e bɔdi ɛgɛn, wən i taaks e dhɛs dhat ɛr t)ədher.

15. it)s e week fuul ez preets [taaks] wi'ə'ut reez'n. en dhat)s mə'i last wɜrd. gud bə'i.

SHENINGTON dt.

6½ w. Banbury, politically in Gl., locally in Ox., pal. in 1881 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Harris, native, then a student at Whitelands Training College, who knew of Wykes, the policeman, that furnished the lw. to TH., mentioned on p. 118. Observe that here (u) was used for short U.

1. soo ə'i sɛ'ɪ, bu'tiz, jɛ se' nə'u dhet ə'i bi rɛ'it ɛbɔ'ut dha't lɪ't'l gɜrl e-ku'mɪn frəm dhe skuul ja'nder.

2. shii)z e-gu'in də'un dhe ruu'd dhɛr thruu dhe red ge'it on dhe left ə'nd sɪ'id e dhe wə'ɪ.

3. shuur enə'u dhe tɔ'ild)z gon strɛ'it u)p tɛ dhe duu'r e dhe roq ə'us.

4. wi'r shii)'l a'p'n tɛ fɑ'ind dha't dru_oqk'n def feler v dha niem
v :tu_oməs.

5. wi aal noo)en veri wel.

6. wu_o)nt dhv ool tja'p sun laarn ɛr na't tɛ duu)t ɛgen, puu'r
thiq !

7. luk jii'r ! ee)nt it tru ?

Notes.

1. *so*, never (*zoo*), no *z* for *s* or *v* for *f*.—*mates* not used.—*I be* more frequent than *I am*.—*right*, not heard initial (rh, rh).—*girl* the regular word, though (*wenti*) is used. The (r) usual. Wykes rejected *girl* and only admitted *wench*.

2. *she's agoing*, *her's* not used, it is quite foreign to the dial. *we*, *you*, *they be*, in general use.—Miss H. never heard *I are*.—*hand*, *h* always omitted, *w* used for *wh*.

3. *sure enow*, they never use (*enu f*), does not know the distinction of meaning between *enough* and *enow*.

4. *shriveled* not used, they say (*shru_ohz*), so that (*shr-*) is used.

5. *know him*, (*en*) is used, especially among the elder people.

6. *old chap*, old without *d*, but in (*ool d*) *u men* old woman, the *d* is disjoined from *l* and run on to the following vowel.

BANBURY wl.

From the following sources :

B Banbury vocabulary by the late Mr. Beesley, uncle of the Mr. Beesley who wrote the *cs.* on p. 116. It is not quite certain that all the words belong to Banbury. There were many repetitions in the list, and sometimes the repeated words were not spelled in the same way the second time they occurred as they had been the first time. Of course the pron. assigned is greatly conjectural. From HB (below) I adopt (*ə'i*, *ə'u*, *u_o*, *r*). Words not inserted are (*eent*, *ent*, *jent*, *bient*, *eeren*), *aint*, *baint*, *e'er* a one, (*hiz'n*, *hærn*, *twærdent*), *his*, *hers*, *it were* not.

HB Some of the *wn.* in Banbury by TH. in 1881 from natives. Some of these seem to be rather refined.

S *wn.* by TH. in 1875 from Wykes, a London policeman, but native of Shenington, confirmed by Miss Harris, a native, in 1881, p. 117.

ES words from the *dt.* on p. 117, dict. to AJE. in 1881 by Miss Harris, native of Shenington. This village was admitted by Mr. T. Beesley, who wrote the *cs.* for Banbury given above, to be in the Banbury district. I do not give the words from the *cs.*, considering his uncle's *lw.* sufficient.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — S *wék* [a wake or feast]. 21 HB *nêim*, ES *niem*. — B *hæmər* [hammer]. — B *pih'l* [pebble]. A: — B *rəm* [ram]. 43 B *hanstæf* [handstaff or handle of a flail, (*swiq'l*) the other end]. 45 B *want*. 51 S *màn*. 56 S *wash*. A: or O: 64 HB *rəq*, ES *roq*. A'- 67 B *guu* [(*gweenin* *gween*) going], HB *gōu* *egū'in*, S *gwe'in*. 74 S *tə'u*. 76 B *tūd*. 79 HB *ōm*. 81 S *lén*. 84 HB *mûr*. 86 S *úets*. A': 101 S *ók* [Miss Harris (*ók*)]. 102 B *aks* *eks*. 104 ES *ru'd*. — B *drav* [a drove]. 110 B *nat*. 111 S *àt*. 113 B *whal*. 115 B *wham*, S *wā'm*, *ó'tem* [Miss Harris did not know the last form]. — B *wəps* [wasp]. 118 B *bwæn*. 123 B *næthiqk*, HB *næ. 124 B *stwæn*, HB *stōm*, S *stūen*. — B *lōt* [loath].*

Æ- 138 B *fiaadher* [spelled *feah'ther*], S *fíadher*. — S *je'ker* [acre]. — B *ladher* [ladder]. — B *bladher* [bladder]. 144 B *egē'n*. 149 B *blizi* *blā'iz* [is (*blizi*), one of the S. infinitives in *-y?*]. 152 S *wiæter*. Æ: — B *stīdi* [steady]. — B *stōm* [stem of a tree]. 158 S *a_lrter*. 161 HB *dēi*. — B *stēd* [handle]. — B *həps* [hasp]. 172 S *graas*. — S *dlaas* [glass]. — HBS *kjā'rt*. [cart]. — B *rət* [rat]. Æ'- 190 B *kee*. 200 B *wect*, HB *wit*. — B *hēth* [heath]. Æ': 205 B *thrid*. — B *sīd* [seed]. 218 BS *shīp*. 223 ES *dhær*. 224 B *wiir* [where], *noo'er* [no-where]. — B *strit* [street].

E- 233 S *espe'ikin* [a-speaking]. 243 HB *plèi*. 246 S *kwiin*. — B *et* [eat]. 251 B *meet*, S *miet*, *meet* [Miss Harris says the last is more usual]. 253 B *et'l*. E- — B *tət tətj* [fetch]. 261 HB *s'ei*, S *see*, ES *sæ'i*. 262 ES *wæ'i*. 263 HB *ewèi*. 265 ES *stræ'it*. — *fiLD* [field]. 272 S *eləm* [Wykes, (elm) Miss Harris]. — B *hoop hoopt* [help, helped]. 278 S *wenti*. — B *ind*, *ind* [end]. — B *nist* [nest]. E'- — B *iitj* [to eke]. 299 HB *gruin*. E': 306 B *hekth* [this form is not found in other words, compare *Havelock* *knith*, *suprà* Part II. p. 477, see below p. 127, No. 306]. 312 ES *jür*. 314 B *hiird*, HB *ierd*.

EA: — B *tjaaf* [chaff], *tjaaf'in* [chaffing]. — B *tjaalz* [jowls]. 323 B *fə'ut*. — B *tjook* [chalk]. 326 ES *ool*. 334 *haapni*, *haapeth* [halfpenny, -worth], S *aap'ni*. — B *emúvst* [almost]. — B *aales* [always]. — S *hà'rd* [hard]. 346 B *jéet*, ES *gr'et*. EA'- 347 B *hadlend* [headland], *jed*, BH *éd*. EA': 350 B *djedli* [deadly, extremely]. 352 ES *red*. 355 ES *def*. — S *bíem* [beam]. — B *kremi* [cream]. — B *sem* [seam]. 360 S *def*. 361 S *bíem*. 363 B *tjep tjep*. — B *jap*, *jəpt* [heap, heaped]. 364 ES *tja'p*. — S *ier* [year]. — B *cest* [east]. 366 B *gret*. — B *cezi* [easy]. — B *doo*, *díAA'u* [dew]. 370 B *raa*.

EI- 373 HB *dhéi*. EO- 386 S *jóu*. EO: 394 S *jander*. — B *hərd* [herd]. 397 B *sward*. 402 BES *larn*. 404 B *star'* ['with a rough burring sound']. 406 B *jeth*. EO'- 411 HB *thrii*. 413 B *dəv'l*. EO': — B *liv* [lie]. 425 HB *láiit*. 428 ES *se'l*. 436 ES *truu*. EY- 438 HB *də'i*.

I- 440 B *wik*. — B *hiis* [yes]. — B *sine* [sinew]. 447 S *ær*. — B *peez*, S *pe'iz* [pease]. 450 B *tjuuzd*. I: 452 HB *ə' & a* [unemphatic], ES *ə'i*. — B *bird*, S *bərd* [bird], *bə'diz* [birdies]. 458 HB *nait'*. 459 HB *rə'it*, ES *ra'it*. 465 B *sitj*. — B *filer* [thiller or shaft horse]. 469 B *hul* [will, 'rhyming *wool*'] *hət* [wilt, 'rhyming with *pat*'], S *u'l*. 470 ES *en* [weak, old people = *hine*]. 477 ES *fə'in*. — HB *ru'n* [run]. — B *bəshap* [bishop]. — B *spet* [spit]. I'- 492 HB *sə'id*, ES *sə'id*. — *gii gin giz* [give, gave or given, gives], *gitter* [gift]. — B *brüf* [rife, a remnant of *ii* in *s' rife*, confused with *brief* and so preserved?] — HB *thərti*. I': 502 HB *fə'iv*. 506 B *amen*. — B *həmekin*, *hə'rikerd* [haymaking, hayrickyard]. 508 S *mái'l*.

O- — B *shə'ul* [shovel]. — B *rat'n* [rotten]. O: 529 S *brət'*. 531 S *daaj'pter*. 538 B *had*. 543 B *an*. 549 B *ward*. — B *həs* [horse]. 554 B *kras*, S *kraas*. — B *púestiz* [posts]. — B *moots* [moths]. O'- 555 HB *shə'u*. 557 S *tə'u*. — B *lodher* [lodder]. 559 S *mədher* [not with *u*]. 560 ES *skuul*. — B *gumz gumz* [gums]. 564 S *sun'*, ES *sun*. 566 HB *u dher*. — B *blə'uz* [blows = blossoms]. O': 571 S *gu'd*. — B *həd* [hood, peascods *bii dhu peez haded* ?]. — B *rad* [rod]. 579 HB *enə'f*, ES *enə'u* [not with *f*]. 587 HBS *du'u*. 588 HB *nə'un*, S *nun*. 595 B *fat*.

U- 599 HB *əbu'v*. — B *had* [wood]. — B *drə'uth* [drought]. 603 S *kəmin*, ES *kə'min*. 605 HBS *sə'n*. 606 HB *dóuer*, ES *duu'r*. U: 612 HB *sə'm*. 619 B *fənd* [? *fə'nd*]. — B *anteer*, *ansərtin* [unfair, uncertain], *anka'qg'ld* [imposəb'l] [untangled, impossible]. 626 HB *u'ggvi* [hungry]. 631 S *thəzde*. 632 HBES *u'p*. 634 ES *thruu*. 636 B *fərdər*. — B *rə'asti* [rusty]. U'- 640 B *kjə'u*, S *kjə'u*. 641 B *həs'm* *ever* *hə'usəm* *ever* [however]. 643 ES *nə'u*. 650 HB *əbə'ut*, ES *əbə'ut*. U': 658 S *də'm*. 663 HBES *ə'as*, S *əuz'n* [houses]. 666 S *u'zben*.

Y: 684 B *bərdj*. 685 B *radj*. 689 B *bəldin* *bwə'ldin*. — B *shilf* [shelf]. — B *fəz* [furze]. 701 B *fast*. Y- — B *ədramd* [a-dreamt]. 707 HB *thertii'n*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 B *dəm*. — B *tjar* [a chare]. 737 B *miet*. — B *əkərd* *həkərd*, S *əkərd* [awkward]. E. — B *zəd* [letter z]. 751 B *piirt* [as (*ar*)*laks* *múer* *piirtur* *nar* *er* *did* she looks *perter*=in better health, *nor*=than she did]. I and Y. 758 ES *gərl*. O. 772 B *boontə'ir*. — B *sə'und* [swoon]. — B *mərt* [mort=many]. 791 S *bói*. U. — B *də'uk* [to duck]. — B *pədin* [pudding]. — B *tjuun* [tune]. 804 ES *drə'qk'n*.

805 B kærðz. — B shet shetærz [shut, shutters]. — ES bu_{ti} [butty, companion].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — S tiébl [table]. 811 B plécs, HB pléis. 813 S biék'n. — B threel [flail]. 824 B tpiir. — B plecz [please]. — B ezi. — B mæster [mister]. — B koor [quarry, 'as got dhe stænz from :hornten koor we got the stones from Horton quarry]. — B marvilz [marbles]. — ES tlaas [class]. — B slat, S slæt [slate]. — B saas [sauce]. 865 B faat.

E.. 867 BS tee, S tee₁. — B fit_i [vetch]. 878 B saleri. — B fenem [venom]. — B tjari [cherry]. 888 B sartin. — B sarv [serve]. — B mizer. 892 B nevi.

I and Y.. — B wedth [width]. 901 S fain [Wykes, (fæ'in) Miss Harris]. 910 B dja'is.

O.. 916 B æ'inæn æ'inæn. — B kœ'æn [quoin=coin]. — B næ'int [anoint, thrash]. — B dja'in [join]. 929 B kjæ'ækember. 930 B l'æn. — B kjæ'ant [to count]. — B kjæ'anti [county]. — B :hœ'is [Horace, 'with a rough burring sound']. — S tæust [toast]. 940 HB kœat. 947 B bæ'd bæ'ail, S bœil. — B ræut [rut of a wheel]. 956 B kiver. U.. — B dpuuti [duty]. — B trævnt [truant]. — B tjuulep [tulip]. — B pilpit [pulpit]. 970 B djest.

VAR. iv. SW.NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CWL.

From the following sources :—

A Ashby St. Legers (3 n.Daventry).

Ba. Badby (2 ssw.Daventry) including Daventry and Woodford '6 ssw.D.'. Ex. (shënt, ædhat'n, wot's i sei? shan't, of that kind, what does he say? æi dæ n dhat kœ'æt rœq) I [have] done that quite wrong, ('just to sè æmen en næn it)s æa'men) used to say a-men and now its æh-men.

By. Byfield (7 sw.D.). Ex. (in mæ sev'mti tœu in my 72nd year. (a' bi,jæ? bi,jæ in priti gud elth?) how are you? are you in pretty good health?

T. Towcester 11 sse.D. including Helmedon 7 sw.T., Syersham '6 ssw.T.'. A man of 60 says when he was a boy, say 1830, A was called (æe).

W. Watford 4 me.Da. and Weedon 4 se.D.'. A man of 60 who attended school at Whilton (3 sse.Watford) was taught to call A, E (æa, æe). One person examined at Watford had (æ L) strong.

All from wn. by TH. from natives in 1881 and 1886. The variants were probably due to individual habits, and did not extend over districts.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W bëikt, A bæek bæ'ik [new], bakes [bakehouse old]. By biæk. 4 A tæk, By tæk. 5 A mæk, Ba mæk. 6 By mæud. 18 W kjæk, By kjæk. 20 Ba léem. 21 T nêim [villages about Towcester say (nêem)] ABa nêim nêim [new]. 23 A sêim sê'em, By sêem. 31 By lêt. A: 39 Ba kæ'm. 56 A wash. A: or O: 60 A lœq. 64 TBaBy rœq, W ruœq.

A'- 67 TWBy gu'in gœu'in, ABa gœu, By gwêin. 69 Ba nôu. 74 T ta'u, W tiu. 76 ABaBy tûud. 81 A læ'in læen. 82 W wœus. 84 W mœu[R]. 86 A ôets ôats [new] By wuts. 92 W nôu, A noo. 95 By throo. A': 104 A rood rôud [new] rûud, By rood. — W [between] lœdi lœidi [lady]. 115 AT ôam, TABaBy ôm, Ba ôum [new]. By oom. 117 T wæn, A wôn. 120 By eguu. 121 T gæ'n. 123 T [between] nothiœk nœthiœk, W nœthiœk. 124 A stôn', BaBy stœn, By stwæn. 125 W ôunli.

Æ- 138 TWBaBy faadhær. — By ladhær [ladder]. 142 By sneel. — By seet [a seat]. 152 By wæatur. Æ: 158 W ærtœ[R], A arter, Ba æter. 161 TW dêi, W dæ'i, A dæ'i dii [the last evidently an importation from Le.], Ba dêi, By deæ. 172 Ba græs. Æ'- 190 W kii. 197 ABa tpiiz. 200 TW wiit [villagers], wêit, ABa wîet, By weet. Æ': 216 A dii, By dæ'l. 218 Ba ship. 223 A dhær dhær, Ba dhær dhær[R]. By dhær. 224 By wær.

E- 233 T spæik [villages about (spæik)], WABÿ speek. 241 W râ'in, A rœ'in, Ba

rèn, By reen. 243 W plē'i plēi. 250 W swēe'w. 251 Ba m'it. E: 260 W l'ierz [layers]. 261 A se'i, BaBy see. 262 TW wēi, W wā'i, A we'i, Ba wē, By wee. 263 W əwēi, Ba awē. 278 W wenti [an offensive term]. 280 A lev'm. E'- 299 TBy gr'in, W gr'in. 300 ABA kiip. 302 By m'it. E': 305 By s'i. 312 T ier, By ier. 314 W ierd, TW ierd, By ierd.

EA: 324 T a'it, ABA e'it. 326 T ōud ōud, BaByW ōudd. 334 W a'i. 335 W AAL. 346 Ba gjēt. EA'- 347 T e'd, WBý ēd. EA': 350 W de'd. 353 By brē'd. 360 ABy tiem. 361 BaBy bām, Ba bēn. 363 ABA tjep. 366 TA grēt, By grēt gret. EI- 373 W dhēi dhē.

EO- 383 T sev'n, ABABy sev'm. EO: 395 ByWA juq. 396 Ba wark. 402 W lern, By larn. EO'- 411 T thrii, Ba thrii. — Ba trīi [tree]. 420 T fōe, By fōer. EO': 425 A [between] lāt lāt, By l'it. 431 TBA bier. 437 TBý trē'uth. EY- 438 T dā'i, A dāi, By dā'i dā'i. EY: 439 W trā'smi [trust me].

I- 440 W wūk. 444 A [between] str'il sto'il. 446 T nā'in nāin. I: 452 TBA ai, By s'i. 458 TBy nā'it, W nāit, A [between], nāit nōit, Ba [between] nā'it nāit. 459 A [between] rā'it rōit, By rā'it. 466 By tja'ld. 469 Ba wil wūl [will]. — W rā'n [run]. — W dānt. I'- — [long ī Ba ai, au, Daventry (ā'i)]. 492 A [between] sād sād, Ba sād. 494 TBy tō'm, A [between] tā'm tā'm, Ba [between] tā'm tā'm. I': 500 TBy l'ā'k. 502 W [between] lā'iv fōiv, By lā'iv. 503 T l'it.

O: 527 Ba bāt. 529 ABABy brāt, By brōut. 531 ABABy daater. 532 W kōd, A kē'ud. 543 By a'n. — By A's [horse]. O'- 555 W shuu, By shū. 558 By luk. 559 By madher. 560 A skuul. 562 A māun, BaBy muun. 566 A u'dher. 567 By tu'dher. 568 ABABy brū'dher. O': 569 BaBy buk. 571 A gūd. 586 T dō'u, W dōmt [don't]. 587 W dōn, Ba dōn. 588 A nūn, Ba nuun. 594 W bē'ut [occ.].

U- 603 TBy kam. 604 A sū mer. 605 T sō'n [and between that and sōn] WABý sū'n, Ba [between] sonz sanz. 606 T dō'r dū'r, ByW dū'r. U: 612 WBy sū'm. — T [between] tōmb'l, tōmb'l [tumble]. 615 W pā'nd. 622 Ba u'nder. 629 By sū'n. 632 By u'p. 633 T kop', WA kū'p, Ba kop kū'p. 636 ABy farder. 639 A du'st. U'- 640 Ba kjā'uz. 641 A ā'u. 643 TByW nē'u. 648 T ā'uē[r, W ē'uern, ā'uern, ē'uern. 650 TWBy ēb'ut. U': 658 TWBy dō'm, W dā'm, A dā'm, Ba dām. 659 Ba tō'm. 661 A [between] shā'uer shā'uer. 663 TABý ā'us, Ba ā'uzez ā'uziz, By ā'uz'n. 666 Ba u'zhen. 667 T ā'ut, A [between] ā'ut e'ut. 668 By prā'ud. 671 W mēe'uth.

Y- 677 By drā'i. 679 Ba tja'tj. 682 T līt'l. Y- 707 T thar'ti'n. Y': 712 By mā'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 ABA taak. I. and Y. 758 T gjal, gjērl [refined]. O. 761 By lūed. 767 T nōiz. 791 By bōi. U. 803 A dju'mp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W léiber [labour, (r) rather strong]. 811 A plēiziz plēez. 822 Ba m'i. — Ba pe'i peed. — W plēin [plain]. — A mā'ster [master, Mr.]. 848 W tjeindr. 849 T ju'mie strēindr [you are a stranger]. 851 TW ànt. — W plect [plate]. E.. 867 W tii tēi. A tii, By tee. 885 By veri. — Ba paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 W nā'is, By nē'is. 901 T fāin fā'in. O.. — bif [beef]. — T u'qk'l [uncle]. 933 A fru'nt. 940 By kūt. 947 By bōil. U.. 963 By kwā'it. 970 A dju's.

D. 7 = m.BS. = mid Border Southern.

Boundary. Start from Little Rollwright, Ox. (19 nw.Oxford). Proceed to the e. to the sw. corner of Np. and continue by the b. of Np. to the b. of Ox., go se., s. and n. by the b. of Ox. round to Itfley (2 s.Ox.). Then pass through Be. to the w. by Kennington,

Wootton, and Appleton to the b. of Ox. Proceed n. by the b. of D 5 through Ox., e. of Witney, w. of Handborough, e. of Charlbury and Chipping Norton, to the starting-point.

At the s. part of the peninsula of Ox. the dialect, however, has become so worn out that no b. can be assigned with certainty, as the district abuts on the metropolitan area.

Area. Most of Ox., with a small portion of Be., included in a bay of Ox. This is entirely a region of transition from S. to E. The dial. forms are uncertain, and become practically lost at the s. part.

Authorities. See the Alphabetic County List under the following places, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Ox. †Blackthorn, ‖†Ensham, †Freeland, °Fringford, °Greys, ‖†Handborough, ‖Holtton, °Islip, °†Oxford, °Sonning, †Stonesfield, †Tiddington.

Character. In contradistinction to D 6, D 7 is very homogeneous. Mrs. Parker (author of the Ox. Glossary and Supplement published by the English Dialect Society) divides D 7 into three principal parts. The first two might be called the Handborough (9 nnw. Oxford) and the Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford) varieties, forming mid Ox., bounded on the n. by the n. b. of D 7, and on the s. approximately by a line through Sandford (3 s-by-e.Oxford) and Thame (12 e.Oxford). With these two varieties she was personally well acquainted, being a native of Handborough. Mrs. Parker was kind enough to acquire the use of Glossic, in order to furnish me with information, and to allow TH. to "interview" her, by which means I was able to substantiate the accuracy of her phonetic spelling. TH. also visited Freeland (close to Handborough), and obtained supplementary illustration and confirmation. I give below the es. and dt. and a number of sentences, evidently recollections of actual speeches heard by Mrs. Parker (sent me in MS., but subsequently printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary), several of which I add in pal. Mrs. P. considers that the chief differences between these varieties are that Handborough says (bjent, gween, wats, bjenz, kwat, dwent) ben't, going, oats, beans, coat, don't, and Blackthorn has (bient, gu'in, ûats, bienz, kûet, dûent). Now these are only constantly interchangeable forms of the same original for each pair. Ws. âte, oats, becomes regularly (ûáts), whence by putting the stress on the first element only (ûets), and by putting it on the second only (ûats, ûats, wats). And so for the other forms. Hence the difference is a trifling variety, often found, while there is a substantial identity in this respect, and a real identity in others. The third or s.Ox. variety embraces all the s. peninsula of Ox. between Be. and Bu., with which Mrs. P. was personally unacquainted, but she procured me a dt. from Miss Slade, a schoolmistress at Sonning (4 sw.Henley-on-Thames), and I obtained another from Rev. N. Pinder, rector of Greys (or Rotherfield Grays, 2 w.Henley-on-Thames), neither of which I can fully interpret, but they are sufficient to shew that the speech is a mere variety, differing from the other two mainly in indicating a still further degradation, but

still having an unmistakable S. character. Thus Miss Slade says that in 1880 there might be commonly heard (vrə'ut) without, (pūest pūestiz) post-s, (neer'n) ne'er a one, (aaternuun) afternoon, (aasts) asks, (dhiiz iir, dhat eer) these here, that there, (hant) have not, (ship) sheep, (həs) horse, etc., of which the first three, at least, are distinctive S. forms, though the rest are familiar in the metropolitan area. And in Miss Slade's dt. she uses (mêets, skuuld, jender, rôed, giët, strêet, mûest, nêem, want) mates, school, yonder, road, gate, straight, most, name, won't, which have the same character. Whether (r) is used I could not determine, but probably it has faded to (r₃) or been entirely vocalised. The analysis of (a'i, a'u) could also not be determined. Mr. Pinder wrote *oy*, but as writers of dialect constantly use *oy* for (ái, ái, a'i), I am very sceptical when I see it. Even in Aylesbury, Bu. (see E div. D 15), where Mr. Fowler said (ái), I heard it once only from labourers. The whole e. side of Ox. and w. side of Bu. seem inextricably mixed up, and I have marked the e. b. of Ox. as the b. of the district and group, simply from inability to determine where any change takes place. Mr. Fowler, of Aylesbury, considered the part of Ox. from Deddington (15 n.Oxford) to just e. of Charlton (7 nne.Oxford) to belong to Bu., but the pron. to change at Thame (12 e.Oxford), and the s. peninsula of Ox. to be quite different. It was only an impression, and he was unable to assign his reasons, but this would give Mrs. Parker's Blackthorn variety to Bu. and too much of a S. character to the s. peninsula. It is, however, provoking not to be able to draw a boundary with certainty between dialects so distinct in their development as the S. and E. But it certainly lies between a line on the w. connecting Blackthorn (10 ne.Oxford), Islip (4 n-by-e.Oxford), Holton (5 e.Oxford), and Henley-on-Thames, and a line on the e. connecting Buckingham, Aylesbury, and High Wycombe. From Aylesbury to Islip, the greatest width, is 18m. Rev. C. Coker, of Fringford (16 nne. Oxford), says that he does not consider the difference between Ox. and Bu. at that place sufficient to constitute a different dialect, and certainly the whole e. side of Ox. is much affected by Bu. There is no natural barrier between Ox. and Bu., and the Chiltern Hills pass through both.

Illustrations. A cs. and a dt., both from Mrs. Parker, a series of observed sentences written by the same, bringing out the southern character of the dialect very conspicuously, and finally a cwl. furnished by the same lady, with some words noted by TH.

a. HANDBOROUGH cs.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's systematic spelling, assisted by notes, and TH.'s observations.

0. wə'i :dʌn aant ɡət noo də'uts.

1. wel, maa'ster, dhii en ii med bwath en i laaf et dhis-JER niúuz
v mə'in, uu kii'rz ? dha's nə'i'dhər JER nər dhaar.

2. tʃent men'i men ez də'iz kAAZ' dhe bi laaft ət, ɛs nooz, dwəntʃəs, men? waat shuud meek'em? tʃent var lə'ik'li, iz it?

3. awev'ər dhis iz ə'u t'wɛz, soo dʒest oold dhii nə'iz, ət? maa'stər, en bi kwə't'ət, til ə'i v dən. lɛs'en.

4. ə'i bii saart'en shuu'r ə'i jɛrd'em see—səm v dheɛ fooks uz went thruu ev'ri mɔs'əl an't frəm dhə fəst dherse'lvz—dhat,i)dɪd, seef buʃf—

5. dhət dhe lit'elst bwa'i izse'lf, v gret bwa'i v nə'in, nood iz faa'dherz vɔa'is dherek'li, dhoo t'wɛz sɛ kwii'r en skwiik'in, en ə'i)d trest ii tɛ speek dhe truuth [truuf] eni dee, aa, dhat,i)ud, men.

6. en dhe ool'd'am'en ɛrse'lf ul tel eni'en'i ez laafs nə'u, en tel,i street aaf tuu, men, ɛdhə'ut mɛtʃ tɔ-duu, if juu'l enli aks'ər, dʒest want ɛr?

7. eni,ə'u ɛr teld ə'i it wen ə'i akst'ər, oo'vər en oo'vər ɛgen, ɛr dɪd, en ɛr dɪd'nt aat tu be rɔɹ en sɪtʃ v pɔə'ɪnt ez dhis-jər, waat dast dhii thiɹk?

8. wel, ez ə'i wɛz v see'in, ɛr)d tel dhe, waar, wen, en ə'u ɛr fə'und dhat dhaaɹ drɛɹk'n biest ez ɛr kalz ɛr ɛz'bɛn.

9. ɛr swaa'rd ɛr sɪn i wi ɛr oon ə'iz, lee'in spraaɪd aal blɔɹ, in iz gud sən'di kwɛt, kloos bə'i dhe ə'us duu'r, də'un ɛt dhe kAAr-nɛr v dhat leen jan'dər.

10. ii wɛz v win'ekin ewee' ɛr sez, men, fɛr aal dhe wɛrld lə'ik ə sɪk tʃə'ɪld [tʃə'ɪld], ɛr v lit'l gʒal an dhə grɪz'l.

11. en dhat ap'nd əz ɛr en ɛr :tɔmz wə'ɪf kɛm thruu dhə bak jaard frəm aɹ'in ə'ut dhe wɛt klooz tɛ drə'i, an v wəʃ'n dee,

12. wə'ɪl dhe kjɪt'l wɛz v bɔə'ɪlɪn fɛr tee, wɛn fə'in sɛni sɛm'ɛr aartɔrnɛn enli v wɪk egoo kɛm nɛkst thɛrzdɪ [thɛz'dɪ].

13. an, dust noo? ə'i nev'ər jɛrd nɛ muu'r nɛr dhis v dhat bɪz'nɛs ɛp tɛ tɛdee, men, ez shuu'r ez mə'i neemz :dʒɔn :shɛp'ɛrd, en ə'i dwənt waant tu niidhɛr, sɛ dhaaɹ'.

14. en nə'u ə'i bi v gwec'in oom tɛ aa mə'i sɛp'ɛr. gud nə'it, en dwənt bi in sɪtʃ v gʒal'ɛpɪn ɛri tɛ kɔk-kroo oo'vər v bədi egjɛ'n, mɛn, wɛn v tAAks v dhɪs dhat ɛr t)ɛdh'ɛr.

15. t'iz v week faul ez preets ɛdhə'ut ree'z'n. ɔn dha's mə'i laast wɛrd. gud dee.

Notes.

1. *master*, all the *r*'s not preceding a vowel are marked (r), for, although in Mrs. Parker's own pron. to TH. they were nearly evanescent, their existence was clear close to Handborough. Before a vowel TH. observed no cases,

nor did he observe any assimilating effect on *t*, *d*, *n*, *l*, producing *tr*, *dr*, *sn*, *ld*. Like JGG. in D 4 at Chippenham, Mrs. Parker considered the (r) to be rather retracted than reverted, and always untrilled, that is, (r₁).

b. HANDBOROUGH dt.

pal. by AJE. from Mrs. Parker's Glossic.

1. soo ə'i see, meets, jɛ siz nə'u ez ə'i bi rə'it ɛbə'ut dhat dhaaɹ lit'l gʒal əkəm'in frəm dhe skúuəl jan'dər.

2. ɛr-z egwee'n də'un dhe rood dhaaɹ thruu dhe red gʒɛt v dhe lift aand sə'id v dhe rood.

3. seef enaf dhu tʃə'ɪld'z gaan street ʔp te dhu dūuer v dhu rəq
ʔus,

4. wər ɛrˈl vaar lə'ɪk fə'ɪnd dhat dhii'r drəqk'n def sriveld
fel v dhu neem v :təm'əs.

5. ɛs aal nooz 'ii vɛ[rɪ wɛl.

6. wənt dh'ool tʃap sən laarn ər nat te dʌ't ʊgjen', puu'r thiŋ.

7. jalak ! jent it truɪ ?

Notes.

1. *mate* is often *boy* *bɔa'ɪ* in the singular, in calling out to several men they would say [ʔi see jiu], and not the usual *joo*.—*as* and not *that* would be used here, compare the mummings rhyme, where *it* means *yet*, and *jed*, *head*—

(hii'r kemz ʔi, ɛz aant bin it,
here come I that hasn't been yet,
wi mʔi gret jed en lit'ɪ wit,
with my great head and my little wit.

—*be* becomes in the negative (bjent, bent).—*that*, *th* is sometimes omitted from this word, as [at i ʌ] = *that* he will.—*little* (li:t'ɪ) = *very small*.—*girl*, “my wench” is a usual term of affection, “wench,” by itself would be offensive.—*yonder*, *yon* is not used.

2. *her*, the (r) is always felt; (shii) is used only as an emphatic objective case.—*going*, *əgwen'in* is also common, especially at Combe and Wood-

stock, in this district.—*there*, (dhaar, dhær, dhii'r are all used, and similarly waar, wər, wii'r, for *where*.—*the child's gone*, 's means *is*, *has* is not used in the dialect; they say, “*is gone*, *is come*, *had went* or *a-went*,” this a-(v) is used after *had*, but not after *have*.

3. *been* and *gone* is frequently used.

4. *shrivelled*, initial shr-, unknown in this part of the country.—*fillow*, with a strong r, as *feleer*, is used a little further north and north-east.

5. *we* for *us*, and *us* for *we*, is the rule.—*he*, en for *him* and *it* when unemphatic.—*learn*, but *teetjer*, with distinct (r).

6. *thing*, 'sem'et, nath'n, nath'in, nath'ɪk, etc., are all heard for *something* and *nothing*.

7. (lak, alak, dhalak, lək) as exclamations for *look there!* but *look* is otherwise lak.—*is not*, 'ent, is more refined than (jent).

c. HANDBOROUGH PHRASES.

All these phrases and many others were printed in Glossic in the Supplement to Mrs. Parker's Ox. Glossary after having been supplied to me in MS.

1. (ʔi never went nuur enʔist'en), I never went no-where near him.

2. (twəd ɛnder v arv), toad under a harrow.

3. (dhis biir z dasht, en ɛr aaləs duu dash it), this beer's dashed [mixed with some of an inferior quality], and she always do dash it.

4. (duu i kəm in, en aa v dish v tee wi ɛs), do ye come in, and have a dish of tea with us.

5. (aal ʔi waants iz faar duuz, en faar duuz ʔi'l aa, fər aal dhii ər enibodi els), all I want is fair dealings, and fair dealings I'll have, for all thee or anybody else.

6. (:puɔni :uɔɔrd v bin en fɛl ɛpən :teepot :adamz, en i vʔuz en diklaarz i'l pəl'en), Puddingy Woodward has been and fallen upon Teapot Adams, and he vows and declares he'll pull him.

7. (if dhii bigi'nst ɛni v dha'ɪ ɛgrivɛetin weez jər, ʔi'l kət dhu kleen v tuu in dhu mɪl'), if thou beginnest any of thy

aggravating ways here, I'll cut thee clean a-two in the middle.

8. (bitwiin juu en ə'i en dhə gjet pwəst), between you and I and the gate-post, i.e. between ourselves.
9. (em sez em bii), they say they are.
10. (bant 'n əp arter ə'i, əl'i), push him up after I, will ye?
11. (nə dhən, kjaa, wə's bin v duuin an, nə'u ?), now then, caw [fool], what-hast been a doing of, now?
12. A. (dhii len ə'i dhə'i nə'if), thee lend I thy knife.
 B. (dhii ət 'nt gi'n ə'i bak), thee wilt-not give-it I back.
 A. (ə'i)l jət fə'ibər en flaar en aal dhə wərləd et wən mə'uffəl, if ə'i dwənt), I'll eat fire and flare and all the world at one mouthful, if I don't [a usual boyish asseveration].
13. (dhis grə'und)z in sɪtʃ bad ɔrt, tʃent noo juus tə soo weet nər wəts, ə'i θiŋks ə'i shel plant teetərz), this ground [field] is in such bad heart [condition], 'taint [it isn't] no use to sow wheat nor oats, I thinks I shall plant potatoes.
14. (if dhi gʊst in ool :dæn'l :kjɛziz kloos, iz bəl əl ɔrntʃ dhə), if thee goest in old Daniel Kearsey's close [field], his bull will horn [toss] thee.
15. (dant stan dhaar v lo'petin vbə'ut, set vbə'ut duuin səmət), don't stand there a-lounging about, set about doing something.
16. (mam en dad), mother and father.
17. maid-servant (if ə'i bjent nath'n bət v sarvənt, ə'i bjent pwə'iz'n), if I ben't nothing but a servant, I ben't poison [=an object of disgust]. boy (dhat dhə bi'st, pwə'iz'n tuu), that thou be'st, poison too.
18. question, is she a respectable woman? that is, one above the position of a labourer; answer (noo, sər, ɛr ɛnt v rɪspek'təb'l wʊmən, nə mʊər nər ə'i bi, ɛr ɛzben wərkz et dhə seem fərm ɛz mə'in duu), no, sir, she aint [iz'nt] a respectable woman, no more than I be, her husband works at the same farm as mine do [does].
19. (ə'i bi sɪk en seetɪd wi dhə vɛrɪ 'sə'it v wərk, ə'i aa'nt set dʊ'm dhis jər blesɪd deɪ, en mə'i bak eɪks dʒɛst fɪt tɐ kəm v tuu), I be sick and sated with the very sight of work, I have-not sat down this here blessed day, and my back aches just fit [ready] to come a-two.
20. (dhis tee levz sɪtʃ v naasti smæk in dhi mə'ʊθ, t'iz wɛsər nər siɪni), this tea leaves such a nasty smack [taste] in the mouth, 'tis worsər nor [worse than] senna.
21. (dhis nə'iz iz ɛnəf tɐ stəni ɛnɪbədi, ə'i d ɛz liv bi et :bedlɪm ɛz bi jər), this noise is enough to stun [s. inf. in -y, but used with an object, which is unusual] anybody, I'd as lief be at Bedlam as be here.
22. (mə'i ool d'wʊmən)z ɛgri:n tə'i'in əp 'fər'me), my old woman's a-going tying up 'for me [that is, making sheaves of corn into stacks, observe emphasis in *for*, if it had been 'for me,' he would have said (fɛr 'ə'i)].

23. (a'i nooz i went rə'it, fer v sez tə ə'i, v sez, "a'i v sɪn v eendɪ'l," en ə'i sez, "aav)i faadher?" en v sez, "iis," en ə'i sez, "dɪd v speek tu)i, faadher?" en v sez, "iis, mə'i wentɪ, v dɪd, v sez, :dʒoə, ə'i waants)i"), I know he went right [that is, to heaven], for he says to me, he says, "I have seen an angel," and I says, "have ye, father?" and he says, "yes," and I says, "did he speak to ye, father?" and he says, "yes, my wench [term of endearment], he did, he says, Joe, I want ye."
24. (ə'i aalʊs θɪŋks ɪz məɪt ɪn bʊks en preetjɪn, en aal sɪtj θɪŋz ɪz dhɛm bi mɛnt fɜr dhɛə ɪz kjaant wɜrk), I always think as [that] writing books and preaching, and all such things as them [those], he meant for they as [those that] can't work [do manual labour].
25. (lɛn)s aa)t), let-us have-it.

d. HANDBOROUGH cwl., Ox.

7 n.w. Oxford, with Freeland, a hamlet of Ensham just s. of Handborough, Islip and Blackthorn. Words generally from Mrs. Parker, but occasionally from TH.

B Blackthorn, wn. by TH. from Mrs. P.

F Freeland, near Handborough, wn. by TH. from Mrs. Waine, Mrs. P.'s mother.

G General in Ox., from Mrs. P.'s lists.

H Handborough, from Mrs. Parker's lists, but by no means exhaustive.

Ha Handborough as noted from Mrs. P.'s pron. by TH.; almost every such word is here noted.

Ho Holton, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.

I Islip, from Mrs. P.'s glossic.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 12 HHa saa. 13 HHa naa. 14 H draad [drawed = drawn, drew]. — gjem [game]. 24 HHa shem. — F pɪb'l [pebble]. — H staar [to stare]. 30 H kjar. kjar. 33 G redher. 36 H thaa. A: — rɒm [ram]. 43 Ho and. — Ha kja's'nt [canst-not]. 54 Ha waant, F want. A: or O: 64 Ha raq. A'- 67 Ho egü-in, Ha egwëin, egwëin, F egwë-in. 72 Ha uu. 76 H twad. 84 G múuer. 85 G súuer. 86 Ho ûets, HF wats, HaF wats. 89 H bæath, bath. 92 Ha noo. A': 113 H wæl, æl, Ha æl'. 115 I ôum, FHa oom. 123 G nath'n. 124 F stwòn, Ho stæn. 135 H klaath.

Æ- 138 HI faadher. 148 Ha fàlr. — Ha stàlrz [stairs]. Æ: 161 Ha I de'i FHa dee. 179 F wət. Æ'- — G reetj. 183 G teetj. 187 G keev. 190 Ho kee. 192 HHa mjen. 200 Ha we'it, F weet. 202 Ho ject. Æ': — Ha mjæ'd [mead, G]. — F sɪd [seed]. 214 naarn an ɛm [ne'er a one of them]. 223 Ha dhàlr, H dhar, dhak, dhier, I dhier. 224 H war, war, wier, Ha wàlr.

E- 233 Ha speek. — HaG tàr, tièrd, tàrd [to tear, teared, tore]. 248 Ha màlr. — H ljezin, Ha lezin [leasing = gleaning]. 252 Ha kjit'l. E: 261 Ha see, sòi. 262 Ha we'i. 265 Ha street. 278 F wen'tsh [perhaps (wen'tsh)]. 280 G læb'n. E'- 299 Ha griin. E': 306 HaG ekth (see p. 119, No. 306). 312 F ier. 314 HaF jærd. 315 HaF fit'.

EA- — H shek, shak [shake, shook]. 319 Ha gjaap. 320 Ha kjar. EA: 321 F [(sɪn)=seen, for have seen, used]. 322 Ha laaf. 323 HaG fa'ut. — tjoek [chalk]. 333 G kjaaf. — Ha ôlter [halter]. — shar [share]. 345 F deer. 346 I gjéit, F gjet, Ho giet, gjéet. EA'- 347 Ha jèd.

EA': 350 H djed. 352 F red'. 354 G shef. 356 H lef, levz. — Ha bjem [beam]. — krem [cream]. 361 HHaF bjenz, Ho bienz. 363 HaG tjep. — G east [east]. 366 Ha gret. — H JEZI [easy]. 371 HHa straa.

EI: 378 HaFG week. 382 Ha dhàrn [theirs, G].

EO- 383 G seb'n. 384 G eb'n. 386 Ha joo. EO: 394 HaF jand[R. 397 H suurd. 402 Ha làrn. 403 H fæR. EO'- — G flee [a flea]. 419 Ha jûrn [yours]. EO': — Ha ilt [held]. 427 Ho biént [be-not]. 434 HHa bjët. 437 Ha trûf, trûth.

EY- 438 Ha dâ'i, da'i [marked as lying between them, the first is analogical].

I- 440 Ha wîk'. 447 Ha æR, ærn [hers]. — FG peez [pease]. I: 452 Ho âi, â'i. — Ha led [lid]. 466 Ha tje'i'ld. 468 G tjildern. 469 H ut [wilt], F want. 482 I ent [is-not], H bjent, Ha biént [probably (biént) is near enough], Ha jent, tjent. 483 Ha iz'n [stated to be general]. 487 H isterdi. 488 H it. — tit [teat]. — sens [since]. I'- — H gii, gin [give, given, gave]. — HF rip [to reap].

O- — G rat'n [rotten]. O: 531 Ha daate[R. 537 H mæ'uldi [mouldy]. 538 H ud. 543 HaF an. 546 H fæR, far. 547 G buurd. 549 H áuurd. 554 G kras. O'- — gum [gum of tooth]. 564 Ha sùn'. 568 F bradhær. O': — Ha bræk [brook]. 586 Ho dûnt [don't], Ha dwant, F dwant [modern (dant)], F dæ'snt, Ha dæst [dost]. 587 Ha dæn. 590 H flúR. 592 Ha swàR. 595 Ha fut', F fæt'. — tûth, tith [tooth, teeth].

U- — ud [wood]. 603 HaF kæn. 606 FG dûR, Ha dûR. U: — uli [wolf]. — G shæ'ulder [shoulder]. — ánderd [hundred]. 623 H fan. — under [wonder]. 626 Ha vægrî [a hungry]. 632 I æp'. — H mùern [mourn]. — H thæstî. U'- 643 HaF næ'u, F nêu. 648 Ha æ'uærn [ours]. U': 667 F æ'ut.

Y- 675 Ha v)dræ'i [a-dry, thirsty]. 676 B lig, ligster [a lie, a liar]. Y: — shîf [shelf]. 694 F wærk. 700 G was. Y- 706 Ha wæ'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — kraal [crawl]. — H ækæR, akwid, Ha akæR [awkward, stubborn]. E. — Ha eft [to heft, weigh in the hand, from to heave]. I. and Y. 756 I srîmps. 757 H tiini. 758 Ha gjal [sometimes (gjærl, Oxford (gærl). O. 778 G vûurd. 791 Ha bwaa'i, F bæi. U. I djæmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 I fies. 814 Ha mèsenter. — G freel [flail]. 824 Ha tjiær [G]. 835 Ha reez'n. — H mæster [master, Mr.]. — Ho gjælæp [gallop]. — Ha pant'ni' [pantry]. — Ha a'rtj [arch]. — G kjaar [to carry]. — G kjaa'fenter [carpenter, Ha (kjaar-)]. 857 Ha kjes. — slat [roofing slate].

E.. 867 F tee. — Ha dhærekli. 872 H tjeif. — sarv, sar [to serve]. — GHa mizher [measure]. 891 H biest, B fiest. 896 HHo beever.

O.. — Ha biif [beef]. 916 G æ'inen. — pæ'iz'n, pæ'iz'n [poison]. 925 Ha vwa'is [mod. va'is]. — G kûerd [cord]. — Ha pûerk [pork]. 940 Ho kûet, Ha kwot, F kwat. — fuurm [form]. 947 Ha bwæ'lin. 955 Ha dæ'uts. — Ho mav [move]. 956 G kiver.

U.. — tribent [truant]. 969 shúer.

D 8 = s.BS = southern Border Southern.

Boundaries. From Reading, Be., follow the n. b. of D 5 through Sr. to Knockholt, Ke., and continue ne. to Gravesend, Ke., then turn w. and follow the s. bank of the Thames back to Reading.

Area. Extreme se.Be.; ne.Sr., and extreme nw.Ke., embracing London s. of the Thames and the adjacent suburbs.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., ° in io.

Be. ° Hurley, Hurst, * Wargrave, † Windsor.

Sr. ° Chertsey, ° Chobham, ° Croydon, ° Leatherhead.

Ke. No information from this very small portion of nw. Ke.

Characters. The composite nature of a very shifting population in this district renders the growth of any dialect proper impossible. Still in country places and even in the suburbs of London there is a slight tang of S. speech even if it is limited to using *I be*. At the extreme w. of the district adjoining Ox. the S. character is almost strong. Thus at Wargrave, *Be.* (5 ne. Reading), T. F. Maitland, Esq., gave me vv. the words :

A- 4 téek. 21 néem. A': 104 rôed. Æ- 142 sne'il. 143 tæ'il. Æ: 161 dee. E: 261 see. — fild [field]. EA: 346 géet. EO: 394 nder [this is an E form, for (jander)]. I: 466 tja'ild. I' 492 sa'id. Y- 682 lit'l. A. 737 méet. A: — komplé'nt. R is regularly (r). H generally omitted, and also wrongly inserted. *Usages*, I be, her be, I am, I are, we knows-un.

From *Hurley* 9 ne. Reading, and hence close to the former place, Mrs. Godfrey, marking the only 'peculiarities' (that is, differences from rs.) she could think of, in a dt. gave me :

A- 21 néem. EA. 346 géet. EO: 394 nder [the (r) is assumed from the neighbouring Wargrave, and the (e) confirms the former i]. O: 541 want. U- 603 ekamin. A. 737 méets. I. 758 gæl. *Usages*, I be, housen, Michael-mast, feller.

From *Hurst* 4 e. Reading the late Rev. R. A. Cameron wrote (1879) with a dt. :

"It is difficult to characterise the genuine dialect of the district. The population is very mixed and migratory. The chief characteristics as they struck me when coming 40 or 50 years ago from Suffolk were (besides the perverse confusions about the aspirates, particularly strong hereabouts), the addition of a short vowel sound to all long terminal syllables, as (méets, mistéek, kompléent) [these words were interpreted from Wargrave with ée], but the last may have been æi]. It was difficult to see whether Mr. Cameron wrote *ai* or *ai*. T.H. heard (tréin, éi't) train, eight, from unknown speakers at Windsor, but these were probably London importations]; the dropping of the initial *w* as (ol, amen wool, woman, e s'uld amen) an old woman; a peculiar sound of the *l*, something like the French *l mouillée* as 'feulld, chiuld' for field, child, but this cannot well be expressed by any combination of letters phonetically." Perhaps he meant merely (el) as (field tja'ield), but the sound may have been possibly been (el). There is no sound of (l) in the modern French *l mouillée*, and hence I have given his own spelling. He wrote long *i* as *ai*, which Wargrave shews to be (æi). The following words are taken from the dt. :

A- 21 néem. A: 43 ænd. A: or O: 64 ræq [probably an error]. A': 104 rôed. Æ- 144 eg'in. E: 262 wéi [written wai, uncertain, might have been (wa'i)]. 265 stréit. 266 wæl [doubtful]. EA: 326 a'uld. 346 géet. I: 452 a'i. 459 ra'it. 466 tja'ild. 469 ul [possibly (ø)]. I'- 492 sa'id. O: 541 oont. O'- 560 skiul [?]. 564 sæn. U- 603 ekamin. 606 dúer. Y- 682 lil ['sometimes,'] very doubtful indeed whether used by natives, (læ'il) is a N. form]. A. 737 méets. I. 758 gæl [the (r) is assumed from Wargrave, (m'id) written maid was said to be commoner]. The rest of the words in the dt. were said to be in rp. *Usages*, I says, I be, she's a goin, bain't, we knows-un, that'en.

The above shews S. in a still moderately active form in *Be.*, but it dies out very rapidly towards *Sr.*, and in *Sr.* itself the borough

of Southwark and the outlying suburbs seem to have pretty well destroyed all trace of dialect. The following is all the information I could find.

Chobham (8 n.-b.-w. Guildford). An incumbent of 50 years could only give E. 751 [piər t], the r assumed, and the plural *housen*. Neither form is distinctive.

Chertsey (11 n.e. Guildford). The predecessor of the vicar, that gave me the information, had known the place 70 years, but knew "not one peculiarity in pronunciation."

Leatherhead (12 e.n.e. Guildford). Mr. Martel, in writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, said: "It is hard to find distinct traces of provincialism of any sort, as the population is so continually changing," but he gave the *usages* I be, I knows, I saw-r-er, drawing, sometimes *in* for *ing* in the participle, I see not I seen for I saw, and I were, but in no other person. Of these, *I be* is distinctly S., draw-r-ing, etc., is E. Altogether mixed.

Croydon. Mr. W. Taylor Malleson, of Duppas Hill, tried hard to find provincialisms in the Board Schools, but was not very successful. These are the most he could discover, and I have not been able to interpret all satisfactory.

A'- 90 to 97, he writes with *a-ow*, which may bear different interpretations, as 'ēa, ē'a, ē'ō, thus, 93 snēō, snē'u, snē'ō, and I incline to the second. EA- 319 gēip, 346 gēit [which are not S.]. E: 260 tāt, 261 sāt [which I think are not really S. forms, as they seem at first sight, but an exaggeration of the *lāci, sēci*, that may be heard in ne. London], 285 kriis [a common Londonism]. E': 306 hō'ath [this is not dialectal, it is a mistaken analogy, and is even heard from educated speakers]. EO: 436 trīy, 437 trīyth [these seem mistakes for triu, triuth, which are not uncommon; the diphthong is East Anglian]. I: 472 serīak [this is an example of the non-pronunciation of 'sh' before 'r', and is not distinctive. It is also inconsistent with 654 shreod]. U- 601 sē'u, 602 fē'ad [these were written *sā-ow*, *fā-owl*, and were said to resemble æ-ā'u, an unknown combination, but as many dialect writers use *ow* to indicate what has been found to be ē'u, I so interpret; the sound is, however, not S., but nearest ē'u or Ke., or the E. diphthong. In the same way the long ī is said to be jē'i, a very common sound in London, but decidedly not S., unless occ. for the *ai, ay* words which are not contemplated. This jē'i is stated to be a favourite sound in Croydon, which is called [kra'id'n]. Again, U: 654 shreod, 658 deoun, 668 preead, look as if meant for shre'ad, di'oun, prae'ud, 'the e very slight,' which looks like a well-known M. triphthong. O. 769 mōil [this must be an accident, it is not known in any dialect].

The above only betray a very mixed set of speakers. But one observation is to a certain extent S., 608 agli, 697 beri, 773 dōki, 785 pooltri, 934 bā'anti, 935 kanti, with a clear final i) not ī or (i₁). It is, however, not a certain criterion. *Usages*, 'I be agoing' is S., but 'I am,' 'I are,' also heard, are not so. V and W are said to be properly distinguished.

On the whole, therefore, it must be right to characterise D 8 as a S. dialect almost entirely obliterated by town influences. It forms the s. part of the metropolitan area, or that lying s. of the Thames.

D 9 = ES. = East Southern.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the e. b. of D 5 and D 8 from the mouth of the Adur in Ss. to Gravesend in Ke. The other borders are the sea-coast round Ke. and e.Ss.

Area. Almost the whole of Ke., with e.Ss. It was the supposed seat of the Jutes, but the modern speech is a decaying S. form, with the exception of a peculiarity of entirely modern growth, subsequent to A.D. 1340.

Authorities. See the Alphabetical County List, under the following places, where * marks vv. per AJE., † per TH., || systematic spelling, ° in io.

Ss. °Ashburnham, †Battle, †Brighton, °Cuckfield, °Eastbourne, Etchingham, ||Leasam, †Lewes, °Marklye, °Possingworth, °Selmeston, Weald of Sussex.

Ke. °Charing, °Chatham, °Denton, °Faversham, ||Folkestone (fishermen), °Maidstone, °Margate, °Rolvenden, °Shadshurst, °St. Nicholas, °Sheerness, °Strood, °Stoke, °Stourmouth, °Wingham.

Character. The general character is that of w.Ss. and Ha., that is that of D 5, only still further decayed. Initial *z*, *v* seem never to be used for (*s*, *f*). The ÆG and EG words have passed pretty well into (*ee*, *ee* and in some cases *ii*). The *r* remains: I have heard it myself from Cuckfield and Eastbourne in Ss., at Tunbridge Wells and Maidstone in Ke., and have had it indisputably recognised at Possingworth and Marklye 14 wnw. and 15 n. Eastbourne, and in several places in Ke. But it has a tendency to degenerate into the ordinary English vocal *r*, a mere vowel (*a*, *u*) or a buzz *r*°, the form that it retains in London. Rev. Mr. Parish *Sussex Glossary* does not notice or apparently acknowledge it at all, using *ar* simply as a symbol for *aa*. But Miss Darby, of Marklye, graphically and accurately writes, "The roll of the R is most peculiar, and I never heard anything like it anywhere. It can only be sounded by beginning the sound with the tongue straight," that is, in its usual direct position for the preceding vowel, "and suddenly curling it round so that the underpart of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth," that is, for the consonant itself.

The peculiar character which separates D 9 sharply from the adjoining D 5 and D 8 is the pronunciation of the initial *th* as (*d*) in *this*, *that*, *the*, *there*, *their*, *theirs*, *them*, *then*, *these*, *those*, *they*. To these words would probably have been added *than*, *thou*, *thee*, *thy*, *thine*, *though*, *thus*, had they been used in the dialect, but they have not been heard; *than* is always replaced by *nor*, *thou* etc. by *you* etc., *though thus* do not seem to be required at all. Rev. Mr. Parish (*Glossary*, p. 8) says "the *th* is invariably *d*," this is not the case for the initial *th* of any other words, so far as I can learn. In the middle of words we have *d* in *farthing* and *further*, but that is common to other dialects. Miss Darby thought she knew it in *other*, *either*, *neither*, but was not able to verify her supposition when she tried. In Faversham, Ke., however, Mr. H. K. Hugessen gives (*enæder*) another. Final *th* in *with*, *smooth* becomes *d* before a vowel, as (*smuud it*, *wid it*) *smooth it*, *with it*, but not regularly, compare (*ed'n*, *edéut*) *within*, *without*. Now here some might suppose we had the desired Jutish peculiarity, but alas! there is no trace of it in Dan Michel, who (see pp. 38-41) had plenty of initial (*z*, *v*), which have since his time entirely disappeared. In John Lewis's *History and Antiquities as well Ecclesiastical as Civil of the Isle of Tenet* [that is, Thanet, the ne. corner of Ke.], 2nd ed. 1736, he says (p. 35) that "the English spoken here is generally very good, only the natives in common with the other inhabitants of this part of Kent are used to pronounce the *th* as a *d*, the *o* as an *a*, as *an* for *on* [regular S.],

the *i* as *ee*, as *Deek* for *Dike* [rather (d/ik) like (d/itj)], and to say *who* instead of *how* and *how* instead of *who* [the latter not met with]. As for example, *How is dat man dere?* for, *Who is that man there?* Yet in Thanet at the present day, as among the fishermen at Folkestone, I have not been able to discover a single instance of this use of *d* for initial *th*. But Sir F. Burton (of the National Gallery, informed me in July, 1887, that his housekeeper from the Isle of Thanet has an old uncle about 80, who always says "dat man dere," and knows other old people who do so. Hence Lewis is confirmed, and the disappearance is only recent. In Thanet the watering-places of Margate and Ramsgate might be credited with the restitution of *th*, but this hardly applies to the fishermen of Folkestone.

Another peculiarity has also developed itself, but is disappearing under the influence of education. It is not, however, confined to e.Ss. and Ke., but extends along the e. of England from Ke. through Es. and Sf. to Nf. inclusive, which form what may be called *the Land of Wee*. This is the replacement of (v) by (w), but not conversely. Sam Weller, who spelled his name "with a *we*," and Cockneys are especially credited with the interchange. I have never yet heard (v) used for (w) in good faith, though I have much wanted to do so, but (w) for (v) I have known all my life in Ke. Rev. W. Parish acknowledges it in e.Ss., but Miss Darby does not. Now the late well-known traveller Dr. Beke declared that the Cockneys and the Trasteverini in Rome pronounced German w (bh in place of both (v) and (w), and that the Cockneys, with whose habits he was well acquainted, did not know when they were saying one or other, because in fact they said something that was neither, but sounded like (w) when (v) was expected, and (v) when (w). Now I am perfectly familiar with (v bh w ũ), the last being the unstressed vowel diphthongizing with a following vowel. I can readily and easily distinguish in my own and other person's speech *vie* French, *wie* German, *wee* English, *ui* in Italian *Guido*, *oui* French = 'vii, bhii, wii, ũii, ũi. Yet I do not hear Dr. Beke's bh from those who use (w) for (v). Mr. H. C. Coote also affirmed that he knew coachmen (*cocchieri*) in Rome to say (ũento) for *rento*. That is possible, but requires investigation. I think, however, that they could not say (wento). The English (w) is a peculiar consonant which I do not find in the rest of Europe. The *r* and *w* habits of the fishermen of Folkestone will be especially referred to on p. 143.

Although the dialect is tolerably uniform over the whole district, it will be convenient to separately consider Var. i. e.Ss., Var. ii. n.Ke., Var. iii. e.Ke. including the Folkestone fishermen.

VAR. i. EAST SUSSEX FORM.

Miss Darby, who lives in a very out-of-the-way place, Marklye, which used to be seven miles from a railway-station till 1880, says, "I feel quite sure in a few years all these old terms will be extinct. A railway has been opened for the last few months within four miles of us [at Heathfield], and already the change is

very great. We have two old men who have worked on the farm in our family for many years, one for forty years. He is of an old superior family, but cannot read. He said yesterday [dated 15th Oct. 1885] that he was much put out at hearing people talk now, and he could not make out 'high words.' His wife, who is upwards of seventy and able to write, has much disgusted him by buying a dictionary to keep pace with the times. There are not a dozen people left in the parish who speak the real old dialect." Miss Darby's information is checked first by Rev. Mr. Parish, both of them having sent me versions of the dt., and secondly by the wl. vv. given me by two students at Whitelands, p. 134.

TWO INTERLINEAR EAST SUSSEX dt.

M. by Miss Anna M. Darby, of Marklye (:marklə'i) (15 n. Eastbourne, pal. by AJE. from indications.

S. by Rev. W. D. Parish of Selmeston (:sɪmsən) (6 ese. Lewes, pal. conjecturally from io., for which no indications were furnished either in writing or in his glossary. Only those words which apparently differ from Miss Darby's are given.

1. M *Marklye*. soo ói see, méets, je sii ne'u det v bi ró'it ebeut
S *Selmeston*. míets, jóu s'iim [bi] be'ut

M daet-éer liit'l gæl vka'min frəm daet-éer skúel e'ut jənder.
S daet lɪd'l gærl de skuul [omit] jender.

2. M shii z egu'en de'an daet-éer rúnd déer thruu de red géet on
S shii bi gəvɪn de róud

M t'æðhər sɔ'ɪd v de rúnd.
S de left haand wee.

3. M shúer enə'f de tɔ'ɪld bi gaan ró'it egɪn de dúer v da rɔq e'us.
S shúer,næf 'z- stráit əp tɛ de

4. M wíer shi'l æp tɛ fə'in daet-éer dræqk deth sríveɪld tɹæp v de
S wéer tjaans fə'ɪnd daet dræqken feler

M néem v :təm.
S niem :təməs.

5. M wi aal nooz ðm vəri wéel [waal].
S aal him wəri wel.

6. M wúent de óeld tɹæp súen larn ɛr never tɛ duu et neo
S wənt ool tɹɛp sun tiitɟ hɛr nɔt ɪt

M móer, púer thiq!
S egín, poor

7. M læk'i déer! bíent et truú?
S [omit] ɪt

Notes to M.

1. *I*, at the beginning of a sentence *little*. Miss D. was surprised at Mr. *Wi*, and *v* in the middle.—*be*, used, P.'s [lɪd'l], which she never heard. Mr. P. prefers *am*; *he be* also used. — Mr. P. says "double *t* is always pro-

nounced as *d*, as liddle for little, etc." Miss D. inquires what becomes of bottle, wattle, which are in constant use.

2. *she, her* is used for *she* only immediately after a verb, as did er, *she be gooin*, or *she's a gooin*, optional.—*way, w* never becomes *v*.

3. *enough*, with *o* in *cot*.—*straight* = (stréet), but (ro'it) is the word that would be used here.—*up*, pr. ap, but here *agin* = against, i.e. towards, would be used.—*house*, the *h* is 'dropped slightly, never put in the wrong place.'

4. *deaf*, Miss D. says, "As regards this word, I consider it a most peculiar thing that it should be called *death*, and it is a very common expression, 'she is troubled with *deathness*,' " so also Mr. P.'s Glossary. Halliwell says it is a Suffolk pron.—*Thomas*, a common name, but always abbreviated.

5. Miss Darby wrote *waal*, which ought to mean *wéel*, but as Mr. H. Knatchbull-Hugessen at Faversham said *waal*, may have been meant for the latter.

Notes to S.

1. *mates*, written *mëüts*, similarly par. 4, *name* (niem), written *nëam*. Misses Darby, Francis and Sayers have all (néem).

2. *road*, written *róad*, but Mr. P. may have meant (rúed).

4. *chance*, as this is written *cháance*, it ought to be (tjéens), which is unlikely, but I have no guide but Cuckfield 851 (a'nt), aunt.

EAST SUSSEX CWL.

Those words in which only the ordinary spelling is given in Italics are supposed to be in rp.

C Cuckfield, vv. from Miss Sayers, native, student at Whitelands.

E Eastbourne, vv. from Miss Francis, of London, 8 years at an Eastbourne school, student at Whitelands.

FC Cuckfield, from Archdeacon Fearon, native.

L Leasam, near Rye, from a numbered wl. by Miss B. C. Curtis.

M Marklye, given by Miss Darby, in addition to her dt.

P from Rev. W. D. Parish's *Dictionary of the Sussex Dialect*, conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of C and E above.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 CE béek. 4 CE téek. 5 CE méek. 6 CE mééd. 7 CE séak. 9 FC bihérv. 12 CE SAAR [even without a following vowel]. 17 CE laar [as 12]. 18 [always called biscuit, even a large Christmas cake is called biscuit at E. and Brighton, not at C.]. 20 CE léem. 21 CE néem. 22 CE téem. 23 CE séem. 24 CE shém. 33 CE & FC reedhær. 36 CE thaar. A: 43 CE and, FC an. 44 FC lan. 51 P maan. 56 L wash. A: or O: 60 CE long. 61 C emaq, E emaq.

A'- 67 P egwee'n [a going], ə'i guuz [I go], CE & FC guu. 70 CE toe. 72 CE uu. 73 CE so. 76 CE & FC tóed. 79 CE óen. 80 FC holedí. 82 P wænst. 83 FC móen. 84 CE móe n dat [more than that]. 86 P wæts. 87 CE flooz. 90 CE bloo. 91 CE ma'u. 93 CE sna'u. A': 101 CE óek. 102 L ast [inf. and past tense]. 104 FC róed. 105 FC róed. 106 CE bróed. 108 P daf, CE doo. 111 CE ought. 115 CE hóem. 118 PCE & FC bóen. 120 P eguu. 122 P naan, CE nan. 124 CE & FC stóen. 125 CE only.

Æ- 138 P fiedhær, CE féedhær. — P laader [ladder]. 141 CE néel. 142 CE snéel, L [often snag or snæc omitting l]. 143 CE téel. 147 brén. — P anets [ants]. 149 CE bléez. 152 CE water. 153 CE sadærde.

Æ: 155 CE & FC thetj. — P aader [adder]. 158 FC aatær. 161 PLM dii. 162 P tædii. 166 mééd. — P wenjas [wain or waggon horse]. 168 P tôle. — waps [wasp]. — haps [hasp]. 170 CE arvíst. 171 barley. 172 CE gwas [common]. Æ'- 185 CE read. 188 P nakær. 190 key. 197 cheese. 199 CE bleet. 200 CE wét. Æ': 203 CE speevch. 207 CE niida[l [with

an indistinct [ɪ]. 218 PCE ship. 223 CE dhier [d] not marked in this word]. 224 CE wéer. 227 CE wet.

E- 231 P de. 232 break. 233 speak. 234 knead. 235 weave. 236 fever. 239 CE seel. 241 CE réen, M riin. 243 plée. 250 CE sóar [swore]. 251 C miit, E meet. 252 CE kit'l. 253 CE nettle. E: 261 CE see. 262 CE wéer. 264 CE éel. 265 CE stréet. — fidd [field]. 272 dm CE [volunteered that it was e'lm in Es.]. — P hiin [a hen]. 281 CE lenth. 282 CE strenth. — mesh mish [marsh]. 284 CE thresh. 286 L harrir [and so for all words having double rr, as carriage karrir, that is, very much lengthened r].

E'- 290 CE he. 292 CE me. 293 CE we. 294 CE feed. 296 P ø'i blay, E balcev, bilcét [believed], [I believe, parenthetically]. 300 CE kíp, kēp [keep, kept]. 301 CE ier. E': 305 CE hái [?]. 307 CE náí [?]. 308 CE need. 309 CE speed. 312 CE jéer. 314 ied. 315 CE fit. 316 CE neks.

EA- — P vóle [fallow]. 319 FC géep. EA: 323 CE fæ'ut. 324 CE éet. 328 CE ool. 330 CE ool = 328. 333 CE kææf. 334 CE hææf. 336 CE fall. 337 CE wall. 345 CE dare. 346 P gíet, CE & FC géet.

EA'- 347 CE ed. — haafēr hafer [heifer]. 348 ói. 349 CE few. EA': 350 CE dead. 353 CE bread [but bre n tñiz bread and cheese]. 354 CE sheaf. 355 P deth, CE dei. 356 CE leaf. 357 CE though. 359 C neeber. E nieber. 366 P gart. 368 CE death. 369 CE slow. 371 CE straar.

EI- 372 CE [not used]. EI: 378 E week. 380 P dem. 382 P deerz.

EO- 385 CE beneath. 386 CE joo. 387 CE nuu. EO: 388 FC melk. 394 P jaquer [?: q]. CE jander jander. 399 CE bróit. 400 CE arnest. 402 CE larn. 405 CE arth. 406 CE earth. EO'- — CE flea. 411 CE three. 412 CE she. 413 CE devil. 414 CE fly. 415 CE lói. 417 PCE tǝ'u. 420 PE fə'uēr, C fóer. 421 P farti. EO': 423 CE thigh. 424 P bræf. 425 CE láit. 426 fóit. 435 CE you. 436 CE triu. 437 CE triuth. EY- 438 CE die.

I- 440 PCE wik. 442 CE óivi. 444 CE sto'il. 446 CE nóin. — shiir [shire]. 448 PCE diiz. 449 CE gít. 450 CE tuuzde. I: 452 CE ói. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 CE róit. 462 CE sóit. 465 CE & FC sitǝ. 466 CE tǝ'ild [?]. 468 CE tǝild'n. — klím [climb]. 472 CE sriqk. 473 CE blá'in. 475 CE wóind. 476 CE bǝ'in. 477 fǝ'in. 478 grǝ'in. 479 CE wǝ'in [compare 475]. 483 P hiiz [his, written he's]. 484 CE dís. 485 P sǝ'l [the usual pronunciation of thistle, says Parish], CE thǝ'l. 488 CE jat. — P spit [spit]. I'- 490 CE bói. 493 CE dróiv. 494 CE tóim. I': 502 CE toiv. 503 CE lóif. 504 CE nóif. 505 CE wóif. 506 CE unien [mói ool dǝmən] my old woman = (mói misís). 511 wóin.

O- 524 CE wǝrld. O: 527 CE bought. 528 CE thought [often (thǝ'ut) I.]. 529 CE brought. 531 CE daater. 532 CE coal. 533 CE doll. 536 CE gold. — krap [crop]. 552 P karn, CE karn. — mǝrín [morning]. 554 P kras. — CE poostisiz [posts]. O'- 555 CE [(buut) is always used, never (shuu)]. 558 CE look. — fǝdher [fodder]. 562 CE muun. 563 CE Monday. — v mǝnt [month]. 564 CE sǝn [very short]. 566 CE ǝdher [not ǝder]. O': 569 CE book. 570 CE took. — rad [rod]. 577 CE bǝ'u. 578 CE pla'u. 579 CE enaf [enǝ'u, not known]. 586 P dǝnt [don't]. 588 CE nǝyn [in afternoon, this is Si., it was difficult to appreciate]. 589 CE spiyn. 590 CE flǝer. 592 P suur. 595 CE fut. 596 CE rut. 597 CE sat.

U- 600 CE love. 602 CE sǝ'u. 605 CE son. 606 CE dúer. 607 CE bǝter. U: 609 CE full. 610 CE ul. 611 CE bullock. 613 CE dragk. 614 P héand, CE é'ǝn. — P méand [mound]. 615 P péand. 616 CE grǝan. 619 CE fǝ'ǝn. 620 CE grǝ'ǝn. 625 CE tǝq. 629 CE sun. 631 CE thǝrzd. 632 CE ǝp. 633 CE kǝp. — vuur [a furrow]. 634 CE through. 635 CE wath. 636 CE fǝrder. 639 CE dust. U'- 640 CE kǝ'u [rather rounder, approaching (kǝ'u)]. 653 CE bat. U': 657 CE brǝ'un. 659 CE tǝ'un. 665 CE méus. 666 CE ǝzben [but (mester) is usual]. 671 CE mé'ǝth.

Y- — P hiiv [hive], biiv [beehive]. 676 CE lói. 679 CE tǝetǝ. 682 P lid'l. Y: 689 CE build. — P kǝl [kiln]. 690 CE kóin. 691 móin. 700 CE was. — P brǝ'slz [bristles]. 702 P ǝd'n [within]. 703 P pit. Y- 705 CE skói. — P diiv [to dive]. Y': 711 CE liis, L fǝ'usiz. 712 P miis, CE & L mǝ'usiz.

II. ENGLISH.

— P *rabut* [rabbit]. 716 P *aad'l* [stupid], *ed'l* [rotten]. 722 P *driin*, M *driin*, CE *driin*. 725 *séul*. — P *klaps* [clasp]. 737 P *miut*. 741 CE *méz*. E. — P *lier* [lear, empty]. 752 P *piint*. I. and Y. 756 CE *srimp*. 758 CE *ga'l*. O. 761 CE *léd*. 767 CE *naiz*. 769 C *móul*, E *ma'ul*. 772 CE *boufá'ir*. 773 CE *daqki*. 774 P *póeni*, CE *pooni*. 775 CE *booby*. 778 CE *bfúerd*. 781 CE *bother*. 787 CE *se'us*. 790 CE *ge'und*. Ü. — *jaf'l* [yuck or wood-pecker]. — P *kwid* [a cow's cud]. 799 CE *scull* of head. 800 CE *scull* of boat. 801 CE *rum*. 805 CE *curds*. 808 P *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — P *stéeb'l* [stable]. 811 CE *plévs*. 812 CE *lévs*. 813 CE *bévkén*. — P *freel* [flail]. 822 CE *mee*. 824 CE *tjeerér*. 826 CE *eagle*. 827 CE *cager*. 828 CE *agur*. — M *griin* [grain]. 830 CE *train*. — M *stien* [stain]. 834 CE *shee*. 835 CE *rèz'n*. 836 CE *sèz'n*. 845 CE *ancient*. 847 CE *deendper*. 848 CE *change*. 849 CE *streendper*. 851 C *a'nt*. 852 CE *cepern*. — *pliet* [plate]. — P *riét* [rate]. 862 CE *sééf*. 863 CE *tjééf*. 865 CE *faat*. 866 CE *poor*.

E.. 867 CE *tee*. 868 P *dja'i*. 869 CE *veal*. — P *spaaték'lz* [spectacles]. — *fitjiz* [vetches]. — M *striund* [strained]. — M *pien* [pain]. 876 CE *déenti*. 878 CE *sa'lleri*. 879 CE *female*. — *jarb* [herb]. 887 *klandri*. 888 *sartin*. — P *sarv* [serve]. 890 CE *beest biistiiz* [beast beasts, observe the change of vowel]. 892 CE *nephew*. 894 CE *deceive*. 895 CE *receive*. I.. and Y.. 899 CE *niece*. — *vo'ilent* [violent]. 904 P *vo'ilet*, CE *vóilet*. 909 CE *breeze*. 910 CE *dja'is*. 911 CE *sestern*.

O.. 913 *kóetj*. 914 *bróetj*. 915 CE *stuff*. 916 CE *injen*. 918 *feeble*. 919 CE *náinted* [anointed, beaten]. 920 CE *páint* [a pint pron. in same way]. 925 CE *váis*. 926 P *spo'íl*, CE *spáil*. 928 CE *e'uns*. 929 CE *ke'ukamber*. 930 CE *lám*. 935 CE *country*. 939 CE *close*. 940 CE *kóet*. — *færm* [a form to sit on]. 942 CE *batjar*. 947 P *bə'íl*, CE *báil*. 948 CE *ba'ulder* *bə'ulder*. 952 *kúers*. 953 CE *cousin*. 954 CE *cushion*. 955 CE *de'ut*. 959 CE *convey*. U.. 963 CE *kwáiet*. 965 CE *áil*. 968 CE *áister*.

CE *usages*, I are, I're, I be, he be, I were, he do, he didn't ought. *Intonation* drawing.

VAR. ii. NORTH KENT FORM.

A student of Whitelands, Miss Croucher, a native, dict. to me a dt. for Charing (6 nw.Ashford), but with slight exceptions all recollection of the dialect seemed to have left her. The (r) was quite cockney. It would, I think, be useless to give the test. The Rev. A. E. O. Harris, of Stoke (7 me.Chatham), also gave me observations on a dt. which shews that very little dialect exists in the Hundred of Loo between the Thames and the Medway, while a settlement of Irish there, about 1845, seems to have much influenced pron. H. stated also that very few people used the few 'provincialisms' he gave. After due consideration I omit these as not sufficient. Rev. C. W. Rolfe, of Shadoxhurst Rectory (4 ssw.Ashford), marks (*méets*, *gæl*, *kum'in*, *fræm*, *de*, *jander*, *gu'in*, *róed*, *déer*, *géet*, *stréet*, *dúer*, *wal*, *feler*, *niem*, *weri*, *wuunt*) for mates, girl, coming [very doubtful] from, the, yonder, going, road, there, gate, straight, door, will, fellow, name, very, won't, which are probably correct, but says nothing about (r). These indications are confirmed by Rev. J. W. Ramsay, of Rolyenden (12 sw.Ashford), who, however, also omits to notice the (r). The Isle of Sheppey

has no dialect, as I learned from Miss Lowman, a student at Whitelands, who had travelled all over it and resided there some years. It is a mere soldiers' depôt. Merely therefore glancing at these, I proceed to the best account of n.Ke. pron. I have been able to obtain.

Mr. Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, of Provender, Faversham 8 wnw.Canterbury, a well-known landed proprietor, who had learned the dialect well from his tenants, bailiff and farm-labourers, was kind enough in 1873 to spend many hours on several days in teaching me the pron. of a *cs.* written by Rev. Henry B. Berin, then of Biddenden (10 wsw.Ashford), to represent the Weald of Kent. This version Mr. Berin kindly supplemented by answering, as well as he could, more than 60 troublesome questions which I sent him, and finally introduced me to Mr. H. K.-H., who was able to give me the pron. of his own neighbourhood, and thus convert the version into one for Faversham. This was at an early period of my investigations, and I was then unacquainted with the *S. r*, and consequently confused the *r* with the London *r*, *r*₃, *r*. In 1880 Mr. H. K.-H., in answer to my inquiries, wrote: "On the whole I should say that the Kentish pronunciation of the *r* is distinct and has a burr," this identifies it with *r*, which I have accordingly introduced regularly when not preceding a vowel. When the *r* precedes a vowel, minute examination is required to be sure of the existence of a true (*r*). I have therefore left the received *r* in those cases. And I have not assimilated the adjacent *it d n l* to *r* as in D 4. After the *cs.* I give a few phrases which Mr. H. K.-H. dictated to me, and a *cwl.* containing *wd.* which he pronounced to me. Without this kindly help from Mr. H. K.-H. and Rev. H. B. Berin, my account of Ke. would have been very imperfect.

FAVERSHAM (8 wnw.Canterbury) *cs.*

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq.

0. *dɪs ɪər)z wə'i :dʒən dʊnt dɔʊt.*

1. *waa, mɪts, ju ɛn ii mɛ bɔrth læf æt dɪs ɪər tʃæt ɛv ma'ɪn ?*
uu sets ɛnɪ stʊər bi dæt ? dæt s nedhɜr ɪər nɜr dɔər.

2. *dɜr ɛɛnt [beɛnt] tɔrb'l mɛnɪ dɑ'i kɛunt ɛ bɪɪ ɪn læaft æt,*
wi noo dæt dɪn ɛ lɪt'l dʊnt-wi ? wə'i shʊd dɛɛ ? dæt ɛɛnt [beɛnt]
tɔrb'l lɔ'ɪklɪ, ɪz ɪt ?

3. *dæt's ɛu t'ɪz ɛu jɛvɜr, soo ju dʒɛst aad jɜr tɔq ɛn kiip wɪst*
tɪl ɑ'i ɛ dæn. ɔrkɪ !

4. *ɑ'ɪjɜr sɑrtɪn shʊər ɑ'i ɪərd ɛm sɑi, sɛm ɛ dɛm dɔər tʃæps*
wɔt ɛ bɪn θru aal ɔn ɪt dɜrsɑɑ'vz frɔm dɜ fɔrst ɔnsɛt, dæt ɑ'i
sɑrtɪnli dɪd,

5. *dæt dɜ jɑqgest bɑ'i ɪzsaɑ-f, ɛ grɪt tʃæp nɑ'ɪn jɪər oold, nood ɪz*
fɑadɜrz wə'ɪz dɪrɛklɪ mɪnɪt, doo ɪt wɔz so tɔrb'l kɔ'ɪər, ɛn rɪqɪ
lɔ'ɪk, ɛn ii'l taɑji dɜ trɪəθ dɔʊt ɛnɪ rɔmɛnsɪn ɛnɪ dɑi, i sɑrtɪnli
wɪd.

6. en d'ool umen ersaaf 'l taa eni æn ji, daet lææf néu plamp aaf, déat noo tráb'l, ef ju l ooni aast' er, woont shi?

7. liistweez shi kep aal on telín æn mii, wen æ'i aast' er, shi did —en shi æd'nt aat te bii for éut béat d'is ier (djeb), thiék shi hæd?

8. waa! ez æ'i wez e telín æn ji, shii d' tæ'i æt' aaf, éu shi kæn epæn d'is ier draqkín tjaap wot shii'z got mærd tu.

9. shi swæer shi ketjt æ'i æn in ersaaf leetín aal loq de græn in iz best kærót, flóes egrín de dæer e de héas, et de fæder iind e daet éer rúed.

10. ii wez kærín on, sez shii, fer aal de wæld læ'ik e æmperi tja'il, er e l'it'l gæl wot s bín opset.

11. d'is ier hæpt wæ'il d' umen en er daaterínlaa kæn tréasin kræs de bæk jard, wéer dee, d' bín hæqín éut de flóez te dra'i on washín dái,

12. wæ'il de ket'l wez eba'ilín fer tii, wæn baautiful sæmæ ææternuun, wæni e wiik bæk kæn thæzdi.

13. æn, behoordji! æ'i never ierd taal noo móer e daet ier djeb, ez shúer ez mæ'i níemz :djæk :sheperd, en, enæder thié, æ'i dænt wot tu it, déer néu!

14. néu æ'i l níp aaf wóem te sèpar. waa, gud næ'it, e enæder trím, wín e tjaep gínz taak e d'is, daet, er t ædher, dúent i bii in sítj e tærb'l em ev e æri te kæri de swái.

15. it)s e tærb'l sili tjaep wot kiips aal on tjaeterín ebéut æt æ'i kaal rændem. æn néu æ'i shæ'nt see ne mæer. gud næ'it.

Notes.

2. *terrible*, the common intensive adj. or adv.—on account of, the first and last words omitted.—*din* is *within*, which first assumes the form (*edi'n*), the (*udhi'n*) of He.

3. *whisht*, as 'the wild waves whisht,' Temp. 1, 2, 378.

5. *directly minute*, immediately, common phrase in the district.—*though it was so terrible queer, and ring-y like*, and like a ring, and he'll tell ye the truth, without any romancing any day, romancing; the people are fond of long romance words in this dialect. Observe (*sái, dái*). Mr. Harris also gave (*sái*) for Stoke, calling it Greek *ai*.

7. *She had'n't ought* [ought not] *to be far out about this here job*, [do you] *think* she had. The first *had* without, the second with the aspirate.

8. *drunken* (*draqkín*) is drinking, that is, playing the drunken man, not drunken itself.

9. *further end*, certainly the (d)

must have been assimilated to the two or as *fæder*.

10. *ampery*, a common word in this district, as applied to cheese, mouldy, decayed; to people, weak, bad, sickly. Lewis in his *Tenet* (Thanet) refers to Ags. *ampre* (not in Etymüller), which Bosworth cites from the *Liber Medicinalis* of Baldus, and explains as 'a crooked swelling vein, an herb, sweet marjoram, feverfew;' others conceive it may be the French *empiré*, worsened.

11. *tracing across*, tracking, walking, across, a phrase actually heard.

12. *only*, the word used may, however, be *one-y*, which must have the same meaning.

13. *behold ye!* a common phrase for 'look there.'

14. *dont* ye be in such a terrible hem [devil] of a hurry to carry the sway [victory], hem is clearly a euphemism for devil, deuce, devilish, damn, damnation, etc., i.e. exceedingly, it is very [or 'hem'] common in this district.

FAVERSHAM PHRASES from dict. of H.K.-II., Esq.

1. (ʔi shæl noo dɪn ɐ lɪt'l, ɪf ʔi kiip gwɪn), I shall know within a little [soon], if I keep going.
2. (noo fɑrm ɐt ʔʌl), no form at all, common expression, the meaning of which was unfortunately not noted.
3. (ool ren'ldz), old reynard, (poop), Guy Fawkes.
4. (d)ool ɛntjmen), the old huntsman.
5. (gu ʔæn, wɪdʒi!)!, go ʔon, will you!
6. (wɑr wɔps prɛdɛntli), beware of wasp presently.
7. (θrii jɪbɪn ʔʌfɜz), three-year-old heifers.
8. (tu drɔk), to go about as a drunken man.
9. (fɔrnɛl lʔɪz), infernal lies, the first unaccented syllable of a word is frequently omitted.
10. (sɛfɪn ɐ dæt, nəθɛn ɐt ʔʌl), something of that, nothing at all.
11. (wɔni wɔns), only once, (tɔɪm ɛn ɛgɛn), time and again, many times.
12. (ɪbɪ stɔpɪ), fox-earth stopper.
13. (jɪstɛrdeɪ ɛn tʔdɛrdeɪ), yesterday and the other day, *i.e.* day before yesterday.
14. (ɪ ɛɛnt noo kɛʔʌnt tʔʔʌl), he isn't no account at all, *i.e.* he is of no importance.
15. (moost dɛʔtɛdli duubɪrɪs), most (un-)doubtedly dubious.
16. (ɪz ɛɛd ɪz dæt ɛɛd'l), his head is that [so much] addled.
17. (wɜrkɪn bʔi griɪt), working by the piece.
18. (wɪkɪt fɜr wɛkɛt, trɪk ɛn tʔi), each=tit for tat.
19. (dóɛn ju ɪntɛrɛpt sʔʔ), don't you interfere with self.
20. (dɪɪr ʔrt ɛlʔɪv, sɪtʒ ɐ tɪ'kɪn), dear heart alive, such a ticking.
21. (tæɪtɪ ɛn skæd'l), cross and mischievous.
22. (ɪt)s trəʊ, ʔi tuk ʔʔʔ), it's true I took off=went away.
23. (néu ɛn dɛn, néu ɛn tɛn), now and then.
24. (ɪt)s prɪnt muun lʔɪt), it's print moon-light, *i.e.* sufficient to read print in.

FAVERSHAM cwl.

pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Herbert Knatchbull-Hugessen, Esq., containing almost all the wd. in the cs. and also many others separately dictated.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 téek. 5 méek múk. — kried'l [cradle]. — wéek [wake]. 17 laa laa. 19 teul. 21 niem. 28 héer. — war [beware of]. 34 leest.

A: 39 [(kɛm) used]. 43 hæn. 44 hæn. 49 hæq. — kɛʔʌnt [cannot]. 54 wɔnt. 55 ɛɛsh. 56 wɔsh. A: ɔr O: 58 frɔm. 60 lɔq. 64 rɔq.

A'- 67 gu, gwɪn [going]. 72 uu. 73 soo. 74 tɔ. 76 túɛd. 82 wɔns. 84 móɪr múɪr. 89 bóeth. 92 noo, nood [knowed=knew]. 94 kroo. A': 102 aast [in infinitive also]. 104 rúɛd. 106 braad. — drɛv [I drove]. 111 ʔʔt. 113 d)ɔl [the whole]. 115 wéem. 117 wɔn. 118 búen. 120 ɛguu. 122 noon, noo. 123 nəθɛn. 124 stúen. 125 ooni, wɔni. 129 gúest. 130 bóet búet. 137 nɛr [unemphatic].

Æ- 138 faader. 140 ee'l. 143 tēl tial. 144 vgi'n. 147 breen. 148 fēer. — met [ant]. 149 blaze. — hūz'l [hazel]. 150 liistweez [leastwise].
 E: 154 bak. — had'nt [had not], had, ad [had]. 158 aater. 161 dā. 164 mee. 166 meed. 169 wen. — waps [wasp]. 171 barli. 172 græes. 173 was. 176 æt. 177 dæt. 179 wæt.

Æ'- 187 leave. 182 wee. 190 key. 194 eni. 195 meni. — spread [it spread]. 209 never. 211 gree. 213 edher. 214 nedher. — mil [meal, food]. 218 ship. 220 shepherd [the common word is *laker*, the other scarcely ever heard]. 222 heer. 223 deer. 224 wēer wier. 229 breth.

E- 232 briik. 233 spiik. 234 knead. — tred [tread]. 239 siel. 241 riin. 243 plee [occ. (plāi) in the pause]. 244 waa waal. 245 miel. — hiilin [bedclothes, i.e. covering]. 248 mare. 249 wier. — wiiz'l [weasel]. 252 ket'l. 255 wedher [never heard with a (d)]. E: — web [web]. 259 wedge. 260 lee [as a hen eggs], lee'in [laying for lying]. 261 say, sez [says]. — fil [field]. 269 saaf. 271 taa, taal, telin [tell, telling]. 276 thiik. — iind [end]. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. — nestē nestiz [nest nests]. — set [set]. — best [best]

E'- 290 ii. 293 wi. 300 kiip, kep [kept]. 301 ier. E': 305 high. 306 height. 312 ier. 314 ierd.

EA- 320 kéer. EA: 322 læef. 323 féut. 325 walk. 326 oold. 328 kúeld. 330 aald. 331 swóald. 332 tūöld. 335 aal. 337 wall. 338 kaal. — salt. — biērd. 340 jard. 342 arm. 343 warm. — iern [to earn]. 346 giēt geet [first most frequent]. EA'- 347 eed. — aafērz [heifers]. 348 a'i. 349 few. EA': 350 deed. 355 deaf [not (deth) as in e.Ss.]. 356 haf. 357 doo. 359 neebewad [neighbourhood]. — hiip [heap]. 364 tjaep. — jier [year]. 366 griit. 367 thret. 368 deth.

EI- 372 [*aye* is not used, but is replaced by *yes*]. 373 dee. EI: 378 wiik. 380 dem, dersaa'vz [their=themselves].

EO- 386 joo. 387 nuu. EO: 390 shud. — dærk [dark]. 397 sūerd. 399 færm [farm]. 402 lörn. 403 fæ. 406 ier stōper [fox earth-stopper]. 407 fard'n. EO'- — flii [flea]. — nii [knee]. — frii [free]. 411 thrii. 412 shi. 416 diir. — tjaez [choose]. EO': 422 (sik) [usual word for unwell, not used for vomited, which is called *braat ap*]. 430 ien [when used, rarely]. 433 breast 435 ju. 436 traw. 437 triuth. EY- 431 dā'i. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wiik. 446 na'in. 449 git. I: 453 kwik. 456 ef. 457 na'it. 459 ra'it. 463 til. 465 sū. 466 tja'il. 482 iz. 483 izsaa'f [his=himself]. 484 dis. 485 thistle. 487 jisterdee. — grā'ist [grist]. 488 got [got, past tense]. 489 it. I'- 494 tæ'im. 495 wa'in. I': — diik [ditch, dyke]. 500 lā'ik lā'ikli [likely]. 506 unen. 509 wa'il. 510 ma'in.

O- 519 oover. 522 ap'n. — snūer [snore]. 524 wald. O: 525 aaf [off]. 531 daaterinlaa. 532 kōel. 541 wout. — kwolt [colt]. 543 on, onset [onset, beginning]. æn [for *of* as well as *on*]. 550 wārd. 551 starm. 552 karn. — marnin [morning]. 554 kræs. O'- 559 mader. 562 muun. 564 sun. 566 enader [another]. 567 tjadher. O': 571 gud. — ruuf [roof]. 579 enā'u. 584 stūel. 586 duu dāent [don't]. 587 dan. 588 muun. 590 flūer. 592 swūer. 597 sāt.

U- 604 sember. 605 son. 606 dūer. U: 610 ul. 612 sam, safin [something]. — tām'b'l [tumble]. 613 draekin [drunking, acting the drunken man]. 616 grēan. 618 wēund [n. and p.p.] zēandz [God's wounds]. 625 tōq. 627 sandi. 629 sun. — antmen [huntsman]. 631 thazdi. 634 thru. 636 færdēr. U'- 641 éu, éu'ever [however]. 643 néu. 650 béut. U': 663 héus. 666 æzben. 667 éut.

Y- 674 did [emphatic]. 675 dra'i. 681 bizinis [in three syllables]. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 jaggest. 694 warkin [working]. 695 ærk. 701 ferst. 702 dā [within], déut [without]. Y- 706 wa'i. Y': 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 718 trēd. — tjaet [chat]. 737 miēt. 741 maze. — swái [sway]. 742 lūzi. E. 751 péurt [recovered from sickness].

I. and Y. — wip [whip]. 758 gæl. — wist [whisht, quiet]. O. 761

læd. — dʒəb [job]. 767 náaiz. 774 pɛani. 776 gudbæ'i. — spɛənt [sport]. — hævər [technical word in hopping, shaking up the measure to make it look larger]. 721 bɔ'i. U. 796 blæ. 798 kœiər. — ɔri [hurry]. — rusht [to rush, like 105 (aast), the past tense made an infinitive].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 féus. — tréus [trace, track]. 812 tɛ léus [to lace, beat, drub]. — kɛtɪt [catched, for caught]. — péel píel [pail]. — pee [pay]. 824 tʃéər. — féel fail. — tʃi:n, tʃe:n [chain]. — eər [air]. 833 péər. 835 riiz'n. — péel [pale]. 843 bræəntɪ [not used]. — meendjər. 849 strændjər [common word]. 851 æənt. — mərtjənt [merchant]. — mæri [marry]. 857 kéus [often used]. — pæəs [pass]. 862 séei.

E.. 867 ti. — riil [real]. — krítər [creature]. 870 buntifəl. 874 riinz [reins]. — skiim [scheme, very common]. — plenti [plenty]. — wɛntɛrsɛm [venturesome]. 885 wɛri [not much used, supplanted by tɔrb'l terrible]. — ɔrb [herb]. — klark [clerk]. — tɔrb'l [terrible]. — mæsfəl [merciful]. — kɛnsərən [concern]. — fɔrm [firm]. 888 sɔrtən. — rɛʒələt [courageous]. — disəbəl [dishabille, used commonly for any confusion or litter]. 890 biist. 891 feast. I.. and Y.. 910 dʒæ'istiz [joists].

O.. 919 æ'ɪntmɛnt. — dʒæ'in [join]. 925 wɔ'is. — kéənt [account]. 930 læ'in. — stúər [store]. 938 kɑərɪər. 939 tlóus. — róust [roast]. 940 kwóet. 941 faul fəlɪʃ [foolish]. — trəb'l [trouble]. 942 bætjər. 947 bæ'd. 950 sɔpən. 955 dənt. U.. 965 æ'd. 969 shúər. — hɔrt [hurt]. 970 dɛst.

Usages, eent beent. (éə) falls much into (iə), thou never used.

VAR. iii. EAST KENT FORM.

The Isle of Thanet has had its dialect nearly obliterated. Mr. Basil Hodges, of Vincent, Margate, to whom I was recommended as likely to know, said that *d* for *th* was unknown, though he had heard it from an old man who came from another part of the county. But (miis) mice shewed a remnant of dialect as well as *weal*, *violet*, *ile*, *bile*, I adopt his spelling, for *veal*, *violet*, *oil*, *boil*. Miss Peckham, a student of Whitelands, who had been at a school at St. Nicholas, Margate, did not know *d* for *th*, or *w* for *r*, nor recognise (r), and found the *h* omitted only by old people and not so often wrongly inserted. Her *r* followed London use, even to its euphonic insertion. But she used (ɔ'i) for long *i*, except in (liis, miis) for lice, mice. U' gave (éə), and O' had (iu) in (spium, aatnium, biuts) spoon, afternoon, boots, to which (tiu) two was assimilated, being confused with (too). Such words as I could get from her are in the e.Ke. cwl. Rev. R. Drake of Stourmouth Rectory, just w. of the river which bounds the Isle of Thanet, says he has never met with so little dialect. He admits *w* for *r* and finds it so general that "children taught to speak correctly are laughed at by their elders" Though he had been 38 years in the locality, the only dialectal words he could remember were (diik) for dyke, and (wæps) for wasp. He had not heard *I are* half a dozen times, and never *I be*. He notices *aint*=isn't, and *lease*=glean, and the common use of *terrible*=very. Mr. Toomer sent me a lw. for e.Ke. and Thanet, which are inserted in the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144. We may pretty well omit ne.Ke. from dialectal regions, though there is still just enough left to shew that it once resembled the rest of Ke.

The next region of e.Ke. consists of the Highlands east of Canterbury, of which the following dt. gives a good idea. The words are added to the e.Ke. cwl. p. 144.

WINGHAM dt.

6 e.Canterbury, representing the Highlands of e.Ke., Adisham '6 se.Canterbury', Nonington '7 se.Cant.', Chittenden '8 se.C.', Womanswold '7 se.-by-s.C.', Sibertswold '9 se.C.', Goodneston '7 e.-by-s.C.' and Kearsney '3 nw.Dover', by Rev. F. W. Ragg, who when it was written was vicar of Ratling with Wingham, and became subsequently vicar of Marsworth, Tring, pal. by A.J.E. from indications and answers to questions.

1. *sóou ói sái, méats, jéu sii n'ou dæt ói aar róit béut dæt léd'l* [l'lh] *gæl kumín from de skúel jender.*

2. *shii z góou'n déan de róed déar, thru de red géut an de left* *ænd sóid ev de wái.*

3. *shúer naf de gæl ez g'én stráit ap te de dóer ev da ræq héus.*

4. *wíer shi el bi lóik to fóind dæt dræqken dæf sríveld fêb* *ev de néem ev :toms.*

5. *wi aal nóou im wéri wel.*

6. *wóent de ool tæp síun larn er not téu déu it egin, páur thiq'!*

7. *lek i iz'n it triu?*

Notes.

1. *I*, "somewhat resembling (ó'i) and differing from ái," this points to (ó'i) or (á'i). I have selected (ó'i) because of the Faversham (ó'i) — *are*, "the *r* is full, a good burr, and has its usual effect on the *a*," this points to the *r*, lost in Thanet but retained in these highlands. *I are*, rhyming to *fire* *óar*, *tóar*, is the regular form. *I am* is sometimes used. *I be* very seldom if ever. — *liddle* almost *li'í* with a rough breathing before the *l*," which I interpret *léd'l*, *l'lh*, though the latter is very strange, still I have *li'l* *lill* given me by others. — *yonder*, "I am not quite sure of *yendě*, whether the *r* is sounded at all, but the *ě* has the modification which the *r* would give it as nearly as possible."

6. *to do*, written *těöö* *děöö*, which might have been meant for *trú dau*, as I got *tew* from Denton (7 nw.Dover), and hence within the district, from Rev. C. J. Hussey, who says, "In the hymns the *tew* for *to* strikes my ear, I have noticed it more in singing than in speaking." But Mr. Ragg says, "The *ěöö* is like a very short *ou* in *you*, *about*, *house*," and that is explained to be the *e* and *o* in the Welsh *Bttas*, and hence *éu* or *lé'u*. But I believe the sound degenerates into some variety of *y*, *ě*, see Faversham, and may have been originally merely *íe'u*, which is apt to generate all these sounds.

FOLKESTONE.

The Folkestone fishermen are credited with a dialect of their own. So far as pron. is concerned, that is not the case. Mr. R. Stead, to whom I am otherwise much indebted, being master of the Folkestone Grammar School in 1880, I asked his assistance. The will of the founder of the school provides for the instruction of sons of poor fishermen, and there are generally six or eight boys there from the houses of genuine working fishermen; and these boys are said to speak the dialect as well as their fathers. By observations on these boys Mr. Stead wrote me the following dt. in Glossic, and

supplemented it by several observations. Mr. Fynmore says: "The fishermen of Folkestone, I understand, are persistent in the transposition of *r* for *w*, and are called old Vills. They talk quick about vat for what, vell, vant, valk, etc., etc." Mr. Stead says: "I can't hear that anybody knows the fishermen by the name of 'old Vills.' I have to-day been listening to the pronunciation of two or three new fisherboys we have, and I can't hear anything but was, we, were, wat=*what*, etc." But in P.S. he adds, "I have just had communication with a man well acquainted with the town. He tells me that 'Folkestone fishermen are almost universally credited with the use of *r* for *w*,' but he thinks they don't 'do it so often as is made out.' Nevertheless, he says you will no doubt 'now and then hear riting (=whiting), Vellard (=Wellard, a local tobacconist, etc.' Hence, while *r* for *w* may occasionally occur, it must be rare at least at present, and must be considered still to want satisfactory proof. On the other hand, *w* for *r* is the rule, or, as Mr. Stead says, "very largely if not universally used by the fisherfolk in Folkestone, as in *wessel*, *November*, *Wësta* (=Vesta, name of a fishing-boat), *walue*, etc."

On the other hand, *d* for *th* does not seem to be heard among them, but the reverted (R) was distinctly recognised, although it is not unfrequently omitted to his ears. Not having heard these speakers myself, I do not venture to write (R) initial or to assimilate (t d n) to (R) as (t d x). But I feel tolerably sure that all are used, especially as (L) is particularly recognised. Mr. Stead says he never heard the final reverted (L) so decidedly as among these speakers. "Thus, Bill is *bíel*, or often (*béel*), *help*=*(elp)*, etc." He finds, also, the long O' and its cognates have developed not merely into (iu), but (yy), or an approximation to it, and writes (jy, skyyl, thryy, shy'ar, ty, syyn, dyy, lyk, tryy), for you, school, through, sure, to, soon, do, look, true. Most probably the (yy) is not fully reached, and, as remarked under Faversham, the real sound may be *u'u*. The long I' he finds most like (ói), as at Wingham, and the long U' is (éu).

FOLKESTONE FISHERMEN dt.

written in Glossie by R. Stead, Esq., pal. by AJE.

1. sóou ói sái, má'its, jy sii néu dhut (ói)m róit ebéut dhut lít'L gjæRL, kəmín frəm dhe skyyl jander.

2. shii z góou'ín déu dhe róoud dhéie thryy dhe red gá'it an dhe left end sóid æv dhe wái.

3. shy'ar enəf dhe tjó'LD [tjaald] ez gaan stráit æp ty dhe dóouer æv dhe raq [raq] éus.

4. wéie shi wíel tjaans ty fóind [shi'L preps kəm ekraas] dhut draaken def skíni tjep æv dhe ná'im æv :tames [:tames].

5. wi aal nóou ím wer'i wéel.

6. wóount dhe oold tjep syyn tiitj ær nat ty dyy ít egáin, púus thiq!

7. lyk! iz'nt ít tryy?

Notes.

2. *there*, as well as *where*, *fair*, *pare*, *wear*, have the triphthong (éie), as (dhéa, wéie, féie, péie, wéie). 4. *she'll perhaps come across*, is probably the phrase that would be used.

The following cwl. collects the e.Ke. words. The S. dial. has here decayed as much as possible, and has received strictly E. elements, which entirely extinguish the S. as we proceed n. The ES. group is therefore a transition between S. and E., but different from D 7.

EAST KENT cwl.

F Folkestone fishermen's dialect, from Mr. Stead, p. 142.

N St. Nicholas, Margate, from Miss Peckham, p. 141.

T lw. sent by Mr. Toomer for in and about Isle of Thanet, known by him to have been used in e.Ke. Although a young man in 1871, he had noticed many changes in his time. Conj. pal. by AJE. from io. He apparently uses *r* as in London *ar* or *ur* = (aa aa ə), for he writes *dorg* [daag] for *dog*.

W Wingham, the words from Rev. F. W. Ragg's e.Ke. Highlands, p. 142.

Rec. spelling and italics denote rec. pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N tee [very long, approaching (téee)]. 12 N *saab* [with euphonic *r* before a vowel]. 20 N léen. 21 W néem, F náim. 23 N séem. 24 N sheem. 29 W aar *ær*. 33 N reedhæ [occ.]. 36 N *thaw* [with inserted euphonic *r*]. A: 42 end. 43 W ænd. 55 T ishez. A: or O: 58 WF fram. 64 W raq, F raq raq. A'- 67 W góor'in, N [rec. pr.], F góou'in. 69 N *no*. 73 WF sóou, N *so*. 74 N tíu. 76 N tóed. 84 N móen [more than]. 86 N óets. 92 F nóou. 94 W nóou. A': 101 N oak. 104 róed, F róoud. 110 W nat, F nat. 121 W g'én, F gaan.

Æ- 140 N [140-147 rec. pron.]. 142 T sneg. 144 W egi'n, F egái'n. 153 N setudi. — T poti [pretty]. Æ: — T waps waps [wasp]. 174 T ish. 177 W det [unemphatic], det [emphatic]. Æ'- 183 F tiitj. 190 N key. Æ': 218 T ship. 223 W déer, F dhéie, N *there*. 224 W wíer, T wéie. E- 231 W de [week]. 233 N *speak*. 235 N *weave*. 236 N *fever*. 251 N *meat*. 252 N kit'l. E: 261 WF sái. 262 WF wái [in pause (wâi)]. 265 WF stráit. 266 W wel, F wéel. 272 T elem. 278 N [never heard]. — T iinz [ends]. — T mesh [marsh]. E'- 293 F wi. 297 W fæle. E': 314 N ieed.

EA- 319 N *gape*. EA: 323 N *fought*. 324 N *eight*. 326 W ool, N ood, F oold. 330 T óoul, N ood. 335 W aal, F aal. 346 T géet, N *gate*, F gá'it. EA': 352 WF red. 355 WF def. 364 W tjæp, F tjep. 371 T straa. EI: 378 N *weak*.

EO: 388 T melk. 394 W jander [?: final (r) absent], F jander. 402 W arn. EO'- 412 WF shii. — T klæiv [cleaver]. 413 N div'l. EO': 428 WF sii. 435 W jéu, F jy. 436 W tríu, F tryy. EY- 438 N *die*.

I- 442 N d'ivi. 446 N no'in. — T shíiez [shires, applied to the Midland counties]. I: 452 T ói [see note to dt.], F ói. 459 WF róit, N ró'it. 462 N so'it. 465 N sitj. 466 F tjoild tjaaLD. 469 wíel. 477 WF foind, N fo'ind. 479 N wo'in. 480 WF thiq. I'- 490 N bo'i. 492 WF sóid. I': — T diik dæ'ik [ditch]. 500 W lóik. 507 N *umen* [old people].

O- 522 N æp'n. O: 525 F ov. 541 W wóent, F wóount. 543 W on. — T faak [fork]. — T as [horse]. 554 ekraas [across]. — T póest póustez [post posts]. O'- 556 W téu, F ty. 558 W lok, F lyk. 560 W skúel, F skyyl. 564 W síun, F syyn. O': 579 W næf, F næof. 586 W déu, F dyy. 589 N spíun. 594 N bíuts. 597 TN sat.

U- 603 W kəmin, F kəmin. 606 W dóer, F dóouer. U: 632 W əp, F əp. 634 W thru, F thryy. U- 640 N kéu. 643 WF néu. 650 WF béut. U': 658 WF déu. 663 W héus, F éus.
Y- 682 W lid'l lilh, F lit'l. Y: 700 T wəs wəwə [worsə], N wəs. 701 TN fəst. Y': 711 N liis. 712 N miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 T driin. — preps [perhaps]. 737 T méets, F málits. E. 749 WF léit. I. and Y. 758 W gæl, F gjərl. 760 W sriveld. O. 770 W :təmes, F :təmes :təmes. U. 804 W drəəqken, F drəqken. 808 T pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 F tjaans. — T kaa [carry, or (kæ) ?]. 864 T kəz. 866 W puer. F púue, N póov. E.. 867 N tea. 885 TW F wəri. — T təb'l [terrible]. O.. 916 T iqen. — T iədj [forge]. U.. 965 T ə'it. 969 W shúek, F shy'ér, T síuelə'i [surely]. — T haat [hurt].
T *usages*, he didn't (hadn't shouldn't) ought, Miss for Mrs.—N *usage*, I are.

D 10, 11, 12 form the WS. or west Southern Group.

Boundaries. The e. b. is the w. b. of MS. and the other boundaries are formed by the Bristol and English Channels.

Area. The w. portion of Sm., all but the extreme sw. of Dv., all Co. and the Scilly Isles. This represents comparatively recent, and in w.Co. very recent, overrunning of a Celtic language (Cornish or West Welsh) by English. In D 12, w.Co. and Scilly, a true dialect has apparently never been formed.

Character. Besides the general S. character with the (r) very strongly developed in the e. but gradually weakening on going w. (till in D 12 the received *r* is perhaps quite established), there is also the striking change of O' into (yy₁), closely resembling Fr. (y), which sharply limits this group towards the e.

D 10 = n.WS. = northern West Southern.

Boundary. Taken from Mr. Elworthy's information. The n. b. is the n. coast of Sm., w. of e.Quantockshead (14 nnw.Taunton). The w. and s. b. begins at Comtisbury (14 ene.Ilfracombe Dv. and 2 e.Linton Dv.), and proceeds nearly s. along an affluent of the Lynn R., to Exe Head Hill, Sm., where the affluent rises (14 ese.Ilfracombe). Then passing the head of the Barle R. proceeds to Span Head on the b. of Sm. (14 se.Ilfracombe), then se. to North Molton Ridge (14 e.Barnstaple), and still se. over Molland Down, Anstey's Barrow and Anstey's Hill (all on the watershed at the b. of Sm.), and then turning s. along the high ground to just s. of Tiverton (where it crosses the Exe), of Collumpton (6 ese. Tiverton, and of Kentisbeare (7 ese. Tiverton), and then turning ne. to join the w. b. of D 4 about Otterford (7 s.Taunton), after which the e. b. is identical with the w. b. of D 4 from n. to the sea.

Area. The w. of Sm. with a small portion of ne.Dv.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., || systematic, ° in io.

Sm. *Bishop's Hull, °Milverton, °Taunton, *Wellington.

Dv. ||*Morebath.

Characters. A- (éə). A: (æ, a¹). A'-, A': (úv, óv). AEG. (âi). Æ' (ee) and various. EG (âi). E (e). EL (əl). I: often (ə¹). I' (á'í). O' (y₁, ə₁). U (ɪ, ʌ). U' (e'u).

Of these the most important are the diphthongs for I', U'. They are both quite different from those of D 4. Mr. Elworthy originally appeared to me to make two forms (á'í, ə'í) for I', but on the last examination I did not find the separation certain, and the question was which of the two I should adopt. With some hesitation I selected (á'í), which is transitional to (ái), the Dv. form. This was, however, kept distinct from (âi), in which the first element was decidedly longer and lower than in (á'í). The (e'u) form of U' was very marked, but did not fall into (æ'u), as in Nf. It is quite distinct from the Dv. (ə'y₁), so that it forms another mark of separation between D 10 and D 11.

The vowels (ə¹, y₁, ə₁) sharply distinguish the dialect from D 4. They are very difficult even to appreciate. The (ə¹) may be considered as (ə) raised towards (i), or (i) degraded towards (ə). Strangers may be content with considering it as (i). Before (l) it seems to be absorbed by the murmur, so that (mə¹lk, sə¹lk) differ little from (m'lk, s'lk). Dr. Murray (Elworthy, Gram. West Sm. p. 113) considers the last to be the exact sound. When I so pronounced the words, Mr. E. said I was wrong. Neither was the word (malk). I had imagined that perhaps (m'lk) might be right, but Mr. E. says he uses (l) with the tip of the tongue thoroughly against the teeth. I must consider that the correct analysis of this vowel sound has not been reached. It is strangely affected by adjacent consonants. In listening in 1885 to the list of 30 words in Mr. Elworthy's *Dialect of West Sm.*, p. 58, which I had drawn up in 1875, I found the same separation into three parts, resembling (i, ə, u), in all of which Mr. Elworthy and natives reckon only one vowel, except in *milk, silk*, where they seem to recognise no vowel at all besides the vowel *l*. The sound occurs chiefly for EO, I.

The vowels (y₁ y₁, ə₁ ə₁) are quite as difficult to utter, but easier to recognise. They are usually both called "French *u*," but they decidedly reminded me of (y, ə) or Fr. *pu, peu*, from which, however, they were clearly distinct, and apparently 'lowered.' To say (ty₁ bə₁ts) two boots, is a most difficult problem to a stranger, and one he is not very likely to solve.

Judging from JGG.'s experience at Chippenham, Wl., p. 51, I anticipated finding the whole series (τ δ ν λ ρ sh zh tʃ dʃ) in this region also. So far as Mr. Elworthy's pronunciation is concerned, this was not the case, as (ρ) was clear, even when initial, but the other sounds seem to occur only when adjacent to (ρ), as (ερdʃ) ridge. When there was merely the separation of two words, as (ερ də'd) she did, the (ρ) does not seem to affect the following letter. When (d) comes before (ρ), the most natural thing is to say (ερ-); but Mr. E. says he feels the tip of the tongue *slide* along the palate from the (d) to the (ρ) position. On going through the points touched by the palate for (ρ t d n l) in his pronunciation, (ρ) was fully reverted and the under part of the tip touched the

highest part of the palate, for (t, d) the contact lay between that and the gums, but nearer to the former, for (n) the contact was on the gums, and for (l) on the teeth. This makes the series (r, t d, n, l). Now Mr. E.'s pronunciation seems to be perfect, and he is really a native, but it is difficult to believe that the peasant himself makes these elaborate distinctions. The sounds uttered by Mr. E. appeared to me to be the same as I produced by using reverted (R, T D, N, L). In particular with (l) I could not in the least produce his effects, but with (L) I seemed to reach them. I have thought it prudent, however, to retain (t d, n l) with their usual coronal values, except when they were acknowledged to become (T D N L) on account of the adjacency of (R). It must be remembered that the distinction (t r, d b) is very slight, and the generation of the peculiar English (t, d) as distinct from the foreign (t̥, d̥) was probably entirely due to converting reverted (R) into retracted (r), a confusion even now going on. But the existence of alveolar (n) and purely dental (l) seems an entire anomaly in England. Yet it was not new at Mr. Elworthy's last interview with me on 4 Nov. 1885, for I find the same thing noted from him on 22 Nov. 1880, thus in *filth* (fɔ̃lth) the (l) and (th) were noted as having precisely the same position. Another peculiarity of Mr. E.'s pronunciation was the word *potatoes*, which Mr. E. considered he pronounced (təʔədiz), whereas Dr. Murray, Mr. Sweet, and myself heard an (r) in place of (d), to my ears the word was (téeriz). As to *l*, Dr. Murray (in Mr. E.'s *Gram. of W. Sm.*, p. 112) says, "*l* is also often *guttural*, and this is the apparent peculiarity of" such words as *bull*, *pull*, *full*, *school*, *wool*, *tool*, *stool*, and written (bɔ̃l, pɔ̃l, vɔ̃l, shɔ̃l, əl, tɔ̃l, stɔ̃l), etc. On asking Dr. M. in 1885 what he had meant by "*guttural l*," properly (*l*), he was unable to remember, and thought that possibly *guttural* should have been *retracted*, which is more likely.

In 1875 I had drawn up the lists of vowels with examples in Mr. Elworthy's *Dial. of W. Sm.* from his dictation. Not to be swayed by these, I extracted a large number of them, and made them into the following *cwl.*, and then Mr. E. was kind enough to pronounce every word to me afresh. My impressions were slightly different, but almost the same. This list which follows gives the full characteristics of the *dial.* to the best of my powers of observation. The sounds (ỹ ə̃ ɔ̃) were distinctly recognised, as different from (ỹ ə̃ ɔ̃), although I failed in imitating and cannot analyse them. The (t̥ d̥ n̥ l̥) are left as in *rs.*, because, as already stated, I cannot either adopt Mr. E.'s distinctions, or make them always reverted. This is followed by the *cs.* and some examples from the grammar, while the translation of the first chap. of *Ruth* will be given with the *L.* and *Ch.* versions in the Introduction to *L.*, as it was especially written for this contrast. All of these were revised from dict. in Nov. 1885. Mr. Elworthy's papers already cited have been supplemented by his elaborate *Glossary*, pp. 924, full of interesting matter. His power of imitating peasant speech is most remarkable. His kindness and patience in giving me information are gratefully acknowledged.

WEST SOMERSET CS.

pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of F. T. Elworthy, Esq., Foxdown, Wellington, Sm., revised from dict. 27 Oct. and 4 Nov. 1885, with a slavishly literal inter-linear translation.

0. *E'u t)eez in)s :djaen aa)n vgaA'et noo de'utinz lá'ík.*
 how it)is even)as John has)not got no doubtings like.
1. *wál, faarmèr :ərtjət, á'i tal)e aat t)eez. jyy₁ en ii, búədh o)i,*
 wel, farmer Richard, I tell, thee what it)is. You and he, both of)ye,
míd laafi be'ut dhiəzh)jɪr stóəvɐ v má'in. yy₁ də kíəv vɐr dha't?
 may laugh-y about this)here story of mine. who does care for that?
t)ed)'n no adz nɛdʰvɐ wən wee nɐr t)ədʰvɐ.
 it)is)not no odds neither one way nor that)other.
2. *dhɛr id)'n vɛrɪ mɛni meen dhɛt də dái'vɛrkéɐz dhe bi v'ləa'ft o,*
 there is)not very many men that do die for-cause they be laughed of,
wii dy₁ noo dha't doo'n) is? waa't ə'z) vɐr vɛr tɐ méɛk)əm dy₁)et?
 we do know that do)not us? what is)there for to make)them do it?
t)ed)'n vɛrɪ lá'ík ə'z ə't?
 it)is)not very like, is it?
3. *E'usəmdə'vɛr dhɛ'ʃh)jɛr)z dhv daps o)dhv kíəs, zoo dhii dɹ'is*
 howsoever this)here)is the daps [turns] of)the case, so thee just
stəp dhii rat'l, ɔəl fəlvɐ, en bá'id stíel gín á'i)v ɐfə'nɪʃh.
 stop thy rattle, old fellow, and abide still against I)have finished.
nɛ'u ark, wə'l)i?
 Now hark, will)thee?
4. *á'i bi saartɪn shúvɐr á'i jɛrd) ɐm zɛe—zɛm v dheɛ dhɛr vɔks*
 I be certain sure I heard)them say—some of they there folks
wat weent re'it vóvɐ dryy₁ it aA'el vɛrɛm dhi vɛrɪ fɛs dhɛr)oon
 what went right fore through it all, from the very first their)own
zɛlz, dha't á'i dɛd, saaf aɛf,
 selves, that I did, safe enough.
5. *E'u dha't dhi jɛqgis zə'n ə'zɛ'l, v ɣɛrt búoi v)ná'in jívr ool,*
 how that the youngest son his-self, a great boy of)nine year old,
nood dhv vA'is v dhv faadhɐr o'en tɛræ'kli vɛr aA'el t)wɛz sv
 knowed the voice of the father of)him directly, for all it)was so
kə'ívr en skwɪki lá'ík, en á'i)d waarn 'ii vɪr tɐ spɛɛk tryy₁
 queer and squeaky like, and I)would warrant he for to speak true
ə'ni dɛɛ v)dhv wɪk, iis, en 'dha't á'i wə'ld.
 any day of)the week, yes, and that I would.

6. en (dh)ool (d)amən ʊRZʌl, ʌR ʊl təl ə'ni o'i dha't biɪ ʊlaafɪn nɛ'ʌ,
and the old woman herself, her will tell any of ye that be a-laughing now.

iis, en təl)i RE'it en in, ʊdhe'ut noo bodʊɐɐɐʃshən, n'if i'ʌl ʌni
yes, and tell ye right on end, without no botheration, and if ye will only

aks o'ʊR, oo ʌi, oo'n'ʊR? dha't)s AA'ʊl.
ask of)her, oh, aye, wo'n't)her? that)is all.

7. ʊR tool mi o'ʊt ə'ni' E'ʌ, hən ʌi ʌkst)o'ʊR, tʏʏ ʊR dʀii tá'ímz
her told me of it any how, when I asked of)her, two or three times

o'ʊR, ʊR ded, en 'ʌR ded 'n ʌAT ʋʊR tɐ bi E'ʊt pən dʒə'tʃ ʊ dhʌq
over, her did, and 'her did not ought for to be out upon such a thing

ʊz dhʌʊzh)JʌR, wʌAT)s 'dhii dhʌqk o'ʊt?
as this)here, what)dost thee think of)it?

8. wəl, in's ʌi wɐz ʊtəlɪn o'i. ʌR)d læt'i nŋoo E'ʌ en
well, even as I was a-telling of)thee, her)would let)thee know how and

w'ʊR en ween ʊR ʋE'ʌn dhʌki dʀʌqkin túʊd wʌAT ʊR dʏ.
where and when her found that drunken toad what her do

kʌʌl [kʌʌl] ʊR m'ʊn.
call her man [husband].

9. ʊR zʷɐʊɐd ʊR zid' 'n wee ʊR oon ʌ'iz ʊlʌid ʌʌ'ʊl ʊstratʃt E'ʊt
her swore'd her see'd him with her own eyes laid all stretched out

tʏ ʊz ʋʌl lɛqkth pən tap ʊ dhɐ gr'ʌnd wee' ʌ'z gʊd zə'ndi
to his full length upon top of the ground with his good Sunday

k'ʊt ʊn, dʒə's ʌp ʊgi n o'dhɐ dúʊR o'dhɐ E'ʌz, dɛ'ʌn dhɐ
coat on, just up against the door of)the house, down there

tɐ dhɐ kʌʌndɐ o dhʌki dhéʊR léʌn.
to)the corner of that there lane.

10. dhɐR ʊ wʌʌz ʊwʌ'ɪ'nɪn ʊwee, ʊR zɛs, dʒə's dhɐ ʋɐri séʌm zɛ
there he was a-whining away, her says, just the very same)as

thʌʌf ʊ wɐz ʊ tʃʌl ʊtʌkt bæ'ʊd, ʊR ʊ lɪd'l máid ʌzʌ'ʊt ʌp
though he was a child tooked bad, or a little maid set up

in ʊ jɛt.
in a heat.

11. en dha't dhɐR ʌpt dhɐ ʋɐri séʌm tá'ím z ʌR en ʊR daʌɐtɐRLʌʌ
and that there happed the very same time as her and her daughter-in-law

wɐz ʊkʌmɪn in dʀʏʏ dhɐ bʌk k'ʊʊRT [ki'ʊʊRT] ʌʌndɐ dhɛɛ d
was a-coming in through the back court after they)had

ʊbɪn ʊ æqɪn dhɐ wɛt klóʊz ʋʊR tɐ dʀɛ'ʌi. pən ʌ wʌʌR-shin dɛɛ.
been a-hanging the wet clothes for to dry-y, upon a washing-day.

12. séem tá'im dhe kə't'l wəz ɐ bʊólin pən dhe vʌ'íʊr vər tee,
 same time the kettle was a boiling upon the fire for tea,
 wən fá'in brá'it zəməɐ ɑɐdəɐnəni onɪ ɐ wɪk ɐɡən kəm
 one fine bright summer afternoon only a week ago come
 nɛks dhəzdi.
 next Thursday.
13. ɛn, də'z dhi noo? á'i nə'vər læɐn, wən mɑs'l biit m'óʊrən
 and, dost thee know? I never learned one morsel bit more)than
 dhɪʃh)jər kənsə'ɐnɪn dhə't dhéʊr bə'znɪs təl ə'z m'óʊɐnɪn, zo
 this)here concerning that there business till this morning, so
 shúʊr)z má'i néʊm)z :dʒən :shə'pɐr, ɛn wət)s múʊr, á'i d'oo)ɛn
 sure)as my name)is John Shepherd, and what's more, I do)not
 wənt tɪ, nəðhɐr, dhéʊr nə'u!
 want to neither, there now!
14. ɛn zo á'i bi gūɛn óʊm vər tɐ æ'v mi sɐpɐ [t)æ)mi)sɐpɐ].
 and so I be going home for to have my supper [to,have,my,super].
 gə'd ná't)i, ɛn d'oo)n)i bi zo k'wɪk, má'in, vər tɐ k'róo óʊvɐ
 good night,to)thee, and do)not,thee be so quick, mind, for to crow over
 ə'ni badi ɐɡɛn, hən ɛni badi dɐ tɑki o dhíʊz ɐr dhɪki ɐr
 any body again, when any body do talk-y of this or that or
 t)ədʰɐr dhɪq.
 that)other thing.
15. ɛɛ mɛs bi ɐ ɑɑvə'l fəɐɐ vər tɐ préʊti ɐdʰɛ'u t rʌ'ím ɐr rɛɛz'n.
 he must be a half-fool fellow for to prate-y without rhyme or reason.
 ɛn dhɪʃh)jər)z mə'i lɑs wɔɐd. gə'd bʊá'i)t)i.
 and this)here)is my last word. good bye)to)thee.

The three specimens which follow are borrowed from Mr. Elworthy's *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somersetshire*, 1877, pp. 96 and 99, where they are presented in glossic. They have been pal. by A.J.E. and, as before stated, revised with Mr. E. In the translation letters and words in *Italics* are either supplementary or explanatory, and the translation itself as before is slavishly literal.

SPECIMENS.

A genuine yarn taken down by Mr. Elworthy from a peasant's dictation.

:lA'ERD :pAAPem.

Lord Popham.

1. *d'i* spúvz jY₁)v vjARD be'ud
dhe gART ook'n trii ap te :wA:l'ten
:park :d, wat dhec jY₁z te zee
:lA'ERD :pAAPem wez ekANDjerd
inty₁?

1. I suppose you've a-heard about
the great oaken tree up to Wellington
Park Wood, what they used to say
Lord Popham was a-conjured
into?

2. wel, dóo)en i zii, ap dhéur,
jY₁ noo, zer, dher'z v gART dip
bA'dem góo₁z de'an ze dip's
dhe táuer, máin stier lál'ik
in's móld zee, séum'z dhe
zá'id gween ap óv'r :wA:l'ten :íel,
en dhí'zh)jAR ook'n trii, ii waz
v tAR'ób'l gART trii shóover nef, i
waz, en i gróed in dhe zá'id o en,
en dhí'ki pléus ez ekaal :wó'lskem
baadem.

2. Well, don't ye see, up there,
you know, sir, there's a great deep
bottom=*ravine* goes down so deep)as
the tower, main steer=*steep* like,
even)as one may say, the same)as the
side going up over Wellington Hill,
and this)here oaken tree, he was
a terrible great tree sure enough, he
was, and he growed in the side of him
=*the ravine*, and this place is a-called
Wilscombe bottom.

3. jY₁ má'in dhe púer ool
:tam :aalwee, dóo)en i, zer?
dhat's dhe ool :tam :aalweez
faardher, je noo, zer, alp drood)en,
en ween dhec drood)en, nif i
ded'n tARN reet tap)'m táiel—
iis shóover, en dhe eed o en
wez reet de'm vnder, en dhéur
i bá'id.

3. You mind=*remember* the poor
=*deceased* old Tom Alway, don't ye,
sir? that's the old Tom Alway's
father, you know, sir, he helped
to throw=*fell* him=*the tree*, and
when they throwed-him, and-if he
did'nt turn right top-on-tail=*head*
over heels—yes sure, and the head of
him was right down under, and there
he bided=*remained*.

4. en dhec waz aal o)m vfiERD
ver te gó₁ unies'n, en dhec
zed e'u in's v wez ekANDjrd
noobadi kó₁d)en nó'vER drag)en
e'ut; en dhéur i bá'id.

4. And they was all of-them a-
feared for to go a-nighest-him, and
they said how e'en-as he was a-
conjured nobody could'nt never drag-
him out; and there he bided.

5. en te laas, á'i weent ap,
kAZ dhec zed dhe A'sez)ed shóover
te bi ekíeld, wee teen Aaks'n,
en á'i ityt em ap ty₁ en, en dhe
baliks pó₁ld)an e'ut, en drag)en
intu dhe æqin kloz.

5. And to=*at* last, I went up,
because they said the horses)would
sure to be a-killed, with ten oxen,
and I hitched them up to him=*the*
tree, and the bullocks pulled-him out,
and dragged-him into the hanging
close.

6. en á'i nó'vER zid nóoERT
en dhec wez aal o)em ewa'itin
en el₁kin in's á'i shó'd ebó'n
kíeld, en kaalin o mi v fó₁el ver
te gó₁, bed á'i nó'vER zid nóoERT,
nit-noobadi t)AAL.

6. And I never seed=*saw* noughrt,
and they was all of-them a-waiting
and a-looking even as I should a-been
a-killed, and calling of me a fool for
to go, but I never seed=*saw* noughrt,
nor-yet nobody-at-all.

7. en jy₁ nóovz :wəl'it'n :park
E'uz, dóovn i, zvr? á'i má'ín han
á'i jyy₁z tē liv dhær, apem dhe
gjarēt, dhez wēz v plēus dhēer
dhoo lá'ík v oov'm lá'ík.

8. en á'i zid zem bōks wee
reedin in, em in en, en dhe zed
dhāt wēz :la'erd :paa'pēmiz bōks
en dhe zed E'u v méen went
ap en zaat e'strá'id pen dhe rōōf
wee v bá'ib'l, in, s'ii mō'd'j'n
kaar, 'n ewee.

9. iis! en t'eez v tær'ub'l ool
E'uz)er, hed á'i nō'vēr ded'n zii
noobadi dhēer noo wō's, 'n mizal,
in, s' mō'd zee.

10. E'usēmō'vēr á'i) v e'j'erd
em zee E'u dhe saar'ven tjāp wēz
gween vēr tē lēt E'ut dhe ak'ni
aader)z mēster d' ekōmd a'm
vrēm market, en dhez wēz v méen
e'stōd in dhō gēt wee, en i kōd, 'n
oov'm)en.

11. en han dhez tēk)en tē
dyy₁'in nēks mā'ernin, vēr kaa
i aed)en epāt E'ut dhe aas,
dōo)en i zii z'r? v zed, s)ii,
E'u v kēd)en pat)en E'ut, kēz
dhez wēz v méen e'stōd rēet in dhe
gēt wee, in, s' i kēd, 'n oov'm)en,
en dhez aav'is jyy₁z tē zee E'u dhe
aav'is kēnsō'dērd dhāt dhēer wēz
:la'erd :paa'pēm.

7. And you knows Wellington Park
house, don't ye, sir? I mind when
I used to live there, up)on the
garret, there was a place there
then like a oven like.

8. And I seed some books with
reading in-them in him = the oven, and
they said that was Lord Popham's
books, and they said how a man went
up and sat a-stride upon the roof
with a bible, e'en-as he = the devil
might'nt carry-him = the roof away.

9. Yes! and it-is a terrible old
house-sir, but I never did'nt see
nobody there no worse-than myself,
e'en-as one might say.

10. Howsomever I've a-heard
them say, how the servant chap was
going for to let out the hackney =
hack = horse, after-his master-had a-
comed home from market, and there
was a man a-stood = standing in the
gateway, and he could'nt open-him =
the gate.

11. And when they took-him to
doing = took him to task next-morning
for cause he had'nt a-put out the horse,
don't ye see, sir? he said, said-he,
how he could'nt put-him = the horse
out, because there was a man a-stood
= standing right in the gate way as
he could'nt open him = the gate,
and they always used to say how they
always considered that there was
Lord Popham.

The following was taken down by Mr. Elworthy from the dictation
of the carpenter himself.

Dh)ool fāler en dhe kaa'fin.

The old fellow = devil and the coffin.

1. ded jy₁ noo dh)ool :næn :skot,
zvr? maas ə'vəri baadi wēz
v'fērd o'ər, kēz dhe nood E'u
ər kēd əvələ'k)em nif'ər wō'd.

1. Did you know the old Nan
Scott, sir? Almost every body was
a-feard of her, because they knowed
how her = she could overlook them =
cast an evil eye on them and-if her
would.

2. wəl, á'i méed dhe kaa'fin
var'ēr, en sē tryy₁z á'i bi jēr,
t)wēz djə'st ekam wi aed'n aal o
əs ebə'n ekēld.

2. Well, I made the coffin for her,
and so true-as I be here, it-was just
a-come = it had almost happened it
was a mere chance we had'nt all of us
a-been a-killed.

3. t-wēz sē fāin v dee)z ə'vēr
jy₁ zid, en dhe zə'n'd ebə'n

3. It-was so fine a day)as ever you
seed = saw, and the sun-had a-been

esheenin se brá'it)s ə'n'idhiq, han
dɔ's in's wi wɛz gween in tɛ dho
tʃɛrtɪ dúbɛr, dʰɛr kɑnd ɛ vláɛrsh
ɛ lɛt'nin fə't tɛ téɛr ɒp dʰɛ vɛri
stóɛnz, æn wee dʰɛ séɛm dʰɛ
thándɛr bɛst ɛ'ut lá'ik ɛ kæn'en.

4. wɛl, hɑn wi kɑm tɛ pɑt
ɛr in dʰɛ kiev nif dh'ool méɛn
wɑd'n ɛtɛrɛnd rɛɛt rɛu'n. á'i noo
ɛ wɑz, vɛr á'i əlp pɑt 'n'in.

5. oo! wi nood wɑt t'wɑz ɛd
ɛdɪd ɛt. wi nood vɛri wɛl
dh'ool fɛlɑr'd ɛbɔ'n dʰéɛr lɑɑq
wee ɛn. tɛɪ'z ɟɪ bi stɛnin
dʰéɛr!

a-shining so bright as anything, when
just e'en as we was going in to the
church door, there comed a flarsh
of lightning fit to tear up the very
stones, and *emphatic* with the same the
thunder burst out like a cannon.

4. Well, when we come = *came* to put
her in the cave = *vault*, and it the-old
man = *her husband long since dead*
was'nt a-turned right round. I know
he was, for I helped put him in.

6. Oh! we knowed what it was had
a-doned it. We knowed very wel
the old fellow-r-had = *the devil had*
a-been there along with him. It's as
true-as you be standing there!

The reason that a respectable washer-woman gave the "parson"
for having married a disreputable husband.

doo'n i zii, zɛr, á'i'd ɛgɑ't sɛ
mɑtɟ wɑ'ɛrshin, ɛn á'i wɛz ɛfúɛs
tɛ zɛɛn ɛt ɑm, ɛn if á'i ɑd' 'n ɛ, ɛɛd
ii, á'i mɛs ɛ bóɔɛt ɑ dɛɟk.

Don't ye see, sir, I'd a-got so
much warshing and I was a-forced
to send it home, and if I had'nt a-had
He, I must have bought a donkey.

WEST SOMERSET CWL.

Made up from the lists in Mr. F. T. Elworthy's Dialect of West Somerset, which
had been made by him and A.J.E. jointly in 1875, revised so far as these
especial words are concerned and pal. from dict. of Mr. Elworthy in 1885
by A.J.E.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 5 méek, mek. 6 méəd. 8 aav, æ'v [see Mr. E.'s W. Sm.
Grammar, p. 57]. 12 zaa. 18 kíek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 22 téem. 23 séem.
24 shíem. 32 bédh [intrans.], baadh [trans.]. 35 naal [an-awl, n from the
art.] 36 dhaa [intrans.], aandhaa [trans.]. 37 klaa. A: 41 dhæqk.
43 ɛn, éen [emph.] 44 læn. 46 kæn'l. 49 æq, ɛæ'qd, ɛæ'qd [to hang,
hanged, hung]. 56 waaɛshi [intrans.].

A: or O: 58 vram. 59 là'm. — ɔ'ɪ'm [womb]. 60 laq. 61 mæq ɛmæqst.
64 vraq, vræq. 65 zaq. 66 dhaq. A'- 67 gɛɪ, gween [going]. 69 naa
noo. 74 tɪɪ. 76 túed tóed. 77 la'ɛrd. — voo [foe]. 81 léen. — zɛɪp,
zɛɪp [sweep]. 84 móɛr móɛr. 85 zúɛr. 86 wɛts wɛ'ts. 87 klóɛz kloz.
89 báedh bɛɪdh. 90 blaa. 92 nóɔɛ [snoo dost know?]. 93 snooi, znoo. 95
dɛɛ. — óɔɛrt [aught], nóɔɛrt [naught]. A': 102 a'ks. 104 rháɛd.
105 rhad. 109 lɛɛ. 111 aaf [-t before vowels], aat. 113 wɛl. 115 a'm.
117 wɑn wɛn wɛɪn uun [acc. to circumstances]. 118 bóɛn. 120 ɛgɑ'n. 124
stɛɛn stóɛn stoo. 125 ɛni [emph. Anli, singular]. — rháɛp, rhɔp [rope]. 126
óɛr. 127 óɛz. 129 gáɛs [-t before a vowel] gɛst. 130 báɛt bɛɛt. 131 gɛɛt.
132 a't. — rhɪɪ [row of hay]. 136 ɛr [or].

Æ- 138 faadher. 140 háɛl. 141 náɛl. 143 táɛl. 146 máin [adv. =
very]. 147 bráin. 148 féɛr. — jamɛt [emmet, ant]. 149 bléɛz. — sɛɛt
[a seat]. 153 zɛɛɛrdi. Æ: 154 bɛk. 155 dha'tɟ. 158 aadɛr aatɛr

[occ. (arder)]. 160 eeg. 161 dee. 166 máid. — ælth [health]. 169 han [but ween] emph.]. 170 arəs. 174 arsh. — vreedh [to wreath], vreth [a wreath]. Æ'- — reetj [to reach]. — leetj [leech]. 184 leed. 185 rheed. 187 lef lef [both inf.], eke'f [left]. 189 wa'i. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 klen [adj.], kleen [adv.]. 194 æ'ni. 200 weet. — jeth [health]. 202 jæt jæt jæt. 203 speetj. — mied [mead], mide [meadow]. 205 dræd. 207 nîel. 208 æ'vər. 210 klâi. 213 ædher. 214 nædher. 217 eetj. 218 ship. 219 sleep zliep. 223 dhéer. 225 vlarsh. 226 maas [móes móes, almost]. — vras'l [to wrestle]. 227 wæt. 228 zwet. 229 bræth.

E- 233 speak. 235 weev. 236 feever. 238 ædj. 239 sâiel. 241 rhâin. 243 plâi. 244 wæl. — wæ'lə [willow]. 248 méer. 250 zwéer. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. 252 kæt'l. 253 næt'l. — vedher vedher [feather]. 255 wædher. — bæder [better]. E: 256 stra'tj. 257 ædj. — beed [bed]. 262 wee. 264 âiel. 265 strâit. 266 wæl. — víel [field]. 269 zâl. — twelv [twelve]. 271 tæl. 272 ælem. 273 meen [but (mēn) man]. 278 wantj. — in [end]. 280 læb'm. — een [hen]. — peen [a writing pen, (páin) a cattle pen]. — draesh'l, draeks'l [threshold]. 285 kris [pl. krístez]. 286 arb. — bæš [best]. E'- 290 i [emph.] — sik zik [seek]. 295 bærd. 296 bleev. 297 fævər. 300 kip [colloquially (kíp)]. 301 jər. E': 305 á'i. 306 á'ith. 309 spid. 312 jər. — giz [geese]. 316 næks.

EA- — shíep [to shape]. 319 gíep gap gjap. EA: 324 âit. 333 kaav kjaav. 324 aav aaf [æ'm'ær] halt and halt. 335 æl a'el. 336 vaal vaal. 337 waal waal. 338 kjal. — AAvis [always]. — bíerd [beard]. — ard [hard]. 343 warm. 345 déer. 346 gíet. EA'- 347 eed. 348 á'i. 349 vvy₁. EA': 350 deed. 351 lə'd. 352 rhe'd. ærd, ærdnis [redness]. 353 breed bærd. 354 shif shiv. 355 div. 356 liv. 357 thaaf, aaf. — kreem [cream]. 361 bíen. 363 tjp. — ip [a heap]. — jər [year]. 366 gart. 367 dræt. 368 dæth. 370 rhaa. 371 stroo. EI- 376 ba'it. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'm. 386 joo. 387 nyy₁. EO: 388 mæ'lk. — salk [silk]. 389 jak. 390 shæ'd [emph.] shæ'd [unemph.]. 392 jə'n. 393 bíə'n. 397 zúerd. — farmər. 402 larn. 403 var. 405 jeth. 406 æth. — zə'ster [sister]. — fard'n vard'n. EO'- — lyy₁ [lee, shelter]. — dræ. — vli [to fly]. 415 lá'i. kròp [to creep]. — vriz [to freeze]. 419 jə'ər [emph.]. 420 váuer [(fáuer emph.]. 421 iarti. EO': 422 zik. — rhid [a reed]. 423 dhá'i. 425 leet. 426 feet. 428 zi. 430 freen. — dip [deep]. 435 jyy₁. EY- 438 dá'i. EY: 439 trə's.

I- 440 wək. 441 ziv. — liv [to live]. 443 vrá'idi. 446 neen. — iis ees [emph.], jæs [fine but common]. 448 dhees. 449 gæt. 450 tyv'zdi. I: — dhærd [third]. 456 it nî. 458 neet. 460 wa'it. 462 seet [large number] zeet [vision]. 465 dæ'tj dæ's dæ'sh. 466 tîel. 469 wæl [will], wæt [wilt thou]. — shin [shin]. 472 shriək zhriək. 473 bleen blá'in. 475 win. 476 bá'in. 477 vá'in. 479 wá'in. 480 dhíq. — skín [skin]. — shə'p [ship]. — ærn [to run]. 482 id'n æ'd'n [is not, common], ed'n [is not, emph.]. 483 ə'z [iz] emph. — físh vish [fish]. 488 it. — vrit rit [a writ]. zə'nz [since]. — spə't [to spit]. I'- 490 bá'i. 493 dræev. — shin [to shine]. 496 á'íer [subs.] á'íern [adj.] 498 vrá'it. 499 bít'l. I': — dítj [ditch], dák [dyke]. 500 lá'ik. 502 veev vá'iv. 503 lá'iv. 504 neev ná'iv. — stə'f [stiff]. 505 wá'iv. 506 æmen. 507 wə'min. — âi [hay]. 508 má'ield. 509 wá'iel. — wit [white adj.], wá it [pigment subs.].

O- — smook [smoke]. 523 hop. 524 wærd'l. O: — vrag [a frog]. 525 oof [off]. 526 kaaf. 527 bóet. 528 dhaa'et. 529 braat. 531 darter. 532 kool kaal. 533 del. 535 vòks. 536 góel gool. 544 'n [than], dheen [emph. in that case], dhoo [at that time]. — shóur [ashore]. 546 var. — vark [a fork]. 547 bærd. 548 vóerd. 549 wóerd [but in composition as 'to hoard apples,' that is, to store up, (wærd)]. 550 wærd. — væth [forth]. — marnin [morning]. — aas [horse]. 554 kraas. — paas [gate post]. — páest [letter post]. — móet [mote]. O'- 555 shyy₁. 556 tyv₁ [emph.]. 557 tyv₁ [in addition], te [even when emph. meaning to an excessive degree]. 558 bək. 560 skəl. 561 blə'm. 562 mən. 563 mandí. 564 zə'n [but (zə'nder, zə'ndist) sooner, soonest]. O': 569 bək. 570 tək (etək't taken). 575 stə'd. 576 weenzdi. — rhæv rhyv [roof]. — bá'u. 578 plə'u [in com-

position as plough-horse (plē'u)AAS, but the common word for plough is (zūel). — ak [hough]. 583 tɔl. 584 stɔl. 586 dyɪ. 589 spɔɪn. — gɔɪz [goose]. — bɔzɪm [bosom]. 593 mɔs. 595 vɔɪt. 596 rɔɪt. 597 sɔt.

U- 599 vɔɪ. — ɔɪd [wood]. 601 vɔ'uel. 602 zɔ'ul. 603 kam [emph.] — kruum [crumb]. 607 bɔdɪr. U: 608 ɔgli. — zūel [Ws. sulh, a plough, see 578]. 610 ɔ'l. — pɔl [to pull]. 611 bɔlk. 612 sɔfɪn [something]. 614 e'un. 615 pɛ'und. 616 grɛ'und. 617 zɛ'un. 619 evɛ'un. — ɔndɪrɔ [hundred]. 627 zɛndi. 631 dhɛzdi. 632 ɔp. 634 dɪvɪ. — thasti [thirsty]. 635 wɛth [(wɛthlis) worthless]. 636 vɔdɪr. 639 dɔ'ust ɔ'uz [dusthouse, chaffhouse, but only in this sense, dust is otherwise called (pɔ'lem)]. U'- 640 kɛ'u. 641 e'u [however is (wɔ'vɛr)]. 647 e'uel. 648 ɔvɪr. 649 dhɔ'uzɪn. 650 bɛ'ut [but (bɛ'ud, before a vowel)]. 652 kɔɪd. 653 bɔd [before a vowel]. U': 654 shrɛ'ud. 655 fɔ'uel. 656 rhɔɪm. — dham [thumb]. 657 brɛ'un. 658 dɛ'un. 663 e'uz ['e'uz'l household]. 665 mɔ'uz. 666 ɔzɪn. 667 e'ut. 668 prɛ'ud. 670 bɔɪdh. 671 mɔ'adh. 672 zɛ'adh.

Y- 674 dɛd dyɪ. 676 lɔ'i. 681 bɔ'znis. 682 lɪd'l [but (nɪt'l) is commonly said to children]. — ɛv'l [evil]. Y: 685 ɔɪdɪ. 689 bɪl [(bɔ'lt built). — vali [follow]. 690 kɔ'in [+d before a vowel]. 691 mɔ'in [+d before a vowel]. 692 ɔɪgɪs. 697 bɔɪ. 699 vrɔ'it. — ɔɪnɪt [hornet]. 700 wɛs [used also for worst before a consonant, +t before a vowel]. 701 tɛs [+t before a vowel]. 703 pɔ't. Y- 706 wɔ'i. — dɪrɛm [to dream]. — dɛv [to dive]. — kit [a kite, (vɛzkit) furze-kite or falcon]. Y': — fɔ'lth [filth]. 709 vɔ'ivɪr. — vlɪz [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bɛd. 718 trɛd. 738 prɛt. — tɛdi [potato, heard by AJE. and others as (tɛɪri), p. 147]. E. — wɛlth [wealth]. 750 bɔ'ig. I. and Y. 754 pɛɪ. 756 shrɔ'mp zhrɔ'mp. — wɔ'p wɔp [whip]. 758 ɔɪd'l. O. — dɔɪg [dog]. 791 bɔ'oi. U. — kɔid [cud]. 796 blyɪ. — ɔntɪ [unto]. 805 krɪdz [this form always used]. — kɔɪd'l [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fɛs. 811 plɛs. — trɛs [trace]. 812 lɛs. 813 bɛk'n. 820 ɔɪ. 822 mɔi. — ɔid [aid v. and s.]. — ɛpɔ'd [paid]. 827 eɪvɪr. — fɔil [to fail]. 830 trɔin. — sɔint [saint]. 833 pɛɪr. 835 rɛɪz'n. 836 sɛɪz'n. 841 tɔɪns. 845 ɔnsɛnt. 847 dɔndɪr. 848 tɔndɪ. 849 strɔndɪr. 850 dɔ'ns. 852 ɔpɪrɪn. — kar [to care]. — kɔ'ndɪr [carpenter]. — sɔɪsi [saucy]. 862 sɔɪ [adj.] sɛɪ [sb. a meat sate]. E.. 867 tɛ. — spɔtik'lz [spectacles]. — dhɔ'tɛz [vetches]. 874 rhɔin. 876 dɔinti. 878 sɔlɪri. — mɛn [amend, mend]. 881 sɛns. — ɔɪb [herb] — mɛsi [mercy]. — fɛɪr [a fair]. 888 sɔɪn. — sɔɪ [to serve, deserve, earn]. — nɛt [neat]. 890 bɪs [pl. bɪstɛz]. 891 tɛs fɪs [pl. (fɪstɛz)]. 893 flɔvɪr [flour=meal is (vlɔvɪr)]. 894 rɛɛɛv.

I.. and Y.. — sɔ ɪvɪr. 901 fɔ'in. — pɔ'ɪnt [a pint]. — vɔ'ɪlɛnt [violent]. 904 vɔ'ɪlɛnt [violet]. — zɪr [sir]. — spɔɪt [spirit]. 910 dɔ'ɪs [both in sing. and pl.]

O.. 920 pɔ'ɪnt. — dɔ'ɪnt [of a man], dɔ'ɪnt [of meat]. — stɔɪr stɔɪr [story]. 924 tɔ'ɪs. 925 vɔ'ɪs. 926 spɔ'ɪl. 929 kɛ'ɔkɪmɪr. — rɛ'un [round]. — fɔs [force, and +t before a vowel forced]. — sɔɪt. 939 klɔs. 947 bɔ'ɪl. 950 sɔpɪr. — tɔvɪr [tower]. — pɔɪsh [push]. — bɔd'l [a bottle] — mɔv [move]. 959 kɪvɪr. U.. — dɔɪ [due]. — dɪk [duke]. 960 kɛ. — fɔvɪnt [fluent, said of a river only]. — dɔɪdɪ [judge]. — wɔ'it [wait]. — rɪ'in [ruin]. 965 ɔ'ɪl. 969 shɔɪr. — dɔvɪb'l [durable]. — mɔuzik [music]. 970 dɪs [+t before a vowel]. — tɔ'ɔsti [fusty].

D 11 = s.WS. = southern West Southern.

Boundary. On the n. the n. coast of Co. and Dv. to the b. of D 10, which forms the n. and e. b. till it joins the w. b. of D 4. The rest of the e. b. is the s. part of the w. b. of D 4 = down to Axmouth. The s. b. is the s. coast of Dv. and Co. There was much difficulty in determining the w. b., concerning which I collected several opinions, and finally follow the information of Rev. W. H. Hodge, which I believe to be most accurate. Begin at the Black Rock in the middle of the entrance to Falmouth Harbour, and go through the centre of the water-way to Truro. Then proceed by land e. of Kenwyn (1 nnw.Truro) and w. of St. Erme (4 nne.Truro), e. of St. Allen (4 n.Truro) and w. of Newlyn (8 n.Truro), and also west of Cubert (9 nnw.Truro), but e. of Perran Zabulo (8 nnw.Truro) to the sea in Ligger or Perran Bay. This border was determined by noting the change of speech. Mr. Rawlings, speaking only from general impressions, said the b. was probably a straight line from St. Anthony, on the e. horn of Falmouth Harbour to St. Agnes Head (9 nnw.Truro). This line, beginning practically at the same point as the other, and ending only 5 m. to the sw., must be considered as practically identical with it. Mr. Sowell, who wrote the Cornish-English version of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, inclines to a line from St. Austell to Padstow. According to Mr. Hodge, Mr. Herman Merivale in his "Historical Studies" lays down the border between Celt and Saxon, no doubt at a much earlier date, from Down Derry (8 sse.Liskeard) to St. Germans (7 se.Liskeard), thence to St. Ive (4 ne.Liskeard), South Hill (7 nne.Liskeard), North Hill (7 n.Liskeard), Altarnun (7 wsw.Launceston), Minster (13 wnw.Launceston), and to the sea by Forrabury (14 nnw.Launceston). This line is just a few miles w. of the e. b. of Co. itself.

Area. Most of Dv. and e.Co. The w. b. of D 11 is properly the w. limit of dialect in England.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || systematic, ° in io.

Co. *Camelford, °Cardynham, °Landrake, °Lanivet, °Lanreath, *|| Millbrook, °Padstow, °Poundstock, °St. Blazey, °St. Columb Major, °St. Goran's, °St. Ive, °St. Stephens, °Tintagel.

Dv. *Barnstaple, || Bigbury, °Burrington, *Challacombe, °Colyton, *|| Devonport, °|| Exeter, *Harberton, *Iddesleigh, °Instow, °Modbury, *° North Molton, °North Petherwin, °Parracomb, || Plymouth, °Stoke, °St. Marychurch, °Warkleigh, °Werrington, † General.

Characters. The character of the pronunciation is essentially the same as that of D 10, with a few distinguishing particulars.

ÆG, EG are rarely if ever (a'i). They become regularly (ee, EE), with more or less of an (i) following.

I' is regularly (ái), that is, the (œ'i) of D 4 after passing through (á'i) mixed with (œ'i) of D 10, now assumes the regular German (ái) sound. It was a matter of course, then, that the (ái, áai) for ÆG, EG should also be changed. U', which was mainly (E'u) in D 10, becomes (œ'ɥ⁵) as well as I can analyse it, see the note on *doubt*, p. 158 below. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte heard it as French *œu* in *cœur*, followed by French *u*, that is (œ'ɥ), which it certainly resembles. How far does this extend? It is certainly in n.Dv. Mr. Baird (Nathan Hogg) acknowledges it in e.Dv., Mr. Shelley (Plymouth) in s.Dv. In Co. I have not been able to trace it, with certainty, further than Millbrook, just on the e. b. of Co., not even in the vv. specimen from Camelford. But I suspect that it really

pervades Co. as well as Dv. The diphthong is not unlike the Dutch *ui* in *huis*, or the French *œi* in *œil*.

I have thrown the whole of this large district together because my information is necessarily very deficient upon such delicate points as those last mentioned, and the great features seem to be the same. There is said to be considerable difference between n.Dv. and s.Dv., and between e.Dv. and w.Dv., but this difference probably concerns the vocabulary and grammar more than the pronunciation. Mr. Shelley's Dartmoor cs. shews, however, considerable difference from the Iddesleigh cs. Hence it will be convenient to consider as Var. i. n.Dv., and as Var. ii. s.Dv. including Co., to Mr. Merivale's line, for both. Then Var. iii. will be e.Co., which may be associated with St. Columb Major, extending from Mr. Merivale's line to Mr. Hodge's by Truro, that forms the boundary of D 11. The w.Co. region D 12 is entirely different.

VAR. i. NORTH DEVON.

I naturally rely on my *vivâ voce* from Mr. J. Abbot Jarman, a native of North Molton (11 e.-by-s. Barnstaple), which is close to the b. of D 10, and from Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe's servant from Iddesleigh (15 s. Barnstaple), which comes to nearly the s. b. of n.Dv. They were both taken some years ago, North Molton in Oct. 1877, and Mar. 1879, and Iddesleigh in Nov. 1877. I begin with the last, because having been taken from an uneducated native almost fresh from the place and studied closely, it is probably more correct.

IDDLESLEIGH cs.

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of a native, Mary Anstey, housemaid to Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe. For convenience (æ'y₁⁵) has the ⁵ omitted, see first note.

0. wái :djæk'i hæth nɛ dæ'y₁t ebæ'y₁t it.

1. WEL :djAARDj jY₁ me boodh laaf et dhis nyy₁z əv máin, if i wi₁L, yy₁ kéerth fɛr dhæt? dhæt)s nædher jíver nɛr dhéer.

2. vyy₁ men dái kooz dhə)m laaft æt, æs naa, dóent)əs? ət shed méek)'m? t)íD)'N verí láiklɪ, iz)et?

3. æ'y₁EVER dhis iz dhə TRY₁th o)t, zo djes oold dhi na'iz, :djAARDj, ən bi kwái'et vor áiv dy₁n)et. aark!

4. ái bi zærtən ái jíverd əm zee it—zəm o dheez vòks y₁ went dRY₁ dhv ool o)t dherze'lvz—dhæt ái did sév vnaɪ.

5. dhɛt dhv jæg'es zó'N izsɛl, ə gært bóí v náin, naad)z faadhurz va'is et wæns, dhoo t)wæz so kwæer ən skwæe'kin, ən ái)d trɔ's)n v'r speek dhv TRY₁th æn'i dee'i, is, ái wed.

6. ən dh-ool wamən ɛrzɛl wɛd tel)i dhv zéem, æn'i ə i dhɛt bi laaf'in næ'y₁, ən tel)i ráit əf, tæy₁': wídhæ'y₁t æn'i fəs ebæ'y₁t et, əf jY₁)L ən'li æks ɛr, oo'u, waant-ɛr?

7. æn'i)æ'y₁ ɛr tool mii, wɛn ái ækst ɛr, ty₁ ɛr drii táimz əvɛr, dɪd'N' ɛr? ən ɛr aat'n tɛ bi ræq, ən djes v thiq ɛz dhæt, wat dy₁ i dhɛqk?

8. WEL ɛz ái wɛz zee'in ɛr wɛd tel)i, æ'y₁ ɛr vœ'y₁nd ən, wɛn

ER VƏ'Y₁ND EN, EN WÉEBR ER VƏ'Y₁ND EN,—dhe DRƏqk'n peg ER kaalth ER mən.

9. ER SWÉEBRD ER zid'en wee ER ƏN áiz, láir'in STREtjt ə'Y₁t ƏN dhe grə'Y₁n wee iz best kət ƏN, kloos tE dhe dúBR, də'Y₁n in dhe KAARND'R Ə dhe léEN.

10. i wəz meek'in Əp dja's v NA'iz láik v tjl kráir'in EN tee'djəs.

11. EN dhæt əp'ND Əz ER EN ER daa'tER lee kəm DRyY₁ dhe bæK kóóBRTLEDj frəm əqin ə'Y₁t dhe WET tloodhz ƏN dhə wəsh'in dee,

12. wáilst dhə tee'kítl wəz bóil'in vBR tee, wən váin zəMBR artərnY₁n, Ən'l' v wík guu kəm nEks dhəzde.

13. EN dyY₁ i NAA? áI NEV'R JƏRD NAArt móóBR vBə'Y₁t it bivoó'R tədəe, zhóóBRz áI bi kaald :djæk :zhəpəRD, EN áI doónt wənt təY₁' :ədh'R, dhər Nə'Y₁!

14. EN zoo áI bi gwee'in əm tE əə v bít v sɛpəR. gud néEBRT EN dóónt i bi sE kwík tE kRAA ƏVER ən'ibədi egéEN, wən i speeks v wən dheq ER dhe tədhər.

15. "stY₁píd fELER tELin Əp thís oold stəf, əs dóónt wənt to jIvəR't." dhis iz dhe læəst a'i shEł zEE vBə'Y₁t it. gud báI.

Notes.

0. *doubt*. The last element of the diphthong in this word is precisely the same as for ty₁ = two. The lips are pouted, the upper lip is especially projected, but there was very little closure of the lips, not nearly as much as when I pronounce (ty) = Fr. *tue*, in fact the corners of the mouth are hardly brought together at all, so that an acute angle is left, but the upper lip was very much pouted, giving (y₁^ə). Both lips are projected, but the upper lip far the most. For the first element in (ə'y₁^ə) the lips are wide open, and then they suddenly dart forward to form the (y₁^ə). This action is very curious to study on the native lip. The openness of the lips for the first element excludes (œ) for the first element, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte appreciates saying (preface to H. Baird's *St. Matthew*), that "the sound is best defined as the French 'œu' in 'cœur,' (œ) followed by *u*, the Scottish 'oo' in 'moon,' that is, the French 'u' (y) with a slight tendency towards the 'eu' in 'peu' (ə) in the same language." The speaker rejected (ə'y₁) when pronounced to her. What the precise vowel in the first element may be I was not able to determine, but it did not seem to be either (ə) or (ɛ), and I was not satisfied with (v). For the word *too* the sudden rise in pitch on the second element was most remarkable, (tə-y₁^ə), the stress also falling upon it, which quite distinguished the

diphthongs, as in (:djæk gid iz ty₁ maarv'lz tE ty₁ bóiz, ƏN :təm giv híz ty₁, tə-y₁, tE ty₁, tə-y₁). 'Jack gave his two marbles to two boys [with distinct (o) and distinct (i), thus (bóiz) not (ba'iz)], and Tom gave his two, too, to two, too. This change of stress from (ə'y₁) with if anything a falling pitch on the last element, to (ə-y₁) with a rising pitch, and without perceptible glide of the first element on to the second, distinguished the two sounds so completely, that it was difficult to discover that they were made up of the same elements. I had them pronounced to me frequently during two visits, and the distinctions were steadily maintained, though the speaker was quite unaware of any peculiarity.

1. *neighbour*. This word is not used as a term of address. Mr. Faunthorpe (who had first written the version from his servant's dictation, in his own spelling, which I altered to palaeotype from dictation) had written 'Jargé,' meaning (:djaardj), and though the speaker insisted on (:djaardj), the other seems more correct.—*will*. Mr. F. wrote 'wül,' I heard (wi₁L, wə₁L). I carefully studied the sounds of *milk* and *themselves*, and concluded that there was a true (l), and that the preceding vowel was greatly affected by it. But (mi₁Lk) seemed best, and not (m'lk) without a vowel, nor (mə₁Lk), but of course (i₁, ə₁) have considerable re-

semblances.—*careth*. The transition (rth) is easy, as the tongue when uncurling slides down directly to the teeth, but (thr-) or (dhr-) is difficult, because the tongue has to be curved back during the transition, unless we begin with the under part instead of the upper part, of the tip of the tongue against the teeth making (rh, dh). This leads at once to the substitution of (t, d) for (th, dh) as (TRUu DRY₁Y₁).—*for*. I have constantly written (ɐr) in these weak words, though I seemed to hear only (ɐ), but this I attributed to the faintness and shortness of the sound.

2. *they am*, for *they are*, contracted to (dhem), and the (e) used for (ɛ) because the sound is weak.—*what*. (ət) or (wæt).—*it is* not. I seemed to hear every consonant reverted, and the (i₁) position was consequently not properly formed, destroying its precise character.—*very*. Mr. F. wrote 'vürry,' but I seemed to hear (ɛ) modified by (r). I did not hear (veri) with the usual trilled (r). But in this case I consider the (r) to be trilled, and there is no difficulty in so speaking.

4. *safe enough*. (ənæ'f) not (ənyy₁); they make no distinction between (ənæf, ənyy₁), and use the first generally.

5. *trust him*. Mr. F. had written both *trūs* and *tris*, and I at first appreciated (tres). This shews the difficulty of the vowel (ə¹) to an outsider.—*day*. (dæe'i, snæe'il, tæe'il), almost (dææ'i) etc., and clearly one of the transitional forms from (dāi) to (dee). *Fair*, a market, is (feer); the fire is (vāir). The long I' having become (āi) in place of (ə'ī), it was to be expected that the EG, ÆG, should pass from (āi) to (ee) or some intermediate form. These changes shew the original diversity of the sounds, which obliged both to be modified, if one was.—*yes*, *I would*. I did not feel certain of the vowel in (wed). Mr. F. wrote *wēd* and *wūd*? could it have been (wə'd)?

6. *woman*. Mr. F.'s cook, from Challacombe, said (əm'vən). Mr. Baird always writes *humman* = (həm'ən).—*tell ye*. This is how the word sounded to me, Mr. Baird always writes *tul*, like Mr. Elworthy's (təl) in D 10 (p. 148, par. 1). This reverted (l) produces strange effects.—*too*. See *too* in note on *doubt*, par. 0.

7. *did not her*.—*such*. *just* is pronounced in the same way. Mr. F. wrote *jiis*, *jis*, *jes*.

8. *pig*, for *beast* (beest) is too noble a word. *cattle* is always used in place of the plural of *beast*.—*calleth*. Similarly (ɐr waaketh). A wife says (wɛn mi mæn kəmth ðm) = when my husband comes home.—*man*. This word is regularly used for *husband*.

9. The omitted word *length* = (lɛqkth) as usual. The plural of the omitted word *house* is (ə'y₁sez) not (ə'y₁z'n).—*corner*. Observe inserted (ɔ). They say (tjimblikaARNɔɐr) = chimney corner; (kærd'ɫz aal ɔvɐr ɐr eed) = curls all over her head.

10. *child*, applied to either sex, but (mee'id) is the regular word, see note on *day*, par. 5. The question, is it a boy or a girl, becomes (bói ɐr mee'id); *wench* is not used.—*tedious* is used especially of fretful children that weary the mother by crying, when the (tjil)z terib'l). To be sick is to be (bad), full (a) not (æ).

11. *daughter-in-law*. (daa'terlAA) is commoner, but *son's wife* (zə'nz wáiv) is most common.—*wet*. Nearly (wæt), very broad.—*clothes*. Clearly initial (ɫ-) is easier and more natural than initial (kl-). The (dh) is used at Idlesleigh, but not at Challacombe.—*washing day*. The speaker had never heard the phrase "Quarter Sessions" for washing day, as given by Mr. Rock from Barnstaple, and Mr. Pulman from Axminster.

12. *tea-kettle*. The two last syllables pronounced very shortly indeed, with no secondary accent like in *capital*.—*boiling*. Without prefixed *a-*, they say (wəz bóilɫn, it bóilɫh).

13. *sure, shepherd*. Having neglected to note the sounds of the words *sure*, *shepherd*, I follow the usages of Mr. Baird.

14. *Good night*, a parting *good night*, but when the *night* is spoken of it is called (náit). Observe that (r) was distinctly heard in (nééɐrt).—*again*, (éɐ) is very short.

15. *Stupid fellow, telling up this old stuff; us don't want to hear-it*. This was inserted by Mr. F. as a remark of one of the persons spoken to. He also proposed: (wat ə ɡært fi'y₁l dhi aart). The sound of (fi'y₁l) is like the Norfolk (íy), or the Lancashire (ə'u), a mere lip glide, as I seemed to hear it.—*this*, the speaker recognised the distinction of Mr. Barnes's Dorset "shaped thicky" in (dhiki ə'y₁s) and "shapeless that" in (dhæt wat'r, dhæt grə'y₁nd).

NORTH MOLTON (12 esc. Barnstaple) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq., New College, Southsea, native. The ⁽⁵⁾ means "with projected lips."

1. zoo ái zee, meets, jy₁ zii næy₁⁵ ái bi ráit ebə'y₁⁵t dha't dhər līt'l mééid kəm'in vrem dha't dher skíyy₁l oovər dher.

2. ær'z gween dəy₁⁵n dhe rood dher, dry₁ dhe ærd gīt [jet] on dhe lift a'n záid.

3. zhu'r næf dhe tji'l'z gòn strá'it ap tē dhe dyy₁er v dhe ra'q ə'y₁⁵z.

4. weer pra'ps shi'l vá'ind dha't dher dh'in dræqk'n tja'p :toməs yy₁)z aard v ði'vər'n.

5. wi à'l noo'n [nooz'en] vər'i wəl.

6. wont dhe óoel tja'p zy'n laarn ær not tē dyy₁ it vgen, puur dhiq!

7. luk! beent it tryy₁?

Notes.

1. *So* would not be used; *mates* long *i* generally is rendered as (á'i), as would rather be *lads*, *chaps*.—*I* and in D 10, but it may be (ái).

North Molton phrases, pal. by A.J.E. from the dictation of J. Abbot Jarman, Esq.

The ⁽⁵⁾ means "with projected lips."

1. (go en a'ks'en), go and ask him.
2. (wi bi gə'in), we are going.
3. (doo et in dhi a'shez dher), throw it in the ashes there.
4. (er za'q drii er və'y₁⁵r zaqz), he (or she) sang three or four songs.
5. (len'z v a'n), lend-us a hand.
6. (la'n)z prīt'i gyid), land is pretty good.
7. (i wə'y₁⁵n en rə'y₁⁵n iz a'n drii er və'y₁⁵r táimz), he wound him=*it* round his hand three or four times.
8. (dhe draad dhe vil wər dhe wets wəz), they drewed the field where the oats was.
9. (oni wən v dhem 'l dyy₁), any one of them will do.
10. (dhe baar'li mə'y⁵), the barley mow.
11. (ə'y₁⁵ oold iz er?), how old is he?
12. (əəz dha't? v skələrd), who's that? a scholar.
13. (dhe bóí ráits v gyid rə'y₁⁵nd a'nd), the boy writes a good round hand.
14. (a'v)i gət eni nyy₁ bry:mz, mis'iz? á'i'v gət v vy₁y₁, əbə'y₁⁵t drii er və'y₁⁵r, have you any new brooms, Mistress? I've got a few, about three or four.
15. (gīt dhi ap dher in dhik dher adj, en pík mi dhik dher stick, wilt?), get thee up there in that there hedge, and pick me that there stick, wilt *thou*?

16. (kəm 'in, tɪl, dɪ'ɪ, ən raki dæ'vɪ⁵n ən ʃet ʃɜːzəl), come in, child, do ye, and sit down and heat = *warm* yourself.
 17. (əl'oo, dhen, ɪvɪ¹z iiʔ, Hulloh, then, who's he?
 18. (á'í bii, dhæ'vɪ⁵ ɛrt ɛ vɪvɪ¹l, ii z, wii m, ʃvɪ¹m ən dhee'm gó'in, I be, thou art a fool, he's, we're, you're and they're going.

NORTH DEVON cwl.

I words from the cs. from Iddesleigh.

M words from Mr. Jarman's wl. from North Molton.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 M beek. 4 M teek. 5 I méek, M meek meek'in. 7 M zeek. 8 tɛ ɛɛ [to have]. 12 M zaa. 13 M naa. 14 M draa. 17 I lee, M laa. 20 M leem. 21 M neem. 23 I zéem, M zeem. 24 sheem. 33 M reedher. A: 43 M a'n. 46 M ka'n'l. 48 M za'lq. 42 I aeq. 54 I went. 55 M a'sh. 56 I wash. A: 60 O: 60 M loq. 64 I ræq.

A'- I gwee'in [going]. 72 I ɪvɪ, M ɔɪ [probably (ɪvɪ)]. 73 I zo. 74 I tyyɪ, M tɔɪ. 75 M straak. 76 M tood. 79 I ɔn, M aʌn. 81 I léem. 82 I waens. 84 I méoer. 85 M zoer. 86 M wets. 87 I tloodhz, M tlooz. 89 I boodh. 92 I naa. 94 I kraa. 95 M draa. 97 M zaal. A': 101 M ook. 102 I æks, M a'ks. 104 M raad. 105 M raad. 106 M braad. 107 M loof. 108 M daa. 109 M laa. 110 I naart. 111 I aat. 113 I ool. 115 I ɔm, M om. 117 I wæn. 118 M boon. 120 I guu. 123 [(naat) used]. 125 I anli, M ɔni. 130 M boot. 131 M goot. 133 M rɔt. 136 IM adher. 137 I nædher, ner.

Æ- 138 I faadher, M vaadher. 140 M éeil. 141 M néeil. 142 M znéeil. 144 I egéen, M egin. 152 M waater. Æ: 154 I bak. 155 M dha'tt. 158 I arter. 161 I dee'i, M déei. 163 M léei. 164 M méei. 166 M méeid. 169 I wen. 170 aarəst. 172 M g'rs. 181 M pa'th. Æ'- 182 N zee. 183 M tɛtt. 187 M lɔv. 190 M kéei. 191 M eel. 193 M klon. 194 I æni, M eni. 195 M meni. 197 M tɪz. 200 M wét. 202 M ʃet. Æ': 203 M spɛtt. 205 M dred. 207 M nid'l. 209 I never. 217 M ɛtt. 218 M shiip. 219 M sleep. 220 I zhɛpɛrd. 223 I dhéer. 225 M vlesh. 227 I wet. 228 M zwet. — M jeth [heath]. 229 M bredh. 230 M va't.

E- 232 M breck. 233 I speek, M speek. 235 M weex. 236 M foever. 237 M tɔblɛnz. 238 M a'dj. 241 M réin. 243 M pléei. 247 M ween. 251 M meet. 252 IM kit'l, tee-kit'l [tea-kettle]. 253 M nid'l. E: 256 I stretɪ. 257 M a'dj. 258 M za'dj. 259 M wa'dj. 261 I zee, M zéei. 262 w'ei. 265 M strɛet. 271 I tel. 276 IM dhɛk. 281 M leqkth. 284 M dra'sh. 287 M bezem [generally (brəm)]. E'- 297 I feler. 298 M vil. 299 M griin. 301 M úer. 302 M mit. E': 306 M áit. 312 I úier, M jér. 314 I júerd, IM jərd. 315 M vit. 316 I neks.

EA- 319 M gaa'p. 320 I kéeer. EA: 322 IM laaf. 323 M vaat. 324 M áit. 325 M waa'lk. 326 I ool, M oold. 327 M boold. 330 I oold. 332 I tool, M toold. 333 M kjaa'i. 336 M vaa'l. 337 M waa'l. 338 I kaal. 343 M waa'rm. 346 M gɪt ʃet [the last more frequent]. EA'- 347 M ɛd. 348 I ái. 349 I vɪvɪ, M vi's. EA': 350 M ded. 352 M ɛrd. 353 M bred. 354 M sheef. 355 M def. 356 M lɛf. 357 IM dhoo. 360 M tiim. 361 M boen. 363 M tɛp. 366 I ɛart, M ɛreet. 367 M dret. 370 M ree. 371 M straa. EI- 372 M ái ái [is zhaur, never ái, simply]. 373 M dhoo. EI: 377 M steek. 378 M week.

EO- M ev'n. 386 M jaa. 387 I nɪvɪ, M ni's. EO: 388 M mɛlk [so it sounded to me]. 389 M jook. 397 M soord. 398 M starv. 402 M lərn. 403 M vaar. 404 M staar. 405 M jeth. 406 M ɛrth. 407 M vard'n. EO'- 411 IM drii. 414 M vlái. 417 M tɪaa. 420 M vɔ'ur. 421 M varti. EO': 423 M dhái. 425 M láit. 426 M ráit. 428 M zii. 430 M vren.

434 M beet. 435 I jy₁, M jə'. 436 M triə'. 437 I tryy₁th, M triə'th. EY- 438 IM dái. EY: 439 IM trə's.
 I- 440 IM wik. 441 M zeev. 442 M áivi. 446 IM náin. 448 IM dheez. 449 M git. I: 458 M náit, I néert [in the phrase, good-night, only]. 459 IM ráit. 460 M weet. 466 IM tñl. 468 M tñdrin. 475 M win. 477 M váin. 478 M gráin. 479 M wáin. 480 I thiq dheq. 481 M viqger. 482 I iz)et? [is it], t)ij)D)'N [it)is)not]. 485 M driz'l. 488 M jit. I'- 494 IM táim. 499 M bid'l. I': 500 IM láik. 506 I wumen, M ool dumen. 507 M wimiq. 509 I wáilst. 510 I máin.
 O- 519 I over. 520 M baa. 521 M vool. 522 M op'n. O: 525, ii. I of. 526 M kaaf. 531 I daater. 533 M dæl. 534 M aal. 535 I vok. 536 M goold. 538 I wed. 539 M bæ'y₁el. 541 I waant [emph.]. 542 M boolt. 548 M vóerd. 552 M karn. 554 M kràs. O'- 555 M shə shyy₁. 556 I təy'₁. 557 I təy'₁. 559 M modher. 562 M miy'₁n. 564 M zy₁n. O': 569 M buk. 570 M tuk. 571 I gud. 572 M blad. 573 M flad. 574 M bry'd. 575 M sty'd. 577 M bæ'y₁⁵. 578 M pləy₁⁵. 579 IM enaf. 583 M ty₁l. 586 I dy₁. 587 I dy₁n. 588 I nyy₁n. 589 M spy₁n. 590 M vlóer. 594 M by₁t. 595 M vy₁t. 596 M ry₁t. 597 M sy₁t.
 U- 601 M fə'y₁⁵l. 602 M zə'y₁⁵. 604 I zəmer. 605 I zə'n, M zən. 606 I dúer, M dóer. U: 609 M vwl. 610 M wul. 611 M balək. 612 M zəm. 613 M draqk. 616 I grə'y₁n. 619 I və'y₁nd. 625 M toq. 629 M zən. 631 I dhezde. 632 IM əp. 633 M kəp. 634 I dryy₁, M drə. 625 M weth. 639 M dist. U'- 641 IM ə'y₁. 643 IM nə'y₁. 646 M bæ'y₁⁵. 647 M ə'y₁⁵l. 650 I vəbə'y₁t. 651 I wídhə'y₁t. 652 M kud. U': 658 IM də'y₁⁵n. 659 M tə'y₁⁵n. 663 M ə'y₁⁵s. 664 M lə'y₁⁵s. 667 IM ə'y₁t.
 Y- 680 M bizi. 682 M lit'l. Y: 684 M bərdj. 685 M ridj. 688 M szytj. 691 M máin [(miin) was given as n.Dv. by Mr. Shelly, see p. 165]. Y- 706 IM wái. Y': 711 M lə'y₁⁵zez. 712 M máis [(miis) was given by Mr. Shelly, see sw.Dv. p. 165].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 732 I əp'nd. E. 744 M meez'lz. 750 M ba'g. I. and Y. 754 IM peg. 758 M ga'll [little used, (tjil)]. O. 761 M lood. 767 IM na'is. 773 M draqk. 790 M gə'y₁⁵n. 791 I bói. U. 797 I skweekin. 798 I kweer. 804 I draqk'n. 806 I fəs, M vəs. 807 M py₁s. 808 M pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — teedjəs [tedious]. 824 M tñir. 830 M tréin. 835 M reez'n. 836 M seez'n. 840 M tjemər. 862 I sérf. 864 I kooz. 865 M vaalt.
 E.. 867 I tee, M tee. 878 M sa'ləri. 885 I veri. 888 I zarten, M zartin. 890 M beest [pl. (bees)]. 894 M deseerv. 895 M reseerv.
 I.. and Y.. — krái [cry]. 901 IM vain. 904 M vóilet. O.. 916 M iqinz. 922 M bushel. 923* M mǝ'ist. 925 I va'is. 929 M kə'y₁⁵kumer. 933 M frənt. 938 I kaarndər. 939 I kloos. 940 I kòt. 941 M vy₁l. 947 I bóil. 950 I səpər. 955 I də'y₁t. U.. 963 kwái'et. 965 M ə'il. 969 I zhóover, M zhy₁er. 870 I djəs, M djíst. 971 M vly₁t.

VAR. ii. SOUTH DEVON CS.

Dartmoor, north of a line from Plymouth to Kingsbridge (17 ese.Plymouth), pal. by A.JE. from the glossic of Mr. John Shelly, 8, Woodside, Plymouth, a resident for thirty years, who has especially occupied himself with the glossary of the dialect, but is a native of Norfolk. Full explanatory notes have been given of every point of difficulty, and Mr. S.'s indications are strictly followed.

0. wəə'i :djan hez noo də'yts.

1. wel, soos, jy en ii me booth griz'l et dhis)jə nəəz v məə'in. hæ məə'inz dhēt? dhēt-s needhə jə ne dhivər.

2. *fə vook də'i bəky'z dhEE)m* laaft æt, es *nAA* dhæt; doont'es? wæt shid *mEE'k)n?* t(EZ)n zə *lAA'k'li*, ez et?

3. *eedhumaABER* dhEEZ-JB ER dhə fæks v-dhə KEES, so dʒis hool JB baal, soos, en bi *kʷəə'i'vət* tel ə'i-v v-din. lʷk)JÆR.

4. ə'i um zhúER [zhóER] ə'i JÆrd)n *zee*—zAM v dhEE vook et went dhɹə dhə hool dheq vɹəm dhə vɹɹst dhuzel'vz—dhat dæl ə'i, zhúuBÆf.

5. et dhə JEQ'gest zin *hizself*, ə gært bə'i vɹ nə'in, nAAd əz vAA'dhuz vɹə'is tɹ wæns, dhəf et wez zə *kʷéevɹ* en *skwée'k'in*, en ə'i)d trɹst 'hii tɹ speek dhə trɹθ æn'i *dee*, is 'fEE, ə'i wɹd.

6. ən dh)ool hAM-ən vself əl tel æn'i əv JY, ət stan griz'lɹn dhiER, en tel)i strAAit Af ty, ədhœ'yt mɹtʃ bədh'ER, if JB)l on'i æks)v ty, AA, waant-ER?

7. *eedhumaABER* hER toold et 'mii wæn ə'i ækst)v, ty v dhree tɹə'imz, AA'vER, hER dæl, en 'hœR Aaft nɹt tɹ bii ræq ən zitʃ v dheq)z dhɹs, wæt dy)i zim?

8. wEL, ez ə'i wez vze'e'in, 'hœR wɹd tel)i hœ'y, wiER, en wææn v fœ'yn dhə drak'n béest, v kaalth v mEE'vstə.

9. hE zwAAER v zAA)n wɹ ER AAN ə'iz, ləə'i'in spreed vbraad on dhə eeth, in ez gœd zin'di kóovt, hoom tɹ duu' ə dhə hœ'yz, dœ'yn tɹ dhə kAAN'dER v dhæk'i leen.

10. ə wez krəəz'lɹn, hE zeed, fɹR aal dhə wœrl *lAA'k* v tʃil dhæt)s bæd, ɹ ə vɹn'ed gœrl.

11. en dhæt wez, ez hE keem thruu dhə bæklet wɹdh v daa'tER)n)laa, vɹəm heq'in œ'yt dhə wɹt klœz tɹ drəə'i ən v wɹsh'in *dee*,

12. wə'il dhə ket'l wez bəə'ilɹn fɹ tee, wæn vɹə'in brúet zim'ER aat'enəən, on'i v week egœ, kAM nEks dhœRz'di.

13. en dy)i nAA? ə'i nɹv'a laarnd æn'i mAA)n dhɹs v dhæk'i biz'nɹs hoom tɹ dhɹs maan'in, zə zhúu)v z mə'i neem)z :dʒaan :zhɹp'ed en ə'i doont wæænt ty, nee'dhə—gæ'nœ'y.

14. ən zoo ə'i)m gAAin om tɹ zæp'ER. :gœəd níut, en doont'i bii zə kwɹk tɹ kɹAA AA'vɹ mɹn əgɹn, wæn ə telth v dhɹs en dhæt en dh)ædhɹR.

15. t'ez ə too'tlɹn vɹvɹl, ət telth vdhœ'yt meen'in. en dhæt)s mə'i lAAəs wæd. :gœd bə'i tœ)i.

Notes.

0. *why*. Mr. S. has given various analyses of this diphthong (ə'i, ə'i, ai, aai). I follow the one chosen in any particular case. He found a variety in actual use, but is inclined most to (ái). See also the following Devonport and Millbrook.—*doubts*. This diphthong is also variously indicated, but Mr. S. generally gives (œ'y), following Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and finds a rounding of the lips in the first element.

1. *soce*. Rarely used in S. Dv., supposed to be a N. Dv. word; it is plural.—*grizzle* or *grin*; the *r* before

vowels Mr. S. takes as common; finally when fully pronounced he acknowledges (ɹ), but the words are often much clipped, and then he hears the same effect as in London, a simple (ɹ), but it is probably (ɹ_R) or (ɹ) with the tongue turned up, the difference is very slight, and Mr. S.'s (ɹ) is here left.

2. *news*. When final and emphatic the sound seems to become (y) and (ə), between which Mr. S. hesitates; (y₁) recalls both. Mr. S. being a Nf. man, finds the sound less clear in Dv. than in Nf., and thinks (ə) or something

between (ə) and (y) more common.—*because they am* for *they are*. The form (biky'y:z seems rather to be *by course*, for (əv kyys is used for *of course*.

3. *either-more*, that is, *however*.—*baul* or *naise*.—*look*. Mr. S. also writes (look).

4. *through*. The (dr-) initial seems almost lost here, but (dryv occurs at times, also dreks'l threshold.

5. *though*, the (f) is common.—*yes faith I would*.

7. *three*. This is said to be the ordinary form. Mr. S. has, however, heard (drii) once or twice.—*ought*. Compare *though* in par. 5.—*what do you seem*=*think*, a common Dv. word.

8. *drunken*. Observe the northern form (drak'n).—*her* (she) *calleth her*

master (husband). Observe the use of the form *calleth* in *eth*: common in Dv.

9. *lying spread abroad on the earth*.—*home*=close or fully up to.—*corner of thackey* (that, yonder) *lane*.

10. *crawsing*=complaining. the word is not in the glossaries.—*bad*=unwell, sick would mean vomiting.—*cinied*, mouldy as applied to cheese; cross or peevish, as applied to children.

13. *good now* (last word). Mr. S. says that he never actually heard this phrase in the neighbourhood of Plymouth, but that it is common in N. and E. Devon.

14. *night*, no (E) in s.Dv., but see p. 159, note to par. 14.—*to crow over any one* (min) is a common word.

15. *totling*, dottering.

SOUTH-WEST DEVON cwl.

written in Glossic by Mr. J. Shelly, and pal. from that and other indications by AJE.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 béek. 4 téek. 5 méek. 6 méed. 7 séek. 19 teel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 zéem. 24 zhéem. 25 meen. 32 baath [as the rec. subst.]. 33 rødher. 34 las.

A: 41 dhæqk. 43 hæm. 44 læm. 46 kan'l. 51 mæn. 54 waant. 55 eshez. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 vrim vřem. 59 leem. 60 loq. 62 straq. 64 raq. 65 zoq.

A'- 69 nu. 72 æ. 73 zoo [emph., (zæ) unemph.]. 74 tæ ty [emphatic]. 76 twúed. 78 aa. 79 aan. 81 léen. 84 múer móer. 87 klooz. 92 naa. 94 kraa. 95 dhraa.

A': 102 eks, EEks. 104 rúed róed. 105 raad. 110 nat. 111 aaft. 115 hom [h generally sounded]. 117 wan [e.Dv. wæn]. 121 gaan. 122 naan. 123 nathin. 124 ston. 125 o'ni. 127 hoos, hoos. 129 goo'wst. 130 boot. 133 raat. — roov [a row or rank].

Æ- 138 vaadher. 140 heel. 144 ege'n. 150 leest. 152 wa'ter. Æ: 160 eeg. 165 zed. 166 méed. 169 wen wæn. 173 wez. 175 fas faz. 179 walt. Æ'- 182 zee. 183 teetj. 184 leed. 185 reed. 190 kee. 192 meen. 193 kleen. 194 eni. 195 meni. 199 bleet. 200 weet. 202 jet. E': 203 speetj. 213 eodher [only in eithermore=however]. 215 taat. 216 deel. 217 eetj. 218 zhip, zhep. 219 zleep. 223 dhier. 224 wier. 226 maast.

E- 232 briik. 233 speak. 238 ædj. 241 reen. — brim'l [bramble]. 248 miier. — eet [eat]. 251 meet. E: 257 ædj. 261 zee. — beed [a bed]. — twelv [twelve]. 272 el'm. 280 leb'n. 281 leeckth. 284 dresh. E'- 290 hii [emph., gen. (e) unemph.]. 292 mii. 293 we [emph. (æ)]. 300 keep. 301 jær. 302 meet. 303 zweet. E': 305 ai. 306 eet, eet. 311 ten [usually half a score]. 312 jær. 314 jærd. 316 niüst.

EA: 322 laf. 324 ait e'it. 325 waak. 328 kaald. 335 aal. 336 vaal. 337 waal. 343 warm. 346 gíet. EA': 347 heed. 348 ai e'i. 349 vœ. EA': 350 ded. 352 ørd. 355 diif diiv. — tii [verb]. tii [subs. in bed-tie, the local name for feather-bed]. 361 been. 363 tjeep. 371 stree straa.

EI- 373 dhee. EI: 378 week. EO- 383 zæb'n zeb'n. 385 bineeth, bineedh. 387 nu. EO: 338 milk. 390 shid. 402 larn. 406 leeth. 407 vard'n. EO'- 411 dhree. 412 shii [emph. obj. (er teld 'shii te du et)].

414 vlái, vlé'i. 417 tɔ'u. 420 vAAER. EO': 425 lə'it [rarely (liet)]. 430 vrind. 434 beet. 435 ɔə [gen., unemph. (i meaning ye?)]. EY- 438 dái [very much drawled]. EY: 439 trist.

I- 440 week. 446 náin [drawled]. — peeʒ peeʒ'n [pea peas]. 449 git. I: 452 ə'i, ái. 455 láí le'i. 458 nə'it [rarely (niet) as in e.Dv.]. 459 rə'it [correct, but (art straight)]. 460 we'jt. 462 zə'it. 465 sítɪ zítɪ. 466 tɪel. — gild [a guild]. 473 blá'in bláind. 475 wind. 476 bwáind, [occ.] baínd. 477 və'in. 479 wáind. 485 dæsh'l. 488 jít. — zeks [occ. ziks]. — het [hit]. I'- 490 báí be'i. 491 sə'if. 493 dreev. 499 bit'l. I': 500 lə'ik [rarely (lek)]. 502 váiv. 503 lə'iv. 505 wə'iv [rarely used]. 506 humen.

O- 522 AAP'n. 523 haap. — barn [born]. 524 wərd'l. O: 528 thoit [subst.] thoit [vb.]. 531 daater [rarely (daiter)]. 534 haal. 538 wəl, id. 552 karn. 554 kraas. O'- 555 shəə. 560 skəəl. 562 mæən [perhaps more gen. (myyn)]. 564 zyn [very short, or (zin)]. 565 naaz. O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 575 stəd. 576 wenzdi. 582 kəd. 584 stəd. 585 brym brəm [more gen. (yy)]. 586 dyv, dæ. 587 dæn. 588 næn. 589 spæn. 590 [plenshin, that is, planking, is used for floor]. — bəʒəm [bosom]. 594 bət. 595 vət.

U- 599 vbyy. 606 dóoer. U: 608 uglí. 615 pə'yn. 618 wə'ynd. 619 və'yn. 620 grə'yn. 629 zin. 636 vədher. U'- 640 kə'y. 641 ə'y. 643 nə'y. — pləm [plum]. 652 kəd, kyd. 653 bít. U': 656 ræm. 659 tə'yn. 663 hœ'ys.

Y- 674 dæd. 677 drái. Y: 684 bərdɪ. 685 ɛrdɪ. 686 báí. 689 bíld. — kiinli [kindly]. 691 máin [(miind) in e. and n.Dv.]. Y'- 706 wəə'i [occ. (wee)]. 712 [(miis) at Totness and in n.Dv.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 treed tréed. 737 méet. I and Y. 754 peg. U. — pud'n [pudding]. — bish [bush].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 842 plensh. 852 eepn. — martɪent [merchant]. 854 báael. 864 bikəʒ. E.. 867 tee. — zary [serve]. I.. and Y.. 910 dɔə'ist. O.. — rəb [rob]. 916 i'qien. — dʒá'in [join]. 922 bish'l. 938 kaander. — zart [sort]. 941 vyvl. 952, i. kyy's, ii. kəʒs [hence probably (bikəʒs, by course, in or of course, used for because, see 864)]. 956 kiven. U.. 960 kee. — dʒidɪ [judge]. — pupit [pulpit]. 969 zhóer. 970 dʒist djes.

CONSONANTS.

B is not omitted after *m*, except in *brim'l* bramble, and when final.

Ch remains except occasionally in (*kist*) chest.

D remains after *n*, but is omitted after *al* in (*ool kool*) old cold, it is inserted in *kaander* corner, *dal* does not become (*dh*) when medial as in *ladder*.

F initial is often (*v*).

H is seldom dropped, according to Mr. Shelly, but sometimes prefixed in emphatic words, and replaced by *j* in *jet*, *jafer*, *jafel*, *ja'yl* heat, heater, handrul, howl.

L is never dropped, and *-lm* final becomes often two syllables as (*elem filam*) elm film especially in e.Dv.

N becomes *l* in (*ii-vlín jii-vlín*) evening.

R is *r* only when dwelled upon, Mr. Shelly not feeling sure that it is really pronounced, he says he heard 200 children singing "send her victorious, happy and glorious" and could detect no *r* at all. It seems probable that he had not separated *ɔ*, *ɛ*, *e* simply, from these sounds as modified by turning up the tongue, which alters their character. I have consequently, as the result of much correspondence, introduced *r* frequently in the preceding list and es. although in his first writing he omitted it. As I was a considerable

time myself before I could recognise this very peculiar modification, I can well appreciate his difficulty. My own impression is that it is always reverted or retracted, even before vowels, and when preceding *t, d, n, l* reverts or retracts these also. But these cases I have left unmarked. The following cases, where Mr. S. marks the absence of *r*, may therefore be marked, as in other S. cases, as having a transposed *r*, (kærzimz græt græts eepɜn ærtj bɑd bærtjɜn) Christmas great groats apron rich bread breeches.

S of the plural becomes (-ən) in (hœ'yzen bɒt'l'n pɛzən) houses bottles peas.

T is lost in (wɪs'l, kaas'l, dæsh'l, ræs'l, ʌt'n; æk fæk) whistle, castle, thistle, wrestle, often; act, fact.

Th, there is "a general tendency to substitute (dh) for (th), as (dhiq) for (thiq)."'

V is lost in (grii give, and becomes (b) in (zeb'n seven, it never becomes (w).

W is omitted before *r* and in (həd, hæmən, wood woman; would is (wid); *wh* is always (w).

My especial thanks are due to Mr. Shelly for the great assistance which he has given me and the work he has done for me in sw.Dv., from 1868 to 1886, continually attending to every point of difficulty which arose. It will be perceived that he is mainly corroborated from Devonport and Millbrook, the differences being simply those of appreciation, and that the real differences in n. and s., e. and w.Dv. and e.Co. are not sufficient to form districts for, but are mere varieties of substantially the same dialect.

DEVONPORT BY PLYMOUTH dt.

Town pron., pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Tenney, Chancery Audit Office, native, compared with that of Mr. J. B. Rundell, native, see Millbrook.

1. soo¹ æ'i séer, MEETS, jɪy⁵ sɪi nə'y⁵, dhut æ'i bi r,ə'it ɒbə'y⁵t dha't lɪ'l meeɪd kəmɪn frəm dʰe skʊəl [skyy⁵l] ovər dhéer.

2. shii'z [ɛr,z] gūeen dæ'y⁵n dʰe r,oo¹ɪd [r,ɒ'ɪd] dhéer, thrɪy⁵ dʰe r,ɪd geet ɒn dʰe lɪft æ'nd sæ'ɪd ɒv dʰe weeɪ.

3. sho¹ɪr, nəf dʰe tʃɪl'z gæən str,ə'it ɒp tɪy⁵ dʰe doo¹ɪr, ɒv dʰe r,ɒq æ'y⁵s.

4. wéer, pr,ə'ps shii'l [ɛr,l] fæ'ɪnd dha't dr,æqkɪn diɪf dr,æ'ɪd ɒp fɪlə kælɪd :tɒməs.

5. wɪ [ɛs] nəz)'n vɛr,i we'ɪl.

6. wo'nt dʰi oo¹ɪl tʃæ'p sy⁵n teetʃ'ɛr, nɒt tɪy⁵ dɪy⁵ ɪt vgeen, pɒo¹ɪr, thiɪ.

7. lyɪ⁵k! ɛɛ'nt ɛt tr,ɪy⁵?

Notes.

Observe that (o¹, y⁵) mean (o¹, y) with projected lips. The letters o, r, q are called (oo¹, pii, kyy⁵), but coal is called (kal). Mr. T. himself noted that in *so you* it was necessary to project the lips considerably to bring out the sound.

1. *J.* The analysis of long *i* is not perfect. I write as I seemed to observe. Mr. T.'s varied between (æ'i) and (ə'i). Mr. Rundell seemed generally to use the latter. Perhaps both meant (á'i) at all times.—*you*. This seemed to be diphthongal in Mr. T.'s speech. I did not observe this

character in Mr. R.'s.—*now*. This diphthong was precisely the same as at Iddesleigh, both for Mr. T. and Mr. R., though perhaps less forcible in the s. than in the n.—*right*. The *r* in Mr. T.'s pron. was treated very much like the London *r* as I at first appreciated. But after attentively examining Mr. R.'s, I concluded that his was retracted (r̥) and not reverted (r̥), and this agreed with Mr. R.'s own appreciation, see Millbrook. As both Messrs. T. and R. were natives of Devonport, I concluded that Mr. T.'s had been more reduced to the London level.—

school. I appreciated (skúel), and Mr. T. wrote *skooú*. But Mr. R. decidedly had (skyyi), which would be the regular form.

2. *she is* and *her is* are quite interchangeable. Mr. T. wrote *shee-z*, and Mr. R. *ur-z*.—*through*. Both Mr. T. and Mr. R. gave (thr,-) and not (dr,-) in this word. Rev. H. S. Wilcocks of Stoke, which adjoins Devonport, gave *dr-*, which is certainly the purer form, though Mr. T. said he had heard (thr-) five miles away in the country.

3. *enough*. Mr. T. had never heard

enow.—*child*. Mr. T. says (tjil) is used for either sex.

4. *dried up*, because *shrivelled* is not used, but (shr,) is used, as (shr,imps, shr,ab).—*called*. This word would be used, *name* = (neem).

6. *chap* is not often used, (ma'n) is more common; a woman will speak of her husband as (mæ'i tjá'p); the man generally speaks of his wife as (mæ'i mises), but (oo¹⁵l,d)amən may also be heard.—*thing*, with (th-) in town and (dh-) in country.

FROM MILLBROOK CO.

2 sw.Plymouth, on the other side of the Hamoaze. Specimen written in glossic by Mr. J. B. Rundell, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, who lived there as a boy from 4 to 10, and has had frequent opportunities of refreshing his memory. Pal. by A.J.E. from vv. instruction in 1885. The specimen is supposed to be a dialogue between two persons A and B, and is constructed so as to bring in the principal peculiarities. The pron. is thorough s.Dv., and Mr. Rundell states that having had occasion to visit Padstow in Co., he was surprised to find the speech practically the same.

1 A. gy¹d marg'nin ty¹i, neeber. jy¹m əp brəv'en)ərli dhis marg'nin. wéer, bii egween ty¹ zo zy¹n?

2 B. aa! gy¹d marg'nin ty¹ jy¹, mæ'i díer! wæ'i, jy¹ zii var'mer, :əbzez tjil'z ət'yk bæd wádh dhe meez'lz, en ə'i)m gween dæ'y¹n tæ'y¹n ty¹ døkter,z æ'y¹s ty¹ vetj'n var'y¹n.

3 A. aa! ər)z egət dhe meez'lz ev)er? [æth ər). ər)z ly¹kt kry¹l wísh't var,dh's var,tuə'it pæst. ər, mædher, tæ'ul mi ər, ky¹d'n gít ər, ty¹ eet noth'in en ər, wæz ez week)s)æ ræb'in.

4 B. is, ə'i zid var'mer, :əbz hízself ísterde, æz ə'i wez in dhe viil dree'in tærmets, en i)zed i thəft i mæs kæ'l in dhe døkter. əz ə'i wez ekəm'in əp dhe leen dj's næ'y¹ ə'i met'y¹n egen, en i ækst mi ty¹ go var'y¹n ty¹ wənst.

5 A. jy¹d beter, mek eest dh'n. shíl ə'i zii)i bæ'i)m)bæ'i in dhe eev'nin æt dhe t'ídlíwí-qk? en wiil ev e pə'ínt ev swə'íps tegídhər,

Notes.

1. *good*. The sound was decidedly a deeper (y), approaching (ə), in some cases almost (ə).—*morning*, the (r) was decidedly retracted and not reverted, it was very faintly marked, not nearly so strong as at Iddesleigh.—*neighbour*, the (ee) did not seem to approach (ee), and there was no suspicion of a following ('j).—*you)m*, you am, the regular conversational form.—*up*, this form (əp, əp, AAP) seems to run through this group, D 10 and 11, and indeed occurs also in D 4.

2. *my*, this (ə'i) was the nearest approach I could make to this diphthong, which was certainly not (ái), and not even (ái), before mutes, but became so before sonants, as *white*, *wide* (wə'it, wáid).—*down town house*, at first hearing this diphthong sounded to me as (ə'u) and it was not till after close examination and continual repetition that I was convinced the sound was (æ'y¹). See the remarks on Iddesleigh (p. 158); the action of the mouth was identical with that there described, wide open for the

first element, with the lips closed nearly and projected for the second.—*house* with final *ʃ*, not *z*, *to doctor's house to fetch him for him*.

3. *her*, used either for *he* or *she*. Mr. R. did not know of the distinction (*ɐ*, *ɛɾ*) *he, she*.—*wisht*, wished, poorly, haggard.—*told*, here I think the diph-

thong was (*ə'u*) or (*ou*), it was certainly not (*ə'y*₁).—*robin*, the bird.

4. *drawing*, i.e. pulling up, *turnips*.—*thought*, the form (*thɔft*) with (*f*) is very common.—*at once*, the sound seemed more like (*wɔnst*) than anything else.

5. *by and bye*, *tiddiwink* small public-house or beershop.

VAR. iii. e.Co.

CAMELFORD (14 W. LAUNCESTON) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from dictation of Miss Ada Hill, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. zoo ái zee, méuts, ju zii nɔ'u dhet ái bi ráit ɛbɔ'ut dhat lít'l gərl kəmin from dheki sku'l.

2. ɛɾ z ɐ gu'in dɔ'un dɛ rɔəd dhɛr thruu dɛ red géut on dɛ left han sáid ɐ dɛ wee.

3. shoɔr ɛnɔʊ dɛ tʃiild z gɔn street ɛp tɛ dɛ dɔʊɛɾ ɐ dɛ roq ɔ'uz.

4. wɛɾɛɾl bi láik tɛ fáind dheki drɛqk'n diif wiz'nd fele ɐ dɛ néum ɐ :tɔmɔs.

5. ɛs aal nɔʊ ɛn ɛɛɾi wel.

6. wɛnt dɛ ɔɔl tʃap zun teetʃ [lɛɾn] ɛɾ nɔt tɛ du'it ɛɡin [ɛɡen], puɔr dhiq !

7. lɛk ɛz)'nt [id)'nt] it truɔ ?

Notes.

1. *mates*, (*sani*), not (*zini*), is commonly used in place of 'mate,' even to old people.—*now*, I wrote (*ə'u*) from dictation, but do not feel at all certain, because of my initial mistake for Millbrook (p. 167 note on *down*), that it was not (*ə'y*₁), here and at St. Colomb Major notwithstanding the different analysis.—*I be*, so generally, Miss H. never heard *I's* (see Cardynham) nor *I are*, but she knew *wɛ'm you'm* for *we are, you are*.—*girl*, Miss H. had heard (*ɡɛɾd'l*), (*meed*) maid, is common enough for a young girl under twelve, (*tʃiild*) is only used for children before they can speak properly, and she did not know of its exclusive confinement to girls. She, however, uses it generally

in par. 3.—*that*, (*dheki*) a very common word.—*school*, not (*skyy*₁), there was a tendency towards (*u*) shewn by (*uɪ*). I got *schule sheur* from Padstow.

2. *through*, Miss H. was confident that it did not become (*ɔruu ɔry*₁), although (*ɔrii*) takes the place of (*thru*), see also Millbrook. I got *drew* from Padstow.

3. *enough*, “(*ɛnɛf*) is also heard, not (*ɛni:f*).”

4. *wizened, shrivelled* not known, but (*shr-*) initial is used.

6. *chap* is properly a young fellow who works in the quarries, called also a “quarry nipper.”—*thing, think*, both have initial (*dh*).

The two following dt. are given with much hesitation, but they are the best I could obtain, and the writers had taken so much trouble that I thought it best to insert them.

CARDY'NHAM (3½ ene.Bodmin).

dt. from a very careful translation in io. with long aq. by Mr. Thos. H. Cross, national schoolmaster, not a native, but much of my interpretation remains conjectural. The pronunciation was obtained by Mr. Cross from an old labourer whose family had been 150 years in the parish.

1. zoo ɹ'i zee, bóiz, jéy₁ zii ne'u, et ɹ'i)m ráit béut dhíki let'l meed kámen frém dhe skuul jándér.

2. ɹ(z) egáin de'un dhíki róud dhíer thru dhe rəd giēt en dhe lift hæn sáid ev dhe wee.

3. shóer eni'f dhe tɹil ez ga'en street ɔp tɹ dóur ev dhe raq e'us.

4. wíer er wil tɹans tɹ vend dhíki drəqken dif wizend feler ev dhe néem ev :tamus.

5. ɹs ool nooz en weri wel.

6. weent dhíki óuld sáni séum teetɹ shi nat tɹ déy₁et gen, puur thiq!

7. lak si! ed)'n)it truu?

Notes.

1. *so, say.* The initial (z) was written in these two words only, not in *soon* and *side*. This may have been an oversight.—*boys*, written *bo-ys*, which, judging from other spellings, may mean (bóiz), but (bóiz) seemed the more probable sound.—*you* written *ya-ew* and explained “a as in *hater*, *a* as French *u*, *ya-u* quickly.”—*now*, explained “same sound *a*, *ow* as in *cow*, pronounced quickly, the *a* very distinct.”—*that*, the abridged form (et), said to be “very common.”—*I am* written *oi um* with the variant *I's*, which is also stated to be “very common, more so than *oi um*.” In 1865 TH. heard (ai z a'd. I have had, from a miner from Gwennap (3 se.Redruth), but that is in D 12. I conjecture that *oi*, which was used in *right side*, meant (ɹ'i).—*school* written *skole*, altogether doubtful.—*yonder*, Mr. C. says he never heard *yínder* till he came here, but has often noticed it.

3. “*cheel* is the term for *girl*.”

4. *find*, the form *vend* was unexpected.—*drunken* written *dro-un-ken* and said to be so pronounced, which is so unlikely that I have not ventured to give it. Mr. C. may have meant that *o* was substituted for *u*, as in the next note, see also (ɔp) written *op* for *ap*.

5. *all*, “there is a remarkable presence of the letter *o* which gives the word the sound of (h,ole,” but he writes *o-all*, so his *dro-un-ken* may indicate a substitution.—*very*, Mr. C. has never heard (w) for (v) in any other word, “and in this case it is only in slight use,” it is probably an error.

6. *sonny*, commonly used as an address, but said to have been obtained from a labourer in this phrase.

The *r* I have left unmarked before a vowel, from pure uncertainty.

ST. COLUMB MAJOR (11 wsw.Bodmin)

and about ten miles round: dt. written by Mr. T. Rogers of the St. Wenn National School, Bodmin, with the help of the members of the Reading Room, in which each portion of the dt. was discussed. The original io. was difficult to understand, and although Mr. R. kindly furnished very full explanations, I cannot be quite sure that I have always interpreted them rightly in the following pal. translation.

1. s| zoo ái s| zee, kəmree'dz, d|i s| zii náoó dhut ái)m ráit bóót dhíki lét'l meed kámen frém dhe sk'óul jaander.

2. shii)z geen dáoón dhe róod dhíer druú dhe red geet en dhe lift hæn s| záid ɔv dhe wee.

3. s_lziúr nef dhv t_pild)z gən stráit ap tē dhv dúvər əv dhv ræq hooos,

4. wíer sh_il t_prens tē váin dh_ik_i dræqkin díef skrúuəd felə əv dhv néem əv :tomes.

5. wi aal na ən wel)váin.

6. wənt dh_iool t_præp s_lzuun teet_i v_r net tē duu)ət v_gen, púvər krektər!

7. luk! ɛd)'nt)et triú!

Notes.

1. *so say see*. These were said to begin with (s) followed by a faint sound of (z), in that case they would form the transitional sound from (z) to (s).—*I right*. The phonographic sign for (ái) was given, but the actual analysis of the diphthong is conjectural.—*comrades*, with the accent on the second syllable, the usual word for 'mates.'—*now about*, etc. The diphthong, written *nōōw*, was explained as "o in *not* or *innovate*, but rather short, *ow* as *sparrow*." This gives the transcription (n_ooo). For *bout*, *down*, *house*, Mr. R. used these spellings, and said of *house* "ou as in *sparrow*, with the o prolonged slightly." It seems to me that the analysis is certainly wrong, and that (ə'u), heard from Camelford, is more correct. But the explanation was so explicit I felt bound to adopt it.—*I'm* "is used in such sentences as 'I'm gain tã town,' *I be* in answering questions, as: 'are you one? eēs I be,' not 'I am.'"—*right*. "The *r* is trilled in many cases, *droo* for instance. A big boy in school once said to me, 'how many drie hapences in dreppens,' with a trill on each *r*, the point of the tongue touching the gums of the front teeth of the upper jaw and then vibrating. But when *r* occurs at the end of a word, it is not trilled, as far as I am aware, but the

tongue is withdrawn back to the throat in pronouncing it. In *droo* there is a trill, in *drunken* not, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth [for *d*?] and then withdrawing. In *strite* and *trew* there is a slight trill in the first word, and a strong one in the second.—*strite*. The front part of the tongue touches the roof of the mouth in front; the tip, the top of the gums in the lower jaw, and the tongue is drawn backwards, and the tip lifted upwards at the same time.

2. *trew*. The tongue (tip) touches the gums in front in the upper jaw, and is then quickly withdrawn back to the throat past its normal position in the mouth." This would generally indicate (r_i, r) with occasional (r, r_i). Under these circumstances I have retained (r) before a vowel, but used (r) final.—*from* or (vrəm, f_ivrəm).—*school*. This was written *skōōl*, and explained to be o, as in *not*, but *very* short, followed by *ō*, as in *hoot*.' This I have endeavoured to render by (sk_loūl), but I think that this is probably wrong. Perhaps he meant (skæ'uul), a generating sound of (skyy₁l), but everything is uncertain. I generally got *schule*, *skewl* in io. from Co.

3. *enough*, 'the *f* strongly accented.'

6. *her*, 'she is but rarely used for *her*.'

Although these examples of e.Co. leave much to be desired, they evidently shew a dying out of Dv. forms, and the characteristic (r, y₁) are more or less implied.

D 12 = w.WS. = western West Southern.

Boundary. On the e. the w. b. of D 11 from Falmouth Harbour to Pirran Bay (p. 156) b. are made up of the sw. coast of Co.

Area. The w. of Co., to the w. of Truro, together with the Scilly Islands (24 wsw. Land's End).

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

Co. °† Gwennap, * Marazion, * Penzance, ° St. Just, ° St. Stithians.

Character. None can be given. The mode of speech is said to vary much from place to place, not more than ten or twelve miles apart, and most of the WS. characters seem to have disappeared. Down to 200 years ago some Cornish was still spoken in these regions. How the change to English came about, I do not know, but it was clearly not imported from the e., because we find scarcely a vestige of Dv. phraseology or pronunciation. The miners, who abound, are a mixed race. Many words of Cornish origin remain. The phrases used are picturesque, and the spelling which the dialect-writers of west Cornish have adopted is also rather picturesque than phonetic. It would be necessary to study the pronunciation of each neighbourhood on the spot from the mouths of natives, and for such a haphazard speech as appears to prevail, this would be hardly worth while. At the same time, any tolerably complete view would demand too much space.

Tregellas, as quoted by Mr. T. Q. Couch ("East Cornish Words"), remarks on the peculiar sing-song of the West Cornwall speakers, and its lessening and alteration in character on proceeding eastward, through Trevednack (? Towednack, 2 sw. St. Ives), St. Ives (7 ssw. Penzance), Hayle (4 se. St. Ives), and Camborne (4 wsw. Redruth), and says that, "e. of Camborne, even at Redruth, the natural accent has died away, nor is it again heard from the more guttural speakers of Redruth, Gwennap (3 se. R.), and St. Agnes (6 n-by-e.R.). But . . . the miner of Perranzabuloe (7 nnw. Truro) expresses himself uniformly in a full note higher than his adjoining parish of St. Agnes, and no sooner have you passed Cranstock (8 wsw. St. Columb Major) and Cubert (2 s.Gr.), and entered into St. Colomb's," than you begin to hear (z-) for (s-), in first to a small and then to a large extent. This agrees precisely with Mr. Hodge's b. of e. and w. Cornwall passing between Cranstock and Cubert, and here adopted (p. 156).

Mr. William Noye kindly wrote me a version of the cs. for Penzance, and I took it down from his dictation in 1873. In 1876 I went over it with Mr. Rawlings, of Hayle, who was exceedingly well acquainted with the speech of his neighbourhood. He differed from Mr. Noye in a great number of particulars, and found the cs. so ill adapted for exhibiting the west Cornish peculiarities, that he re-wrote a portion of it, which I pal. from his dict. in Feb. 1876. It seems, therefore, advisable to limit any examples to this particular specimen, which, as will be seen, is founded on the cs. He locates his yarn in Marazion (3 e. Penzance), and entitles it

JACKY TRESISE, A MARAZION SPECIMEN.

1. :djæk'i :tɛzaiz sɛd: oo! 'hii læf! hi dɪd'nt læf wɛn v rænd wɛɛ: læst kɹɛz'məs frɛm θə giiz-déensez, ɛn sɛd tu ɛn :mæli :pɒlgrɛɛn, dʰet hii d siid v pɛs'ki. 'hii ɛd'nt wath v snæf!

2. sid)'n, dɪd'shi? dræŋk ái spooz? kráin tu? zæk'li láik'n!! náu, áil tel'i :djéemz, ái nev'v láik)'n — aa'lez kráid in dʰe rəŋ plɛs!

3. ái wɛz dáun tu :mɪdhiɛn mɪt'n lést sændɛ, ɛn æŋk'l :tɒm :vɛs'nt priitɪt vbaút dʰe púuɛ :sɛmæritɛn—wi hæd v kləb fiist dʰe dee vfoo', ɛn 'sɛm)ɛv)ɛz iit ɛnæf fɛ dʰɛnt'lmɛn — ɛn dʰe wɔz'nt a drái ái ɛn dʰe mɪt'n, sɛpt 'hiiz.

4. soo ái sɛd tu ɛn: "háu ær)'i soo ʌnkɛnsa'nd?"

5. ɛn sɛz hii: "djæk'i, v do'nt kɛnsa'ɛn mii, kaa:z ái do'nt liv in jo' pær'ish. ái oon'li stɛɛd aftɛ dʰe kləb fiist, kaa:z ái wɛz a lit'l fud'ld wi bli:v."

6. æz tɛ si:ɛn ɔb)'m, hi wud'n kɛm in tɛ mái háus ɛn nɒt bi siid! áu' :mɛɛr'i táuld mi oon'li :mæn'dɛ iib'mɪn, hii'rɪn vbaút dʰe tæntremz v kɪkt ɛp dáun tɛ :tʃætɪ :táun;

7. "ɛz'nt hæf v mæn," sɛz shii, "hii-l gæz'l ʌl dʰɛ lík v hi kɛn hɪtɪ ɛn skɹɛp, ɛn v dɛ pɛɛ noo'bedi. sɛm dɛ sɛɛ hi ɛd'nt paatik'le vbaút tee'kɪn wʰɒt ɛd'nt ɛz oon. dʰe klooz v hæd ɛn v nev'v pɛɛd dʰa pæk'mæn fɛ. ɛn ái wud'nt," sɛz shii, "træs'n in áur eel tʃɛm'bɛ báí ɛsɛlf."

8. "ái bliiv if hii-d noth'in iit'in a dri:k'in, hii-d teek v læmp v shug'v áut ə dʰə níeriz keɛdɪ. ái nev'v siid ə fɛl'ə láik)'n fɛ[r iit'in, sɛpt dri:k'in, ái bliiv hii-z láik v kloom'ɛn kæt, hii-z hɔl'v dáun tɛ hiz tooz."

1. John Tresise said: Oh! *he* laugh! he didn't laugh when he ran away last Christmas from the guise-dancers, and said to aunt Molly Polgrain, that he'd seen a piskey. *He* isn't worth a snuff!

2. Saw-him, did-she? drunk, I suppose? Crying too? Exactly like-him! Now, I'll tell you, James, I never liked him—always cried in the wrong place!

3. I was down at Mithian meeting, last Sunday, and uncle Tom Vincent preached about the poor Samaritan—we had a club feast the day before, and *some* of us ate enough for gentlemen—and there wasn't a dry eye in the meeting, except he's.

4. So I said to-him: "How are-you so unconcerned?"

5. And says he: "Jacky, he doesn't concern *me*, because I don't live in your parish. I only stayed after the club-feast, because I was a little fuddled with beer."

6. As to seeing of him, he wouldn't come into *my* house and not be seen! Our Mary told me only Monday evening, hearing about the tantrums he kicked up down to Church Town;

7. "Isn't half a man," says she, "he'll guzzle all the liquor he can hitch and scrape, and he do pay nobody. Some do say he isn't particular about taking what isn't his own. The clothes he had on he never paid the packman for. And I wouldn't," says she, "trust-him in our hall chamber by himself."

8. "I believe if he'd nothing eating or drinking, he'd take a lump of sugar out of the canary's cage. I never saw a fellow like-him for eating, except drinking, I believe he's like an earthenware cat, he's hollow down to his toes."

Notes.

1. *guise dancers*. Christmas mummers, dancers in fancy guise.—*aunt*. This “aunt” is said to have been the usual mark of respect for the Virgin Mary. It reminds one of the American negro Uncle and Aunt.—*pisky*, metathesis for (pik’si) *pixy* or *fairy*, as (waps for *wasp*, etc.—*snuff*, namely, a candle-snuff, the most worthless thing he could think of.

3. *Mithian* is a small curacy 6 n.w. Truro.—*meeting*, that is, a Non-conformist chapel or preaching house.—*uncle*, a title of respect, see *aunt*, par. 1.—*poor*, a little confusion between the “good” Samaritan and the unfortunate man he relieved.—*his* apparently for *his*, but it may have been only (hiz) for *hiz* : the common *hissen* is not used here.

5. *He*, the (v) is *her*, less the aspirate

and the trill of *r*, and *her* is used for *he*, a southern importation. Of course the joke is a very ancient one, Cornwallised for the occasion.

6. *Church Town*, the name always given to the place where the church is.

7. *packman*, the pedlar who carries round a pack of cloth for sale.—*hall-chamber*, the chief room of the house is so called, however small it may be.—*himself*, but written “*herself*.” See *her* for *he* in par. 5.

8. *if he’d nothing*, etc., that is, if he was not engaged in eating or drinking something.—*earthenware*. (kloom) is a common Cornish word for earthenware. A common red earthen pitcher with two handles is called (v kloom *bæ:v*), where the (v) is peculiar, perhaps a (u), and I occasionally heard it like an (æ).

As this was a vv. specimen of pronunciation, I have extracted some of the principal words, and I have also taken those given by Miss Courtney in the introduction to her “West Cornwall Glossary.” But I am quite unable from both, and also from looking over many books of West Cornish tales and rhymes, to make out any satisfactory characteristics. There appear, however, to be some traces of D 11 from e.Co. and Dv., as 1) the metathesis of s and consonant in (pisk*i*, klæps, haps, pixy, clasp, hasp : 2) the use of (’n) for acc. him, it; 3) (tjil) for a girl; 4) the neutral infinitive in (-i) as (digi, haki, peenti, waaki) to dig, hack, paint, walk. Miss Courtney also adduces the use of (bii, beent, ái bi, bii-i ?) for am, is-not, I am, are you?; but they do not seem to occur in the literature, and the disuse of *be* was one of the marks by which Mr. Hodge was enabled to draw the line between e. and w.Co.

WEST CORNISH cwl.

Unmarked generally or marked R. words from Mr. Rawlings’s example.

C words for the Land’s End and adjacent districts from introduction to Miss Courtney’s Glossary, conjecturally palaeotyped.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 C hææv. 30 C kîv. 34 léast. A: or O: 61 C eməŋq. 64 rəŋq.
A’- 92 C nAA. A’: 123 nathîn. Æ- 141 C nœl. 143 C tœl.
Æ- — C hæps [hasp]. Æ’- 182 C see. 193 C klen. Æ: —
iibmæn [evening]. 249 C wîe [according to Westlake]. — iit [eat]. 251 C
meet. E: 263 ewee. E’- 290 hii [strong], v [weak]. 296 C bleev.
302 C mit, R mî-t’n [meeting]. E’: 314 hîvd. EA: 322 lææf. 334
hææf & C. 338 C kœæl. EA’- 348 C áí. — jîv [ear]. EA’: 366 C
geet. EO: — jœle [yellow]. 406 C jæth [Westlake, also iærth]. EY: 439
tris ’n [trust him]. I: 466 C tjil. 482 æd’nt [is’nt]. — krips [crisp].

I': 500 laik. O: 525 ob)'m [of him]. 533 C dul. 541 C weent. 546
 fa. O' - — C grAA [grow]. O': — C huuk [hook]. — C huud [hood].
 U- 603 C kuum. U: 635 wath. U- 641 hau. U': 658 dāwn.
 Y-' — kiit [a kite].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — nieri [canary]. — C klaeps [clasp]. E. — C biit [peat]. — C
 skiin [skain]. I. and Y. — piski [pixy]. — sheve [shiver]. U. —
 fud'ld [fuddled]. 804 draak. — puz'l [to puzzle].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 ples. — pee [pay]. — C mæeste [master]. — C ænjel [angel,
 possibly (eenjel)]. 849 C strænje [possibly (streenje)]. 850 deens. 851 æn.
 — skwiv [square]. 866 pāve. E.. 867 C tee. — C seekret [secret]. —
 — siin [a seine, net]. — releev [relieve]. — breem [bream, fish]. —
 ænkensaa'nd [unconcerned]. 891 fiist. 895 C risee·v. I.. and Y.. — reve
 [river]. O.. — C kalem [column]. 933 C frant. U.. — shager
 [sugar]. — giiz [guise].

THE SCILLY ISLES.

Miss Courtney in her West Cornish Glossary makes the Scillonian dialect different from that of Co., instancing *tread tree* for 'thread, three,' (ɔ'i) for (a'i) in (pɔ'int ɔ'ilz) pint, isles, and conversely (páint báil) for point, boil. She also draws a distinction between the speech of St. Mary's island containing the capital Hugh Town and the speech of the "Off-oislanders," as she writes them, who inhabit the smaller isles. This was in 1880. Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, vicar of Newlyn St. Peter, Penzance, kindly wrote to Mr. Dorrien Smith (proprietor, and familiarly known as "the King of Scilly"), who, in reply, dated Tresco Abbey, Isles of Scilly, 7 Aug. 1883, says, "I know of no place in the British Isles where the Queen's English is less massacred by the lower classes than it is in these islands. There is no dialect or any peculiarities of speech worth mentioning, and I can find no record of any having been spoken." Mr. Lach-Szyrma says compulsory education has prevailed for forty years and stamped out dialect, and that the people are mostly Cornish, some are said to be descended from the Cavaliers of Charles II. who settled there, and others from sailors from all parts (Scillonia once was a pirate station). The population is quite hybrid in all points, in appearance, physique, ideas, and language; a sort of gathering from the coast population generally, but with a strong Cornu-British element. Under these circumstances no dialectal value can be attached to any pronunciations there heard. I am indebted to Miss Toulmin Smith for the means of obtaining the above information.

II.

WESTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. The w. b. is the CB (p. 9) from the Bristol Channel to the point where the n. *sum* line 1 breaks from it. The n. and part of the e. b. are the n. *sum* line 1 (p. 15), from the point of its deflection from the CB to the point where the reverted *ur* line 3 (p. 17) joins the n. *sum* line 1 on the w. The rest of the e. b. is formed by the reverted *ur* line 3, from its w. junction with the n. *sum* line 1 to the Bristol Channel. The s. b. is the Bristol Channel between the CB and the reverted *ur* line 1.

Area. Portions of Mo., He., Sh. in England, and of Br., Rd., Mg. in Wales. This district represents on the e. comparatively late, and on the w. very modern invasions of the English language on the Welsh.

D 13 = SW. = South Western.

Boundaries. On account of the absence of detailed information, the n. b. is rather arbitrarily assumed to be first the b. of Rd. and Mg., and then of Mg. and Sh. as far as a little w. of Bishop's Castle (8 se. Montgomery); next, turning to the s. between Clun (13 w.-by-n. Ludlow) and Craven Arms (7 nw. Ludlow), nearly in an e. direction to just n. of Bewdley (3 wsw. Kidderminster, Wo.). This is merely meant to imply that at least a few miles n. and s. of this line the speech is sensibly different. The other b. are the w. e. and s. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The e. part of Mo., almost all He., the greater part of Rd., the e. of Br., and a narrow slip to the s. of Sh.

Authorities. See the County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ systematic, ° in io.

He. ° Almerley, † Dinmore, ‖ Docklow, ‖ Hereford, † Leintwardine, † Leominster, ‖† Lower Bach Farm, ° Lucton, † Stockton, † Wacton, ° Weobley.

Sh. † Clun, † Ludlow.

Mo. ° Caerleon, ° Chepstow, * Llanover, ° Pontypool.

WALES.—Br. ° Brecon, * e.Br., ° Bulth, ° Crickhowel.

Rd. ° Boughrood, ° Llanddewi Ystradenny, ° New Radnor.

Character. S. English spoken by Welshmen or their descendants, the e. side being more English and the w. side more Welsh, in fact, on the w. the speech is most like book Eng. spoken by foreigners, with occ. dialectal influence. The whole is very imperfect dialect, even in m. and e. He. marks of Welsh influence abound. In D 13 the groundwork is S. English, which has been altered by Celts in

a different way from D 10, 11. The initial (z, v) for (s, f) is almost extinct, and the initial employment of (dr) for (thr) is lost. The reverted (r) exists, but is generally inconspicuous and often uncertain, so that it would not be possible to correct line 3. The use of (ái) for AG, EG is uncertain. Some of the fractures A-(ér), A' (úv) remain. The fine (o) rather than (æ) has developed itself for O' as well as U. The form (o)th for *with* is striking. The diphthongs for I', U', are mildly (o'i, o'u).

For examples I am mainly indebted to specimens obtained by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which he passed over to me, from Docklow, Hereford, Lower Bach Farm and Weobley in He., and Llanover in Mo. TH. also went over most of the ground, and brought me valuable information; he visited the sons of Mrs. Burgiss, of Lower Bach Farm, who were very polite in communicating their knowledge, which enabled me to understand better the information of Mr. Woodhouse, of Docklow. As these give the best idea of the dialect, I place them first, and then give a mixed cwl., which shews the n.He. habits of speech. Mr Woodhouse's examples are full of local colouring. For Hereford itself, the speech had become too much like 'received' for me to cite two es. obtained for me by the Prince, and that from Weobley could only be conjecturally interpreted. It must be remembered that all se.He. belongs to D 4, in which it is treated (pp. 68-75). The w. of He. becomes more like Welsh English, and is treated afterwards. Of Rd. I know too little, but it is probably very like Mo., which will be noticed further on.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR n.He. and s.Sh.

LOWER BACHE (:beetj) FARM (3½ ene.Leominster) dt.

pal. by TH. from dict. of sons of Mrs. Burgiss.

1. nō'u o'i)sâi, méts, ju si nō'u o'i bi rō'it ebō'ut dhat līt'l wensh kēm'in frem dhe skuul jander.
2. ær)z egwâ'n dō'un dhe rood dhêur thrō'u dhe red giet o)dhe)lîft and sō'id o)dhe)wâi (wâ'i).
3. bō'i gəm ! [shûer enof] ær)z gā'n stráit te dhe roq o'us.
4. wêur, lō'ik enof ær)l fō'ind dhat drœk'n dēni áuld :təm.
5. wì aal nōu ìm wêl enof.
6. o'i)l bak i)l lærn ær betæ)'n du)it egjō'n pûer wentj !
7. luk ! jənt)it tru ?

Notes.

1. mates (ladz, tjaps), if one person (sæ'ri) sirrah.

4. (dēni) deaf.

DOCKLOW (5 ese. Leominster).

Examples written "as near as possible how one of his farm-labourers would speak" by Mr. R. Woodhouse, Newhampton, Leominster, Hereford, acquainted with the dialect 30 years in 1875; pal. by A.J.E. from his indications, and the information obtained at Lower Bache farm, about 2 miles off, by T.H.

ORIGINAL.

1. pliiz, mîsîs, dhe mîster teld mi tē a'ks ju tē send :tōmas en :dʒēmz də'ɪn tē ɪn ɪn dhe áai fîld, ez suun ez dhái ev dən ma'gít'ɪn dhe shíp, tē elp ɪn tē tərn dhe áai, en ɪn sed ez dhái wēz tē brɪq səm pə'ɪks əθ ɪm, ez sɒmbəde ev ɪd tuu ez wēz left dheer last nə'ɪt fē ɡə'lesnəs, ɪr stul ɪm.

2. en :bɪl ɪz tē tēk v əksʃet ev wéeter, ɪntə dhe sɪdz fər dhe kəʌvz, en fɪl dheer trəʌ fər ɪm, en dhen brɪq dhe wə'ɡɪn tē dhe áai fîld. ɪi məst put dhe fɪlɪr əs, ez :daərbɪ ed bɪi tuu restɪv fē dhe bʱwáai tē drə'ɪv əp dhe ʌɑrtʃɪt, ez prə'ps ɪ ʌd rən ɪwáai en spwə'ɪl ɪzself, ɪr sɒmɪt. en ɪf ʒə wə'nts enɪ tēetɪrɪz fər dɪnɪr, mîster teld mi tē dɪq səm. ɪi sed ez səm on ʒə ʌd pə'ɪnt ə'ut dhe frəməst tē mɪi, en tel mi ə'u mənɪ ʒə'ʌd wə'nt.

3. ʒə məst pliiz tē ə'v dhe pɪgz pend əp, fər dhái wēz ɪn dhe wɪt fîld ez ə'ɪ kəm əp, en dhái ev wə'z'ld ɪt də'ɪn vɪrɪ bə'd, dʒɛst thrə'u, dhe ɡɪt, en fə'ɪn wɜrk ə'ɪ ə'd tē ɡet ɪm ə'ut ɪɡə'n, spɛsəlɪ dhe nɪsgəl, ɪ rə'n mɪ ʌʌl ɒvɪr dhe fîld ɪfəʊər ə'ɪ kəd ɡet ɪn ə'ut.

4. mə'ɪ ʌʌld ʌmən teld mi tē tel ʒə ez ɛr ɪz ɡwáaɪn tē :ləmstɪr təmɒrə, ɪf ʒə wə'nts tē send, ɪr v ɡɒt səm fə'ʌdz tē sɪt. ɛr ed ɪntendɪd ɪm fə spə'regras tʃɪkɪnz, bət dháai wəʌrnt frəm ɪnəf, sɒʊ ɛr v ə'd tē kɪp ɪm tɪl nə'ʌ. mîstɪr ɪz ɡwáaɪn tē send ɪn dhe biɛnz ɪ tɪld last wɪk, en ɪr θɪŋks v ɡetɪn v rə'ɪd bə'k ɪn dhe wə'ɡɪn,

TRANSLATION.

1. Please, Mistress, the Master told me to ask you to send Thomas and James down to him in the hay field, as soon as they have done maggotting the sheep, to help him to turn the hay, and he said that they were to bring some pitchforks with them, as somebody has hid two that were left there last night for mischief, or stolen them.

2. And Bill is to take a hogshead of water, into the seeds = *clover* for the calves, and fill their trough for them, and then bring the waggon to the hay field. He must put the thiller (shaft) horse, as Darby would be too restive for the boy to drive up the orchard, as perhaps he would run away and spoil himself, or something. And if you want any potatoes for dinner, master told me to dig some. He said that some of you would point out the ripest to me, and tell me how many you'd want.

3. You must please to have the pigs penned up, for they were in the wheat field as I came up, and they have wasselled it down very badly, just through the gate, and fine work I had to get them out again, specially the youngest, he ran me all over the field before I could get him out.

4. My old woman told me to tell you that she is going to Leominster to-morrow, if you want to send, or have got some fowls to sit. She had intended them for asparagus chickens, but they were not forward enough, so she has had to keep them till now. Master is going to send in the beans he tilled last week, and she thinks of getting a ride back in the waggon,

en if ɛr fəʊlʒ sɪlʒ wel, ɛr miinz
briqʌn ɛ bɪt ɛ bɪf, ɛz wiɪ bi gwáaɪn
tə aɪv dhɛ jəqʌn kɪsʌnd ɛ
səndi, ɛn graʌni ɛn graʌndshɜr bi
kəʌn tɛ dɪnɜr ɛθ wiɪ. əʔi miinz
tɛ bɛg ɛ bɒtʌl ɛ səʔidɜr ɛ miɛstɜr,
ɛn aɪv ɛ bɪt ɛ bəʔkɜ fɜr dhɛ aald
tʃəp, ɛz əʔi shɛd ləʔik tɛ meek ɛm
dʒəli ɛn kəmfɜrtɛbʌl.

and if her fowls sell well, she means
bringing a bit of beef, as we be going
to have the young)one christened on
Sunday, and granny and grandsire be
coming to dinner with us. I mean
to beg a bottle of cyder of master,
and have a bit of tobacco for the old
chap, as I should like to make them
jolly and comfortable.

Note, par. 2. (*frām*) is much used for early and ripe in He. Note, par. 3. (*nɪsgəl*, called (*nizgəl*) in Miss Jackson's glossary, is the youngest of a brood of fowls or litter of pigs. Mr. Woodhouse thinks it comes from *nest gosling* (*nist gəl*) in He.

w.He. and e.Br. Mr. Stead (p. 142), who lived for 6 or 7 years at Christ's College, Brecon, has kindly furnished me vv. with some of the principal peculiarities of the pronunciation of the e.Br. and w.He., which chiefly affect the following classes of words.

1. (*ɛʊ*) verging on (*ɛʊ*, *ɛʊ*), but with both the vowels extremely short and difficult to catch, evidently the fracture which appears as *ɛʊ* *ɛʊ*, *ɛʊ* *ɛʊ* in D 4, but peculiar from the great shortness of the first element: found in A- bake take make sake cake tale lame name tame same shame mane late bathe, A'- lane, Æ- dray hail nail snail tail again slain brain, where in He. generally *aaɪ*, *ai*, is heard, and in blaze, Æ: egg day, he lay, may dale, Æ': clay, EG- sail rain play, EG: to lay say way, where the S. practice wavers between (*ee*, *ai*). E': high nigh, EA- gape, EA: gate, EA'- eye, EA': slay great, EI- they nay, EI- their; English A. trade drain sale frame mate wave, Ë. scream cheat: French A.. face place lace mason fade age rage gain train danger change stranger dance case brace chase paste taste, E.. taint. All of these words (except *dance* have (*ee*, *ee'*) or (*ee*) in received speech, shewing the extremely modern form of the usage.

2. (*u*), (*u*), (*u*), (*u*), the extreme shortness of the first element rendering appreciation very difficult: the first element sometimes sounded as (*u*) and sometimes as (*u*), but (*u*) seemed to be the nearest: found in the words A: comb, A'- go no toe so toad more clothes clothe road rode loaf whole bone stone those ghost boat goat, Æ: most, O: coal; O'- nose; English O. load; French O.. coach rogue coat. All of these words have (*oo*, *oo'*) in received speech: another mark of modern development, though the fracture itself represents the S. (*úv*, *úv*) common in D 4.

3. (*oʔi*, *əʔi*) it seemed to me that (*oʔi*) was the nearest sound as in the Forest of Dean (p. 60), and it seemed to have been developed from Welsh *gi*—found in the words EO'- a fly, EO': light fight, EY- to die, I- ivy Friday stile nine, I: I, to lie down, night right sight child wild blind, the wind bind find grind to wind, I'- by sigh drive time iron arise write, I': like wide five life knife wife mile while mine wine ice wise, Y: to buy, a kind, mind, Y- sky why hire, Y': fire lice mice: French I.. and Y.. nice fine dine violet advice, U.. quiet. Here every word, except the wind, and even that practically, has (*aʔi*) in rs., another proof of a very modern form, even the existent He. and Sh. (*ivi*) ivy not being used.

4. (*oʔu*, *əʔu*) evidently the same first element as in the last case, similar to that in D 4, Forest of Dean, and, as in the last case, probably derived from Welsh *y* in *yw*; found in the words U: pound sound (=healthy) found, U'- cow now our thousand, U': brown down town shower house louse mouse out proud mouth south; English O. bounce: French EU.. flower, OU.. allow doubt, that is, precisely those words which have (*aʔu*) in rs.

Although, then, these fractures are highly dialectal in character,

they are merely the representatives of the received (*ee, oo, a'i, a'u*), and hence shew that the pronunciation is merely book-English with a slight dialectal tendency. In Br. the people speak English with each other, especially towards the east, and as the He. border is reached the English is more and more dialectal. Going farther w. the English is more and more bookish, clearly a foreign language. From Carmarthen Mr. Spurrell has sent me very interesting specimens of this English, which is of an old-fashioned type, and probably sounds very pleasant when spoken with a Welsh lilt, but is certainly not an English dialect, and hence has no place here.

Rd. From Rd. I have no specimens, but the Rev. Henry de Winton, vicar of Boughrood (19 sw.Presteign), says, "The English spoken being an acquired language is more free from provincialisms and purer than that of the neighbouring English counties." It is therefore a foreigner's English, and embraces nearly the whole county.

Mo., though long a part of England by law, is essentially Welsh in feeling. By Chepstow, on the borders of Gl., the pronunciation, to judge from the wl. sent me by Dr. J. Yeats, approaches very near to that of adjoining Gl., D 4. The use of auxiliary *do* and *did* is the rule, as it seems to be among Welsh speakers. The main characteristic is the intonation, which, as described by Dr. Yeats's correspondent, is strongly Welsh in character. The same was very marked in the es. which, at the request of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Lady Llanover, of Llanover (12 w.-by-s.Monmouth), wrote for and dictated to me, representing the Welsh English of Mo. and Gm.

Lady Llanover spoke with much emphasis and apparently exaggerated distinctness in order to assist me. I noticed that the utterance was rapid and jerked, with frequently a compound pitch accent; that is, in *léik·li* for the first syllable the voice fell in a glide, and then rose suddenly on the second syllable, as in Norwegian. The pure *i* was occasionally used finally as in this word, but when dwelled on the long final (*ii*) often fell into (*j, jh*) as (*siijh*) see. The *ee* was medial, without any vanish, but (*e*) became occasionally (*ɛ*). The *a* was usually (*a'*), but at times reached (*æ*). The *h* and *wh* were distinct. The *r* before a vowel was trilled, but otherwise fell into (*ɐ*), which may have been an English habit on Lady Ll.'s part, as she also used (*ɔ, oo*), whereas in Welsh (*o, oo*) are employed. She used (*s*) not (*z*) in *bisnɛs*, but kept *z* in *bizi*. She used (*w*) in (*wud*), but said (*umɛn*). Generally her pronunciation was simply a foreigner's English and not a dialect. A few *ſ*. sounds occurred as *tee, máid* tea, maid, and (*ka'ɛn-el*) corner. On the other hand a Welsh word *heol* (*hee'ol*), a road, occurred, as also a nondescript word written *cliffer*, and pronounced to me as (*klɪ·bɛ*) or (*klɪ·pɛ*) meaning 'noise, row,' for which she said *pɛ'takh*, another unknown word, was often used. According to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte he was informed by Mr. Meredith that other *S.* constructions and pronunciations were used, such as *him, us* for *he, we, un* for *one, be* for *is*, and the pronunciations (*dhai, dai, saai, wai*) they, day, say, way, in place of Lady Ll.'s (*dhee, dee, see, wee*). The use of the periphrastic forms, as 'did tell' for 'told,' was regular. All these were probably the 'vulgarisms' which Lady Ll. purposely omitted.

The whole of Mo., like e.Br. and all Rd., belongs, therefore, to a predominating Welsh form of English, with very little of true dialectal English left in it, and in this respect they are totally unlike D 2, 3, which are merely worn-out English forms without any Welsh influence.

NORTH HEREFORDSHIRE cwl.

B words obtained by TH. from the Burgiss family, and B† words from lists furnished by Mr. G. Burgiss, of Lower Bache Farm (3 ene. Leominster).

D words from Mr. R. Woodhouse, of Docklow (5 ese. Leominster).

H words from Hereford, collected by TH.

L words from Leominster, collected by TH.

Lu words from Ludlow, collected by TH.

Several of these letters before the same word show that it was found in all the places. In such groups medial are not distinguished from short vowels.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B bœk. 4 DL tœk. 18 B kîek. 21 B nœm, L nœm. A: 43 B œnd. — B gœnder [gander]. 54 D wa'nt. 56 DL wesh. A: or O: 58 Lu thrœm. 60 B loq, flœq. 64 D rœq, BLu roq. 65 D sœq. 66 D thœq. A'- 67 B gwâin, B gûe. 82 D wœnst. 86 B œets, † wœts. 92 BLu nœu. 95 B thrœu. A': 104 B rood. 110 B nœ'in, kœne, mœne, unœ, shœne, dœne, [but] bjœnt [can't, mustn't, won't, shan't, don't, be not]. 114 D pœal [pole]. 115 B wœm, L wa'm. 117 Lu wœn.

Æ- 138 B fœdher. — B siit [seat]. 152 BLu wœter, D wœter. Æ: 154 B bak. — D œder [adder]. 161 B dœ'i, H dœ, LLu dâi. 164 H mâi. — B œp'l. Æ'- 183 B tiit. 190 B kœ'i. 192 D miin. 193 Lu kliin. 200 B wit, B† wiet. Æ': — D sœd [seed]. 216 B† dœl, B diœl, Lu dœl. 218 DLu ship. 222 B† jœer. 223 B dhœer, H dhœr, L dhœ'er, Lu dhœr. 224 B wœer.

E- 233 B spiik. 241 Lu râin. 251 B miit. E: — B aœn'st, BD œnœnt [anent, opposite to]. 262 B wâi, L wâ'i, L wœ'i. 263 D œwâi. 265 B strât, DH strœ't. — BLLu fiid [field]. E'- 300 D kœp, H kiip. E': 312 Lu iœr. 314 B iœrd. 315 B fit.

EA- 320 B kœr. EA: 323 B† fœ'ut. 326 B œuld, D œald. 332 L tœ'uld [tœ'uld]. 333 BD kœav. 338 Lu kœal. 346 BD giœt. EA'- 347 B jœ'd. EA': 350 B djœd, Lu dœ'd. 352 B rœd. 354 D skœf. 361 B† D biœn. — B† jœp [heap]. 366 L grœt, Lu griit. — B† djœa [dew]. EI- 373 D dhâi. EO- 386 jœ'u. EO: 393 D biœ'nd. 394 D jœnder. 402 B lœrn. 405 B† jœrth. EO': 431 L biœr. 436 B truœ.

I- 440 D wœk. 442 B iœi. 446 H nœ'in. I: 452 LLu âi, Lu œ'i. 458 D nœ'it. 459 BH rœ'it. 466 B tœ'ild. — D fiœlas [thill or shaft horse]. 469 B† ut, wut [wilt]. — Lu wœnde [window]. 477 B fœ'ind. 482 B† jœnt tœnt bjœnt [is not, Mr. G. B said these were the most difficult words to utter]. I'- 492 B sœ'id. I': — B dœ'itj [dyke]. 500 B lœ'ik. 506 BLu umœn. — D œâi, L âi [hay].

O: — D trœa [trough]. 541 BD want. D œnt. — B† D kœ'ut [colt]. 550 Lu wœrd. — D thœrn [thorn]. — D œs [horse]. O'- 558 B luk, Lu [between (luk) and (lœk)]. O': — B† brœk [brook]. — B† D œk [hook]. 579 B œnœf. 587 B dœ'n. 595 B fœt. — tœth [pl. (tœth) tooth, teeth].

U- — B wœd [wood], BLu œd. 603 Lu kœm. 606 B dœer. U: 612 DH sœm. 616 L grœ'nd [or between that and [grœ'nd]]. 632 DLu œp. 634 BD thrœ'u. U'- 643 DLu nœ'u, H nœ'u. U': 658 BDHLu dœ'un. 663 L œ'us, [pl.] œ'uz'n. 665 H mœ'us. 667 D œ'ut. 671 L mœ'uth. Y: 691 B mœ'ind. 702 D œth. Y': — flœs [fleece].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B mœet. E. 749 B lift. 751 D piœrt. O. — D pœ'uœr [to pour]. 791 D bwœâi. U. — B† œ'œdiœ [huge]. 804 B drœqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B kœier [clear]. — D pliiz [please]. — B† miœstœr [master]. 850 B dœns. — B plœet [plate]. 866 B pœer. E.. — B thatjiz, D fœ'tjiz [vetches]. — B priitj [preach]. 890 B bjœst. 895 D risœet. O.. — D biœ [beet]. — dœ'œin [join]. 920 D pœ'œnt. 926 D spœ'œil. — Lu œqk'l [uncle]. 930 B† lœqk. 941 D fœl. — H push [push].

D 14 = NW. = North Western.

Boundaries. The s. b. is the same as the n. b. of D 13, p. 175, and the other b. are the ne. and nw. parts of those of the W. div.

Area. The greater part of Sh. and a small part of Mg.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in so., ° in io.

Sh. † Baschurch, † Bridgnorth, || Church Pulverbach, † Clee Hills, † Corve Dale, † Craven Arms, || Ford, † Hadnall, ° Llanymynech, † Longville, † Much Wenlock, † Oswestry, † Shrewsbury, ° Whittington.

Mg. ° Berriew, ° Buttington, ° Fordon, ° Guilsfield, ° Kerry, ° Llandrinio, ° Montgomery, ° Snead, ° Welshpool.

Character. Observe that Sh. is much cut up by different b. D 14 contains m.Sh. The n. belongs to two separate districts, the nw. to D 28, and the ne. to D 29, and these are bounded on the s. and w. by the n. *sum* line 1. On the w. there is the CB, with a small part of Mg., which speaks English, but more book-English than Sh., because it has been much more recently overcome. On the e., beyond the n. *sum* line 1, lies D 29, from which in Sh. the information obtained is insufficient. On the s., in Bishop's Castle, Clun Forest, Ludlow, and Cleobury Mortimer, the dialect assumes the He. character, the verbal pl. in *en* being almost or quite lost, but the line of demarcation cannot be exactly traced. In this restricted area Miss Jackson, assisted phonetically by TH., has produced her admirable Glossary, about the best that we possess of any dialect. To this work, to personal communication and much correspondence with her, to TH.'s personal work with her, and travels over much of the region, I am mainly indebted for the view here taken, which, however, had not been formed or laid down by them, but has been merely deduced from their collections. In the introduction to the Glossary, pp. xxiii to xlii, is TH.'s minute account of the pronunciation drawn up in Glossic with the greatest care, for both Vowels and Consonants, under the personal supervision of Miss Jackson, and from her indications. It is perhaps the most searching investigation of the sounds of a dialect that has been made. But as it is arranged in reference to the ordinary spelling, and as the whole of the county was considered, much work was required to reduce it to a shape that could here be used. Miss Jackson divided the county into 14 districts and 4 sub-districts for the purpose of examination, and not with an intention of distinguishing 14 phases of dialect. On the next page is their distribution among the four districts here used, D 13, 14, 28, 29. I give the names of the principal places only in each district, to which she constantly refers, to shew that the word so pronounced was heard in that district, without implying that it exists *only* there. The letters n, s, e, w, refer to the extreme places in those districts. Would that other glossarists had hit upon such an admirable arrangement! When Miss Jackson knows the word and its pron. to be generally distributed, she puts "common" after it, with a "Qy." prefixed, if she merely suspects it to be so.

D 13. Bishop's Castle and Clun, Ludlow, placed in D 13 with some hesitation.

D 14. Shrewsbury, Pulverbach (:pə'udurbætɪ, :pə'udherbætɪ or (-bɪtɪ [Miss Jackson's native place], Worthen, Craven Arms, Church Stretton (subdistrict), Corve Dale and Clee Hills, Bridgnorth s. and w. (on the line of separation of D 14 and D 29, the n. and e. belong to D 29), Much Wenlock, Oswestry s.

D 28. Wem n. and w., Whitechurch (subdistrict), Ellesmere, Oswestry n. and e.

D 29. Wellington, Colliery regions, Newport n. and w., Wem s. and e., Bridgnorth n. and e., Newport s. (Shiffnal). In this place only D 14 will be attended to, other places are noticed in the proper order.

The whole of D 14 presents a remarkable mixture of S. and M. The S. forms are much used. U=(ə) is carried considerably further than in received speech, as in (fəl, fəler, pənd, bənd, bələk), full, a fuller, a pound, was bound, a bullock. Also more frequent O'=(ə), as (brək, stəd, rəf, təth, fət, sət), brook, stood, roof, tooth, foot, soot, but of course neither forms are carried out consistently.

S forms are (ái) in (dái, láí, káin, ráin, plái) day lay has lain, rain, to play, the use of 'thee bist' (dhii bist) for 'thou art,' and *be* in the pl. But here comes in the strongly M. forms of I am, he is, we you they bin, where bin (bín) represents *be* with the verbal plural in *-en*. This v. pl. in *-en* is used throughout D 14 with all verbs, as (wi wən) we weren, (we shən) we shall-en, (wi dən) we do-en, (wiin) we have-n, (wi həd'n) we hadden. The S. forms (joo,m wiin) you am, we am, may also be heard, as well as 'er (ər) for 'she.' But the S. (r) is quite absent, the regular trilled Welsh *r* (r) prevailing over the whole district, even when final or before consonants, and the trill in that case is always more distinct than in the adjacent M. regions. This peculiar Welsh (r) with the sharp, crisp, highpitched, rising Welsh intonation which prevails, marks the region still as having been carved out of the Celtic settlements with a joint and alternate action of the S. [Wessex] and the M. [Mercian] folk. According to Green's Maps in his *Making of England*, while He. was under the Mercian rule of Penda in 634, Sh. remained Welsh till included under the Mercian supremacy of Offa in 792, and in 828 Egbert the West Saxon conquered Mercia. It must have been in this early period that the M. peculiarities were introduced with M. English, but they never eradicated the Welsh (r). The West Saxon (r) did not reach beyond He., and is now not very strong or marked even there. TH. believes his Midland *r*, used in Db., Ch. and St., to be "the common English *r*" (on which see Introduction to the M. Div.), then he hears the Welsh *r* "with stronger vibration and retracted" in n.Sh., "verging in m. and s.Sh. with still stronger vibration to reverted *r*," which it reaches at Bewdley. The (ə) for U, O', is of course modern, but the fine (a¹), "still very general but gradually passing away," and becoming quite (æ) in Miss Jackson's speech, may have been either Welsh or Ws.

TH. in his elaborate investigation has often distinguished (a, a¹) and (e, e), and also (ə, ɛ), and sometimes in accented syllables (y, i), where I write (i₁, i), writing (i) always in unaccented syllables. He also gives three sounds of i, (áhi), which I now write (á¹i) by preference, in m.Sh., (ái) in s.Sh., and (ái) in ne. and e.Sh. In my notes of Miss Jackson's pronunciation I used (ái), though I remarked that it varied with (æ'i, ɛ'i), and I now prefer to use the unanalysed form a¹i). TH., who has been over much of the ground and heard native speakers, considers (áhi=á¹i) the true fine Sh. i, but as he heard U' as (ə'u) in (kə'u, hə'us) cow, house, it would seem that (ə'i) would be the correct older form of I', whence the other forms easily flow. In fact, the difference between (á¹i, ə'i) is often difficult to seize. These forms (ə'i, ə'u) would then be strictly S.

The formation of the negatives (amne, bine, wəne, a¹ne am-not, be-en-not, weren-not, haveen-not, is remarkable, but the real forms have a (d) final, the (ne) being a contraction for (ned when final or before consonants, as shewn by the reappearance of the (d) before vowels, as (æmned a¹i? wəned-ɛ? uned-ɛ bi? am not I? were-n not-they? will-not-they be? and the fact that 'not, what,' when emphatic, are called (nəd, wəd).

The consonants otherwise as a rule present nothing peculiar except in using (*dj* for *d* in deal dead death darn dew *djɛl djɛd djɛθ dʒaɪn dʒə'u*) which must have arisen from inserted (*j*), as in (*jɛd jɛp jaɪr jə'u*) head heap hair howl, with a similar change in (*tjɛm tjʊn tjʊnzdi*) team tune Tuesday, and (*ʃhuit ʃhuɪt kɛnʃhu:m*) suit suet consume, with the obsolete forms (*ʃhɔm ʃhɛm*) for seam. But (*sh*) presents a difficulty before (*r*) as (*sri:k srəb*) shrink shrub, while the county-town Shrewsbury is (*ʃhroozbri*) only “in classical and educated,” (*ʃ:roozbri*) “in semi-refined,” but (*ʃ:soozbri*) in the common pronunciation of “country-folk,” for which (*ʃ:uuzbri*) is a “vulgarism.”

Names of places always fare ill. Here are a few given by Miss Jackson, pp. 515-519, the usual spelling being added in italics (*ʃe:ber't'n Albrighton*, *ʃkɔ:rdɛk Caradoc*, *ʃkændər Condober*, *ʃdi:dlɪk Diddlowick*, *ʃɔ:bn Eardington*, *ʃa:rkɛl Erceall*, *ʃe:meu Haughmond*, *ʃmɛmfɜ:t Montford*, *ʃwɔ:k'njɛts Oaken-gates*, *ʃækt Offorey*, *ʃrɔ:ʃben ʃrɔ:ʃpen Osbaston*, *ʃ:zɛstri ʃ:djɛstri Oswestry*, *ʃhri:d'n Shrawcardine*, *ʃstɔ:dhɜ:t'n Stottesden*, *ʊ:sɛs'n Woolstaston*, *ʃviu: ʃɛdʒ Yew Edge*).

Illustrations. I select two of the examples written analytically by Mr. Hallam in Miss Jackson's Glossary, and one which I wrote from her dictation myself in 1873. To these I have added a cwl. containing almost all the words in D 14 cited in Mr. Hallam's treatise on Shropshire pronunciation in Miss Jackson's Glossary, all made under her own superintendence, and also most from a long list of words which she read to me on 11 July, 1873, and of which she subsequently revised the Glossic writing. These will, I think, sufficiently illustrate the character of this very interesting dialect. Illustrations in Miss Jackson's orthography abound in her Glossary, which also contains the pronunciation of each single word in Glossic.

Of the strictly Welsh parts of D 14, comprehending a slip of Mg., I am not able to give any specimen, but it may be regarded as book English with Sh. tendencies and a Welsh intonation, just as in Mo. we have book English with Welsh intonation and He. or Gl. tendencies.

EXAMPLES, PULVERBACH (7 sw.Shrewsbury).

- I. Betty Andrews relates how her little boy fell into a brook, 1873. The words are run all together, no stops, no pause, “but,” says Miss Jackson, “no written characters of any kind—no ‘want of stops’—can convey an idea of the story as poured forth by Betty's voluble tongue—it took away one's breath to listen to it.” From Mr. Hallam's ‘analytical’ Glossic in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook, I. xcv.

á'i ɪɜrd ɐ skrá'ɪk mɛm ɛn á'i
rɔn ɛn dhɪər á'i sɪd :fra'ɪk ɛd
pekt i dhe brɔk ɛn dɔ'ukt ɔndər
ɛn wɛz drɔ'undɪn ɛn á'i dʒɔmpt
a'ftər ɪm ɛn gɔt ɔ'ut ɔ'n ɪm ɛn
lɔgd ɪm ɔn tɛ dhe bɔ'ɪk ʌl slɛdʒ
ɛn á'i gɔt ɪm wɔm ɛfɔər ɔ'ɜər :sɔ'm
kɔmɛn ɪn—ɐ gʊd dʒɔb ɪt wɔz fɜr
:sɔ'm ɛz ɪi wɔnɐ dhɪər ɛn ɛz :fra'ɪk
wɔnɐ drɔ'undɪd fɜr ɪf i ʌɪd bɪn,
á'i ʃhɛd ɐ tɔər ɔ'ɜər :sɔ'm ʌl tɛ

I heard a shriek, ma'am, and I
ran, and there I saw Frank had
pitched in the brook and ducked under,
and was drowning, and I jump't
after him and got hold of him, and
lugg'd him on to the bank all sludge,
and I got him home afore our Sam
came in—a good job it was for
Sam as he wasn't there, and as Frank
wasn't drowned. For if he had been,
I should have torn our Sam all to

winder ra'gz, en dhen i)ð v bín
 dʒe'd en :fra'qk drə'undid, en á'i
 shud v bín a'qd. á'i tə'ud :sa'm
 wen i tuk dhe ə'us ez á'i didne
 lá'ik it. 'bles dhe wensh,' i sed,
 'wə)ð)i want?—dhierz v tá'idi
 ə'us en v gùd gàrd'n en v rən
 fer dhe pig.' 'á'i,' á'i sed, 'en v
 gùd brək fer dhe tʃildern tɛ pek
 in.' sò ð :fra'qk a'd bín drə'undid
 á'i shud v bín dhe dʒe'th v ə'uer
 :sa'm. á'i wɛz 'dha't frít'nd mɛm
 dhet á'i didne speak fer v nə'uer
 a'fter á'i gət wɛm en :sa'm sed ez
 i a'dne sɪd mi kwə'tiət sò ləq
 sens wi wən ma'rid en dha't wɛz
 :á'i'ti:n iər.

window-rags, and then he)ð have been
 dead and Frank drowned, and I
 should have been hanged. I told Sam
 when he took the house as I did not
 like it. 'Bless the wench,' he said,
 'what(do)ye want?—there's a tidy
 house, and a good garden and a run
 for the pig.' 'Aye,' I said, 'and a
 good brook for the children to pitch
 in.' So if Frank had been drowned,
 I should have been the death of our
 Sam. I was that [so much] frightened,
 ma'am, I did not speak for an hour
 after I got home, and Sam said as [that]
 he had not seen me quiet so long,
 since we were [were-en] married, and
 that was eighteen year.

II. Betty Andrews, talking fast as usual in a railway train, was thus addressed
 by a passenger and made the following reply.

'wi misis, á'i shud thi'qk ez
 jò mən v a'd jóer tɔqg á'ild
 dhis marn'n efóer jò stàrtid.'

'nò indiid sɜr,' sed Beti, 'á'i
 a'ne, fer ð it a'd v bín á'ild, it
 ud never v stɔpt. nò 'dá'indʒər!'

'Why, missis, I should think as
 you)must have had your tongue oiled
 this morning afore you started.'

'No indeed, sir,' said Betty, 'I
 haven't; for if it had have been oiled,
 it would never have stopped. No
 danger!'

III. 'Adam's Apple,' or Larynx, here called 'Eve's Core.' See Eve's Scork in the
 Glossary. This example was pal. by A.J.E. from Miss Jackson's dictation.

'dædi, wə)z dhis læmp i jɑr
 nek?'

'wi, it)s :iivz skaark, tʃæ'ild,
 áud mæðhɜ :iiv iit dhe æp'l ɜrsɛl,
 bət ɜr gɪd dhe skaark tɛ feedhɜr
 :æðɛm, æn it stæk in iz θrúet,
 æn aal mɛn)z æd'n dhis læmp
 ɛvɜr sɛns.'

'Daddy, what)s this lump in your
 neck?'

'Why, it)s Eve's core, child.
 Old mother Eve ate the apple herself,
 but she gave the core to father
 Adam, and it stuck in his throat,
 and all men)have had this lump
 ever since.'

MID SHROPSHIRE cwl.

Unmarked, rearranged from Mr. T. Hallam's Glossic in Miss Jackson's Glossary,
 Vowels, pp. xxiii to xxxv.

Marked *, rearranged from a list of words dictated to A.J.E. by Miss Jackson,
 11 July, 1873, the pronunciation having been subsequently revised by her.
 In these words the unanalysed form (a'i) of the diphthong has been used
 throughout, see p. 182, l. 14 from bottom.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bek. 4 ta'k. 5 ma'k. — *kreed'l [cradle]. 13 na'. 19 tel. 21
 nem. 25 *mæn. 34 *les. 37 klAA, kleez [claws]. A: 43 *ənd. 44 *lænd.
 45 unt, *ant. — kən [can]. 51 *mən. 54 want. 55 es. 56 wesh [common],

wash [Clee Hills]. — kæt [cat]. A: or O: 60 ləq. 62 strəq. 63 *thraq. 64 rəq, rəq. 65 səq. 66 *thəq [Mr. Hallam finds the (q) very weak in this group].

A'- 67 *gúb, gwørn [gone], gwi'in [going]. — *slo, [pl.] *slòn [sloe, sloes]. 69 nò, *nAA. 70 *toov. 79 *u [(uuz'n) whose]. 73 sò, *súv. 74 *tuu. 76 túvd. 82 wənst. 84 máuer, *móov. 86 úets, wəts. 91 moo. 92 *noo. 93 *snoo. 95 *throo. A': 101 wək. 102 *əks, *əst [both for present and past]. 104 rəd *rúvd. 105 *rid. 106 *braad. 107 lof. — *drov [drove], droovier [drover]. 108 *doo. 109 *loo. 110 nət, nəd. 111 *Aat. 115 wəem wəm *woom. 117 *wən. 118 bwən, *būwən. 122 *nən. 124 stwæn [common], ? stwæn stən [a weight]. — rəp [a rope]. — wə'r [hoar, white]. 134 wəth, *úuth. 135 *klooth.

Æ- — *ecti [an ache]. 138 fædhur [com.], fādher [Clee Hills]. — ladher [ladder]. 139 drá'i [dray, a squirrel's nest]. 148 faar. — *staarz [stairs, in Sh. people go up the *stars* to see the *stairs*, see No. 404]. — *ant [am not]. 149 *bleez. 150 *leest. — lezə [leasow, pasture]. — set [a seat]. — ræk'l [rattle]. 152 wæter.

Æ: 154 bæk. 155 thetj. — æd [had]. — gjædhur [gather]. 160 *Eg. 161 dá'i, *da'i [common], dái [Craven Arms]. 163 la'i. 165 sed. 169 *wən. — *wiq [wing]. 170 *ærest. 171 *baarli. 172 *græs. 173 wəz, wəwə. — *glæs [glass]. — *heez'l [hazle]. — *lēs [less]. — *kaart [cart]. — æp'l [apple, common], əp'l [at Craven Arms]. 177 dhæt. 178 næt. 179 wəd.

Æ'- 184 *leed. 185 *riid, *red [past tense]. — spread [spread], *spred [past]. 187 *leev. 189 *wéei. 190 kee. 192 *meen. 200 wiet [common], weet [occ.]. 201 *eedh'n. — jiet [to heat], æt [heated]. Æ': — mede [meadow]. — *spread [to spread]. — *iivnin [evening]. 213 a'idher. 214 na'idher. 216 djēl. — *meel [repast]. 218 ship. 222 jaar. 223 dhier. 224 wier. 227 *wēt. — jīeth [heath]. 229 brēth.

E- 232 *breek. 233 *speak. 234 *need, *nad [kneaded]. — *treed [tread]. — *wedher [weather]. 235 *weev. 236 feevər. — evi [heavy]. 240 lāin [Shrewsbury], lāin [Craven Arms]. 241 rāin [Shrewsbury], rāin [Craven Arms]. 245 *meel. 247 *ween. — *baar [to bear]. — *taar [to tear], *tīer [a tear, rent]. 248 maar. — *berī [berry]. — *iit [to eat], jēt [ate]. — *iādhur [a feather]. 254 ledher. 255 *wedher. — *web [web]. — *eev [heave]. — fæti [fetch]. — *ræti [wretch].

E: 259 *wadj. 261 *sa'i. — *bed [bed]. — wəd [to wed]. 266 *wiil. — fiild [field]. 267 ild. — sildəm [seldom]. — *twelv [twelve]. 270, ii. bæli. — sel [to sell]. 276 theqk. 278 wensh, *wentj. — send [to send]. — *pin [a pen]. 284 thrōsh. — *nist, *niist [nest], niiz'n [nests].

Æ'- 290 i. 292 mi. 293 wi. 296 bi,lif [belief]. 301 *ier. E': *a'i. 306 ait. — *bra'ier [briar]. — bles [bless].

EA- — *AAk [hawk]. — *el [ale], jēl, jēl. — *shoo [to shew].

EA: 322 laf, *læf. 324 á'ittiin [eighteen], *éit. 326 ə'ud. 327 *bə'ud. 328 kóovd, kə'ud. 329 fə'ud, fə'ud. 330 ə'ut. 331 sə'ud. 332 *tə'ud. 333 *kaaf. 335 a'l. 336 fa'l. 337 *WAAL. 338 ka'l. — *MAAT [malt]. — *SAAT [salt]. — shaar [share]. — *bjaard [bard]. 340 *jærd [court], jaard mizer [measure]. 342 *aarm. — *aarm' [harm]. 343 wārm. — *shaarp [sharp]. — *jaarn [fern]. — *JAARN [yarn]. 345 *daar.

EA'- 347 *Jed. 348 *a'i, *a'in [eyes]. — *da'i [to dye]. — ier [ear]. — bet [beat]. 349 fə'u, *fū. EA': 350 djē'd. 351 led. 352 red. 355 *dij. 356 lief, lei [Shrewsbury]. 359 nāber. — bāiem [beam]. — kream [cream]. 360 tjem. 361 bēn [Pulverbach], būen [com.]. 363 tjem. — *JEP, iEP [heap]. — iur [year]. — tjoz [chase]. 366 gret. 368 djēth. — dja'u [dew], jia'u [obsolete]. 371 stra', strechiz [strawberries, obsolete].

EI- 372 æi, *ai. 373 dheē. 376 bet. EI: 378 wək, *week. 382 *dheer. EO- — *wik [a wick]. 386 jə'u. 387 *niū.

EO: 389 *Jook. — *em [unemph. 'em, hem=them]. 394 janter. 395 *Jaq. — *daark [dark]. — *kaarv [carve]. 398 *staarv. — *faarm [farm]. 402 laarn. 403 *feer. 404 *steer. — *shart [short]. 406 *jaarth. EO'- 409 *bii. — *nii [knee]. — *trii, *triin [wooden]. — *krə'ud [to crowd]. 416 *dier. 418 bruu. EO': 422 *sik. — thiif [thief]. 423 *tha'i. 424

*raf. 426 *fa'it. — wil [wheel]. 427 bin [pl.]. 428 sin [seen], *sii. 430 *frend. 433 *brest [breast]. 435 **soo*. 436 truun.

I- 440 wi:k. 441 siv. 442 i₁v₁. — senæ [sinew]. — i₁s [generally], jes [Newport], jaas, áis [Church Stretton, yes]. — *pee:z [pease]. 449 get. 450 tuuzdi tpuuzdi. 451 **soo*. I: — thærd [third]. 457 *ma'it. 458 *na'it. 460 wáit, *wéit. 463 tel. 469 ul [will]. 473 *bla'ind. — wínde, *wínder [(r) distinctly trilled]. 476 *ba'ind. 478 *gra'ind. — *tjærn [a churn]. — *ræn [run]. — *ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 *this'l *fis'l. 488 *it. — *dært [dirt]. — *wit [wit]. — sens [since]. I'- 491 *sa'ik. — *gi *gid *gid'n [give, gave, given]. — *pa'ip [pipe]. 498 *ra'it. I': — *da'itj [a dyke]. 500 lá'ik. 502 *fa'iv. 503 *la'if. 505 *wa'if. 506 umen, *amen. 508 *ma'il. 511 *wa'ind [with (d) added].

O- 520 bæ'u. 523 *oop. — *smædher. 524 *wærlð. — *thrúet [throat]. O: — træf [trough], tráf [occ.], troo [for kneading]. 527 bat. 528 that. 531 da'ter. 532 *kool. 533 *dæl. 536 guuld [obsolete], *gæ'ud. 538 ud. 539 bool, bæ'ul [for bowling, a hoop, to trundle]. — *kæ'ut [a colt]. 544 *dhen. 546 fæ. 547 búerd, bwa'rd. 549 urd. 550 wærd. — thærn [thorn]. — marnin [morning]. — *broodh [broth].

O'- 555 shuu. 556 *tu. — *uu [to woo]. 562 mun, *muun. 564 *sæn. — *groo [to grow]. 566 ædher. 568 *brædher. O': 569 *buk. — bræk [brook]. — shøk [shook]. 570 tuk, *tuk. 571 gid *gud. 573 *flæd. 575 *stæd. — raf [roof]. 577 *bæ'u. 578 *plæ'u, *plaa [to plough]. 580 tæf, *tæf. 584 *stuul. 589 spun. 590 flar. — boozem [bosom]. — tæth. 595 fæt. 597 sæt.

U- — ud [wood]. 600 la'v *læv. 602 *sæ'u. — *hæl [hull or shell]. 603 *kæm. — *pæn [to pound, thrash]. 605 *sæn. 606 dær, *door. U: — shuudher [shoulder] shuuder [Church Stretton], shooder, shæ'uder [Shrewsbury], shæ'uder [occ.]. 609 fæl. 610 ul. — puul [pull]. — *fæler [a fuller]. 612 *sæm. — æn- [un-]. 615 pænd. 617 *sæ'und. — *bænd [was bound]. 619 fænd. 620 grænd. 621 *wond. 625 tæq. — tærf [turf]. — fæ. [a fir]. 634 thræ'u, *thruu. — dhæs.

U'- 640 kæ'u. 643 næ'u. — *sæk [to suck]. — *mæ'u [a mow]. 646 *bæ'u. 648 æ'uer. 650 *æbæ'ut. 652 *kud. 653 bæt. U': 656 rum, *rum. — *sæ'uer [sour]. 663 æ'us, *æ'uz'n [houses]. 665 mæ'us. 667 æ'ut. 668 præ'ud.

Y- 673 *mætj. 677 *dra'i. 679 tjærtj. Y: 686 bá'i. 689 bi'ld. — gi'lti [guilty]. — shili [shelf]. 694 *wartj [work = throb]. 697 berin [a burying]. — frít'nd [frightened]. 701 *fæst. — shæt [shut]. 702 æth. Y- 705 *ska'i. Y': 712 má'is. — *wish [to wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 tá'k. — bæqk [bank]. 733 *skaar. 734 djaarn *daarn. E. — *peet [peat]. — maar [mere, accented; unacc. (mæ)]. 751 *piert. — klíver [clever]. — srood [shrewd]. I. and Y. — *skra'ik [a shriek]. 754 pig. — *wíp [whip]. 758 gerld. — serrep [syrup]. — pek [to pitch or fall]. O. 761 *lóed. 769 *mæ'udiwaarp. 773 dæqkí. — u'sti'd [worsted]. — lóz [to lose]. — dræ'und [to drown]. 791 bwa'i [obs.]. U. — *puðin [pudding, called (pæðin) in Glossary]. — dæk [a duck, bird], dæ'uk [to duck]. — *æ'udre [huge, compare after 791 p. 180]. 796 bluu. — bæl [bull]. — bældj [to bulge]. — tjunn [a tune]. — tæp [a ram, tup]. — *kærl [curl]. 807 *pus. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 feez [gen.]. — *ketj [catch], *ketjt [caught]. 813 *bæk'n. 814 mes'n. 822 má'i. *mee. — *pá'i. pee [pay]. 824 tjíier. — klæ'i'v [clear]. — *aar [air]. 833 paar. — *pleez [please]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. — meester [master, com.]. — feetjer [feature]. 847 dá'indper. 850 da'ns. 851 *ent, neent. — *dænt [daunt]. — raar [rare]. 855 gærit. — skès, skaars [scaree]. 856 *part. — *kaard [card]. — *saas [sauce, Corve Dale]. 862 *seef. 865 *faat. — *stee [to stay].

E.. 867 *tee*. — *kreeter* [creature]. — **réeel* [real]. 869 *veel*. — *seekrit* [secret]. — *kensee't* [conceit]. — *skeem* [scheme]. — **jaarb* [herb]. — **klaark* [clerk]. — **saartj* [search]. — **faar* [a fair]. — **kensaarn* [concern]. — *saarpint* [serpent]. 888 *saartin*. — **saarv* [serve]. — *kempleet* [complete]. — *mizher*, **mizer* [measure]. 890 *bíest*. 891 **feest*. 894 **disceev*, *disceet* [deceit]. 895 **risceev*, *risceet* [receipt]. I.. and Y.. — **krá'li* [cry]. — *sinəb'l* [syllable]. — **ma'izərd* [miser, with added (d)].

O.. — *bi'f* [beef]. — **dræg* [drug]. 916 *á'ín'én*. — *ná'ínt* [anoint]. — *djá'in* [join]. 926 *spá'il*. — *pləm* [plumb]. 928 **ə'uns*. 929 *kə'ukəmer* [Shrewsbury], *kə'ukəmbər* [com.]. 930 *lá'in*. 933 **frənt*. — *kúerd*, *kəəd* [cord]. — *farin* [foreign]. — **i'úest* [forced]. 940 **kóvt*. 942 *bə'tpər*. 943 **tə'tj*. 946 **ma'il*. 951 **kəp'l*. — *suup'l* [supple, to make supple]. 953 **kəz'n*. — **pəsh* [push].

U.. — *tjúb* [tube]. — **wa'it* [to wait]. 965 *á'il*. 966 *frút*. — *pilpít* [pulpit]. — **pə'utis* [poultice]. — *jə'ul* [howl]. — *neetər* [nature]. — *kíúuríyz* [curious]. 970 *djəst*.

III.

EASTERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH DIALECT DISTRICTS.

Boundaries. Begin on the e. coast, where s. b. of Li. falls into the sea about 3 e. Sutton Bridge. Go w. along the Li. b. to Rt.—the peninsula containing Stamford Li. must be practically considered as part of Rutland. Pass by the b. round Rt. to Rockingham, and continue on the b. of Np. to the b. of Wa., and then continue along b. of Np. to opposite Crick Np. (4 se. Rugby, Wa.). Then pass through Np. e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, turning more se. near Pattishall. Then pass s. of Blisworth and e. of Towcester, and continue to the b. of Np. near Hartwell, Np. Then go by the w. b. of Bu. to the Thames. Go down the Thames to the coast and round Es., Sf. and Nf. to the starting-point.

The w. b. of Bu. is, perhaps, not the absolute b. of the District, but it is the best that could be determined.

Area. The whole or greater part of the eleven counties, Bd. Bu. Cb. Es. Ht. Hu. Mi. Nf. Np. Rt. Sf.

Character. A closer resemblance to received speech than in any other div. It is the region from which rec. sp. was taken, and contains the greater part of London. The pron. is, however, not quite uniform, but the differences are so slight that it has been found extremely difficult to obtain satisfactory information, and many years elapsed before materials could be collected for even the approximative account here subjoined, which, drawn up from actual observation by my informants and founded only on existing usages, differs materially from what has been hitherto given. The northern part of this district, as already mentioned, is intersected by the n. *sum* line 1, which passes through the length of Np. and n. of Hu. and Cb., while the s. *sööm* line 2 lies to the s. of all the s. part of Np., the n. part of Hu. and Cb. and the nw. part of Nf., so that a considerable part of the E. div. is in the mixed *sum* *sööm* or *som* region, and a smaller part in Np. and Rt. is in the pure *sööm* region. This materially modifies the pron. in respect of U in those places, as will be seen. But the change, as already observed in Wl. and Gl., seems to be without influence on the remainder of the dialect, and in respect to the rest of the pron. it was found impossible to relegate n. Np. and Rt. to the M. div. In fact, as has been already said (p. 16), the (u, *u*) sound of U was the elder. It is the (ə, *ɛ*) sound which is aggressive, and the mixed regions merely shew the process of change which has gone on independently of the other changes and almost unnoticed, even by dialect speakers themselves.

D 15 = WE. = West Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin where the Chiltern Hills cut the w. b. of Bu., about Radnage (10 ssw. Aylesbury). Go w. across Bu. s. of Prince's Risborough and n. of Chesham to Whelpley Hill (12 se. Aylesbury). Cross the w. horn of Ht. to Great Gaddesden, Ht., and then by the b. of Bu. all round the n. and s. to the starting-point.

Area. The little projection of Ht. into Bu. by Tring and all of Bu., except the extreme s. part, which belongs to D 17, and has no dialect proper.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

Bu. *Mr. Wyatt, *† Aylesbury, † Buckingham, ° Cheddington, † Chackmore, ° Edlesborough, ° Great Kimble, * Hanslope, ° Marsh Gibbon, ° Marsworth, † Stowe, ° Swanbourne, ° Tyringham with Filgrove, *† Wendover, † Winslow.

Ht. ° Berkhamstead, ° Little Gaddesden, ° Long Marston, ° Tring.

Character. The main point which distinguishes Bu. from Ox. or D 15 from D 6, 7, is the entire absence of reverted (r) or retracted (r_o). In the whole E div. the r when not preceding a vowel is purely vocalised. After (aa, AA) it disappears. A native who can read thinks that he "pronounces r" in part short, because it is to him a symbol that the vowels become (aa AA) as in (paat shaat), and if he wrote *pat shot* without the r, he would say (pa't shot) with quite different vowels. To hear (part short) with real short vowels and a truly trilled r would be shocking to him. He may occasionally 'drawl' the words (as local authorities term the change) into (páut shá'et), but that is not usual. After (o, æ) the r is merely a symbol of lengthening: *culled*, *curled*, are really (kòld, kœld), or (kæld, kæld), and the speaker again thinks he 'pronounces r' in the second word because it causes him to differentiate it from the first. After other vowels, or finally, he uses (v), as (iv, kêv, bæv), here, care, butter. But before a vowel the case is different. Then he may trill r slightly, but the general practice seems to be to use the imperfect (r_o), that is, the point of the tongue rises as if to trill it, but it does not effect its purpose, and merely produces a maimed effect. Both (v, r_o) in this connection arise from ('r), of which they are simple degenerations. They are not imperfect trills. But a gentle trill may always be used, and hence I have introduced (r) as a 'permissive trill' in writing received speech. Here I generally abandon it, and write (r) for (r_o) as a matter of convenience before vowels, writing (r_o) or using (v) in other cases. Throughout the whole E. div. this treatment of the r is general, not merely among peasants (where there are any), but among the most educated and refined townsmen. As (r) is the mark of the S. div., this (r_o, v) is the mark of the E. div. When final r has been lost after (aa, AA, æ, v), or degraded to (v), and a word commencing with a vowel follows, the r reappears as (r_o), to avoid the hiatus. This is 'euphonic r,' just as we have 'euphonic v' in Greek, and just as in French a lost final consonant reappears under

similar circumstances, as 'il fai(t) froid, fait-il froid? il a(), a-t-il?' (il fe frūa, fet-il frūa? il)a, at(il?). But peasants, and even educated people, are apt to introduce this 'euphonic r' after final (aa, AA, ʒE, v), even when no r had originally existed, as (dhe laa+r_o v)(dhe land, dhi a'idi:v+r_o ov it, v:tja'ine+r_o orindj), the law of the land, the idea of it, a China orange. This is a truer case of euphonic (r_o) than before, and quite organic, but is much resented by those who have painfully learned not to use (+r_o) under such circumstances.

In giving the pron. noted by TH., who used final (r), but states that he considers it a "weak r" [r], I retain his writing, but do not agree with his appreciation, for so far as I can hear there is no semblance of a trilled (r). See introduction to the M. div.

A- remains (éé), as in most of the S., as (léem, séem), lame, same, and A'-remains (úé), as (túéd), toad, with the usual variants.

ÆG may also be (éé), or be recognised as (EE'i), as (snéul snEE'il), snail.

I' seems to have abandoned the (á'i) and rarely even reaches the (ə'i) form, it is usually (ái, ái), the last of which differs but slightly from (E'i) on the one hand, and (j'i, A'i) on the other. My informants usually select (j'i, A'i), that is, as they write it, *ay*, to express this sound. But my observations on Bu. peasants, as well as TH.'s, are against this change, though it may possibly occur in D 16, where A- degenerates to (éi, E'i, ái), so that a distinction is required.

U. Although this was avowedly (ə, a) at Aylesbury, the following exceptions occurred, which I conceive as (u), because of the local separation from the M. *u*: (lav, kum, bute; ugli, drunq, unde, toq, egge, up, thure: dav, ebav; matj), love, come, butter; ugly, drunk, under, tongue, hunger, up, thorough [but ap thare] also occurred; dove, above [which had U] and matj [which had Y]. At Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) I did not find these. From Buckingham n.-wards, (u) was the rule, or some mixture of (u, ə), or of (o, a), and past the n. sam line 1, as at Watford and Weedon only (u_o).

U' is rather uncertain from want of sufficient instances, but (E'u) seems the rule, although (ə'u, a'u) also occur. This diphthong is specially variable in D 18. Of course (ə'u) is a survival of S.

The consonants are treated generally as in received speech. The initial (z, v) have been replaced by (s, f), the aspirate is very uncertain, and (wh) always becomes (w), as in polite London conversation.

Particulars are furnished in the following word lists, where, as shewn, large portions were heard by me or TH. from natives, and in the two annexed short examples, which indicate at least two if not three varieties of existing pronunciation.

AYLESBURY EXAMPLE.

pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. R. R. Fowler in 1881.

1. A'i bi [A'i ɐr] v'gu'in tɐ sii
im súen, A'i tel)i [tel]jɐ.

2. but, A'i see, fædher [fædher]
vnd mædher v búeth æn em tærb'l
léem wi)dhe ruu'metiz tædee.

3. A'i bi (A'i ɐr) olmoost [olmúu'st
v'múu'st] vfiid dhe wænt bi v'getin
vbe'u'tet olfer) v loqwa'ilst takam.

1. I be [I are] a'going to see
him soon, I tell)ye [you].

2. But, I say, fæther and mother
are both on them terrible lame with
the rheumatism to-day.

3. I be (I are) almost afeared they
won't be a getting about at all for a
long while to come.

4. en dúent jə noo? dhee)ul bi
Aaf vgi'n efúe winter, en leev
mi elóoen i)dhe ool E'us.

5. wíer el dhe guu te?

6. A'i dóóent hegzæ'kli [təzæ'kli]
noo; sām wéez de'un i)dhe se'ut,
A'i bleev.

7. dhee)'l bi heve se loq ewéei.

8. ɛs iíed v dhæt ji'studee.

9. did)jə ne'u? u tɛ'uld jə?

10. mutj gud me it duu)em.

11. jə shel íe drekli ɛs noo
dhee bi v)kəmin oo'm [wəm] vgi'n.

12. soo gud na'it.

4. And don't you know? they'll
be off again before winter, and leave
me alone in the old house.

5. Where will they go to?

6. I don't exactly know; some
ways down in)the south, I believe.

7. They'll be ever so long away.

8. Us [we] heard of that yesterday.

9. Did you now? who told you?

10. Much good may it do)them.

11. You shall hear directly us know
they be a)coming home again.

12. So good night.

Notes.

1. *I*. Mr. RRF. said distinctly (A'i),
but I generally heard (ái, ái) from the
labourers. *I are* is more frequent than
I be. The (r) is euphonic before a
following vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *father*, though Mr. RRF. used
(æ), I heard rather (a) from the labourers.

4. *know* was distinct (oo), not (nóou).

The negative (no) is quite short. *house*
(E'us) was inclined to (áus).

6. *exactly*. (hegzæ'kli) is emphatic,
(təzæ'kli) is the common form.

7. *ever*, the (h) is prefixed for em-
phasis only.

9. *told*. This (ɛ'u) diphthong is kept
quite distinct from (E'u).

CHACKMORE (1½ wnw.Buckingham) dt.

pal. 1881 by TH. from dict. of G. Cave, 71, gatekeeper to Stowe Park, native.

1. ɔ'i séi, méits, ju si nɔ'u, ɔ'i)m rɔ'it ebɔ'ut dhat lit'l gjal kəmin
frem dhe skuul jənder.

2. shi)z gu'in dɔ'um dhe róed dhíer thruu dhe red géet ɔn dhe
left and sɔ'id v)dhe róed.

3. luk jənder! dhe tɔ'ild)z gan stre'it u^op te)dhe roq ɔ'us [roq
dúer],

4. wíer shi)l veri lɔ'ikli fɔ'ind dhat drɔqk'n def óuld tɔap ev dhe
nêim v :tɔm.

5. Aal ɔv)ez nɔu ðm veri wɛ'l.

6. wɔnt dhe óuld tɔap sùn titj ɛr nɔt tɛ kəm dhíer vɔje'n, púer
thiq!

7. luk! did'nt ɔ'i tel jə sɔu.

Phrases. (ju ént v)gu in :darel), you are-not a-going [to, omitted
dialectally] Dayrell (3 n.Buckingham). This omission of 'to'
is gen. in the E. division as well as in Ch.

Mem. "r half reverted," possibly (r_o).

S.BU., AYLESBURY AND WENDOVER CWL.

Unmarked, word list written io. by Mr. John Kerseley Fowler, Prebendal Farm, Aylesbury, and his son, corrected from dict. and pal. by AJE. with additions marked E, heard by AJE. from farm labourers at Aylesbury, and a few words marked H noted by TH.

W words from Wendover (5 sse. Aylesbury) pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Beeby. " & W " means that the last given pron. was heard at Wendover.

WH Wendover from Mr. Hallam's observations chiefly from Varney 82, and Higgs 63, who generally corroborated Varney, and from some others, (R) was once heard from a woman.

(+r) means that euphonic (r₂) was specially stated to be inserted before a following vowel.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bœk. 4 téek tœk, W téek [both (éu) and (iu) are used in these doubly written words, as they are in D 4]. 5 mœek mœk, W méek. 6 méed mœd, WH [old] mœd, [now] méid. 7 séek sœk. 8 W eev. 9 biHEE'iv. 12 saa, W saa+r. 13 naa. 14 draa. 16 daan. 17 laa, W laa+r. 18 W kéek. 19 téel tœl, W tœ'l [z]. 20 léem léem, W léem & WH. 21 néem, WH nœem niem. 22 téem tiem. 23 séem siem, W séem & WH. 24 shéem shiëm, W shéem. 25 méem miëm. 28 éer. 32 baadh. 38 reedhœ. 34 last. 36 W thaa. 37 klaa. A: 41 theqk. 51 maan, W mœn. 54 waant, W wœnt. 57 as. A: or O: 58 W frem. 59 lam. 61 emœq & W. 63 thraeq. 64 W rœq.

A'- 67 gu'in, W guu & WH. 70 W too. 72 W uu. 73 W soo. 74 E tíu, W tuu. 76 túed. 81 léen, W léen. 84 múue & W [E (múe nœ dhât) more nor that]. 86 wats, W ôuts ats, WH wœts, WH wats. 87 W flooz. 89 W bœoath, WH bœuth. A': 101 W ôek. 102 ast, æks. 104 rûed & WH. 106 W braad. 108 dœf doo. 111 W aat. 113 W uul, W wul, WH wuol. 115 wœm, H ôam, WH oom. 121 H gaan. 122 W naen. 123 nothien, W nothiik. 124 E stûen & W, WH stûen. 125 oni & W. 129 gœoost.

Æ- 138 fœdhœ fiœdhœ, W feedhœ. 140 éel. 141 néel. 142 snœel & WH, W snee'il & WH [Varney gave (snœel) and Higgs (sne'il)]. 143 téel, W tee'il. 147 brœen, W bree'in & WH. 149 W blœez. 150 liest. 152 waate & W. Æ: 155 thetj & W. 151 aate. 160 W eeg. 161 dee [see 438], W dee'i. 163 lee. 164 mee. 166 méed, W mee'id. 167 déel. 169 wen. 170 W ærist. 172 graas, W græas. 174 W eesh. 175 faast. 179 wœt & W. 180 baath. Æ'- 182 see. 182 teetj [common], & W. 184 leed. 185 reed. 186 bret. 187 leev. 190 kee & W. 191 iil. 193 klîen, W tleen. 194 W eeni. 197 W tjeez. 199 bleet & W. 200 wœent. 201 eedh'n. 202 eet. Æ': 203 speetj. 205 tred [occ.], W thred. 207 W niid'l. 213 éidhœ, W iidhœ. 216 deel & W [but meaning wood (diil)]. 217 iitj. 218 shîp & W. 219 W sliip & WH. 223 W dhœe. 224 wîe & W. 226 [(emœst) almost]. 228 swet swœe'it. 230 fœt.

E- 232 brœeek & W. 233 E speek & W & WH. 235 W wiiv, WH wœev. 236 W fiiv. 241 réeen, W ree'in, WH réein. 247 ween, W wiin. 251 meet & W, WH me'it. 252 kit'l & W. 253 W net'l. 255 wedhœ, wede. E: 262 E wœe [frequent, sometimes (wœei)], W wee'i & WH. 268 jeldest. 272 elem & W. 281 leqkt, W leqkth. 282 streqkt, W streqkth. 284 thrœsh, E thrœsh. 287 bezem biisem & W. E'- 294 fiœd, W feed. 299 W green. E': 305 hœ'i. 306 hekth [very common], E hekt. 307 na'i nœ'i. 308 W need. 314 iœd. 315 W fœeit. 316 W neks.

EA- 319 gaap & W. 320 kéu. EA: 322 laaf & W. 323 W fa'ut. 324 eet, W ee'it. 325 wœek. 326 ool [but (ool,d)amen], W ool. 327 ba'uld. 328 koold. 329 foold. 330 oold, W oolt. 332 ta'uld. 333 kaaf & W. 334 aaf & W. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 W waam. 345 dœe. 346 géut & W. EA'- 347 ed & W. 348 W œ'i. 349 W fiú. EA': 350 W dœd. 353 H brœd, W bred. 355 W dœf. 359 neebœ. 360 tiëm, W tiim. 361 béen, E beenz. 363 tjeep. 366 græt. 368 W dœth. 370 W raa'. 371 straa. W straa'. EI- 376 béet. EI: 377 stee'ek. 378 W wiik.

EO- 386 *jo* & W. 387 *W* *néu*. EO: 393 *bi*ænt, *bige'n* [the latter rare, the (æ) should probably be (a)], *W* *bi*ænd. 394 *jînde jende* [I heard the last] *hînde* [all used], *W* *ende*, *WH* *ender* [occ. *jender*]. 396 *wæak*, *W* *wak*. 397 *sûned*. 400 *aanest* & W. 402 *E* *laan*. 407 *faad'n*. EO'- 411 *W* *thrii*. 413 *W* *dîvel*. 417 *tjAA*. EO': 425 *W* *lô'it*. 426 *W* *fô'it*. — *E* *helt* [held]. 428 *H* *sâ*, *W* *sii*. 430 *W* *frënd*. 436 *W* *trîu*. 437 *W* *triuth*. EY- 438 *da'i* & W [(dhet pig)'l *da'i* *te déei*] said Mr. F., but (dhât pig *ul da'i* *te déee*) agrees better with what I heard from the labourers].

I- 440 *W* *wiik*. 443 *W* *irô'idi* [see 512]. 444 *W* *stô'il*. 446 *W* *nô'in*. — *peez'n* [pease, occ.], *E* *peez*. 449 *W* *git*. 450 *W* *tuuzdi*. I: 452 *E* *â'i âi* [once only heard], *A'i* & W, *WH* *ô'i*. 458 *nô'it* & W. 459 *rô'it* & W. 462 *sô'it* & W. 465 *W* *sitr*. 466 *W* *tjô'ild*. 468 *W* *tjildø*. 472 *W* *sriqk*. 480 *enithiqk* *sathiqk* *nathiqk* [anything something nothing, the two last are also] *sâthin* *nâthen*. 485 *W* *this'l*. 487 *jüstedi*. 488 *W* *jit*. I'- [I heard (*âi*) not (*ô'i*) from the people]. 491 *sô'i*. 494 *tô'im* & W. 499 *biit'l*. I: 500 *W* *lô'ik*. 506 *W* *oomen*. 507 *W* *wimin*. 508 *mô'il*. 514 *W* *A'is* *ô'is* *âis* [the diphthong apparently varies as at Aylesbury].

O- 521 *fool*. 524 *W* *wæ'el*. O: 526 *kAAf* & W. 527 *baat*. 529 *braat*. 531 *daate* & W. 532 *W* *kool* [no vanish]. 533 *dæl* *du:l*. 536 *guuld* [but] *goold'n*. 539 *bol*. 541 *H* *wont*. 543 *E* *samthiqk* *an em* [the (æ) of Mr. F. was rather (a) in the labourer's mouth]. 547 *bâued*. 550 *wæed*. 551 *W* *staam*. 552 *kAAN* & W. 553 *AAN*. O'- 559 *mædhø*, *W* *mudhø*. 564 *sûen*, *E* *sæn*. O': 569 *buk*. 570 *tuk*. 573 *flæd*. 579 *enE'u* [never (enæf)] & W. 595 *fat*, *E* *fat* *fuut*, *W* *fat*. 596 *rûet*. 597 *sæt*.

U- 599 *ebæv*. 600 *lav*, *W* *læv*. 602 *se'u*. 603 *kəm* *kəm* [both are used; the driver stands on the near side of the horse and says (*kəm i'dhø*) for go to the left, and (*djii AAF*) for to the right; the ploughboy will be directed to (*pul im v lit'l mûe tûed*) pull him a little more towards, *i.e.* to the left]. 606 *dâue* & W, *WH* *dûer*. 607 *bæte*. U: 608 *ugli*. 609 *ful*. 610 *wul* & W. 611 *bulek* & W. 612 *sām*. 613 *draqk*, *W* *draqk*. 614 *E'und* [apt to be nasalised, as (*E'und*) and so of the rest] & W. 615 *pe'und*. 616 *E* *gre'und*, *W* *gre'um*. 617 *se'und*. 620 *gre'und*. 621 *we'und*. 622 *unde*. 625 *tq*. 626 *qgøv*. 630 *wæn*. 632 *up*, *æp* [æp] is the rule, I heard the groom say (*kup, kup*) *i.e.* come up, to the horse]. 634 *thære* *thære* [(thæret) throughout], *W* *thruu*. 635 *wath*. 636 *fæde*. 637 *tæsh*. 639 *dæst*.

U'- 640 *ke'u* *kje'u* *keæ'u* [uncertain]. 641 *E'u* [verging to *æ'u*]. 642 [not used]. 645 *dæv* [(duu) on the Chilterns]. 650 *E* *ve'ut*. 653 *bat*, *W* *büt* [occ.]. U': 658 *E* *de'um*, *WH* *də'um*. 659 *WH* *tə'um*. 663 *E'us*. 666 *uzbend*, *W* *æzben*. 672 *se'ut* [not (th)].

Y- 673 *mæty* & W. 674 *E* *ded*. 676 *W* *lô'i*. 679 *W* *tjatj*. 682 *liit'l* [occ.]. Y: 685 *ridj*. 690 *W* *kə'ind*. 691 *W* *mə'ind*. 696 *W* *bæth*. 700 *was*. 701 *fæst* & W. 704 *wiks'n*. Y- 705 *W* *skô'i*. 706 *W* *wô'i*. Y': 709 *W* *fô'iv*. 712 *mə'uzæz* [used].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 *dréen* & W. 737 *méet*. E. 744 *W* *meez'lz*. 746 *brîid* [always with (d) not (dli)]. 748 [(kælə) callow, unfledged, applied to birds only]. I. and Y. 756 *W* *srimp*. 758 *W* *gæl*. 760 *shriv'ld* *ied* *baali* [shrivelled eared barley was used for *chevalier barley*]. O. 761 *lôed*, *W* *lôed*. U. 808 *pæt* & W.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *W* *féus*. 811 *plûs* *pléus* & W. 813 *bîek'n*, *W* *béek'n*. 816 *W* *féed*. — *E* *frêl* [flail]. 824 *tjûe*. 827 *eegv*. 828 *W* *eegv*. 830 *tréenn*. 834 *shee'j* [& W for a perambulator]. 835 *reez'n*. 836 *seez'n*. — *WH* *wes'l* [vessel]. 847 *W* *déendp*. 852 *æpen* [by old people]. E.. 867 *tee'j*. — *thetjæz* [vetches]. 874 *réun*. 885 *WH* *weri*. — *iiv* [a fair]. — *te'rub'l* [a common intensive, occasionally (*terii'b'l*) to increase the effect]. 888 *saatin*. — *WH* *sàrvent* [servant]. 890 *W* *beest* *biist*. 891 *fæst*. 894 *diseev* & W. 896 *beev*. I.. and Y.. 898 *W* *nô'is*. — *wilij* [village].

— winnger [vinegar]. 901 wáielit, W vǝ'ilit [not (ǝ'i) not (w)]. — WH wit'lz [victuals].

O.. 913 W kóetɪ. 914 W bróetɪ. 916 áinen, W á'inæn. 918 W feeb'l. 920 páint [and 'pint' is (p'aint)]. 929 W kǝ'ukembɛ. 940 W kóet [an under-petticoat]. 947 báil, W bǝ'íl. 948 bǝ'ul. 959 W kǝnwɛe'ens. U.. 965 áil, W ǝ'íl. — H ǝrt [hurt, TH. found the (r) was "stronger than at Dunstable, on the way to reverted, something like n.Sh." I failed to hear it, and should have written (ǝet)].

E *Note.* ǎ approach (a) rather than (u); (e, ɛ) were used uncertainly: (ǝ, o) I could not feel sure of, nor of (ǝ, ǝ); the i approach (i₁). I think rather (u) than (u), (h) occ., wh = (w). I did not hear (w) for v; (ee, ee) uncertain, did not hear (ee'j), and heard (oo) not (oo'w); (e'u) had no prominent (ɛ), but it was not (ǝ'u).

n.Bt. cwl.

B Buckingham and Clackmore (1½ nw.B.), wn. in 1881 by TH. (u_o) is a sound intermediate to (u_o, ə) and most like (u_o). TH. hears a very faint (r), which he calls "common English r"; sometimes he hears a faint reverted r (ɹ); and he heard reverted or retracted (ɹ) in ale, bell, Bill, children, girl, he'll, milk, silk, tail, possibly an individuality. *Usages*, I are (=am), you be, they be. The I' U' are very refined, as (ǝ'i ǝ'u) in place of (ǝ'i ɛ'u).

H Hanslope (10 ne. Buckingham), pal. by AJE. from dict. of Miss Cox, native.

T Tyrinham (13 ne. Buckingham), from Rev. J. Tarver's wl. io.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T nam, H néem, B nêimz nêimz. 24 T sham, H shéem. 31 léet. 33 HT reedhɛ. A: 43 T hond, H ænd, B and. 44 T lond. 50 T tǝqz. 51 HT mon, B mǝn. 54 H wǝent. A: or O: 61 T ɛmǝq, H ɛmǝq. 64 B roq'. A'- 67 B gu góu. 76 T tôed, H tǝed. 86 T ôets, H ôets ɛts. 89 H būeth. 92 B nõu. 95 B thróu. A': 102 T aast. 104 T rôed, H rǝed, B rǝud. 110 B ǝ'i shǝnt [I sha'nt]. 113 H wul. 115 T ham, H ôem, B òm. 117 B wòn. 121 B gǝan. 122 B nõu. 124 T stan, HB stǝen. 125 H ooni. 130 T bǝet. 131 T gǝet.

Æ- 138 T feedhɛ, H faadhɛ. 143 B téiel. — B stǝɹɹz [stairs]. 152 HT waate. Æ: 155 HT thek. 158 T aatɛ. 160 H eeg. 161 B dêi. 163 T lǝ'i. 166 T mêed, H mee'id. 170 T hǝeɹvist. 171 HT bǝɹli. Æ'- 183 B tǝitɹ tǝitɹ. 190 B kǝi, HT kee. 194 HT ɹni. 195 HT meeni. 200 B wǝit wǝit [occ.]. A': 213 HT eedhɛ. 218 HT ship. 223 H dhǝiɹ, B dhǝiɹɹ. 224 HT wǝiɹ, B wǝiɹ. 230 T fǝt.

E- 233 HT spek, B spǝik. 236 T fǝevɹ, H fǝivɹ. 241 H rǝin. 243 B plǝi. 252 H kit'l. E: 260 B lǝi. 261 B sǝi. 262 HB wǝi. 263 B ɹwǝi. 265 H strǝet. 272 T helem [ɹ h]. 280 B leb'm. 281 H leqkth. 282 H streqkth. — H nǝstiz [nests]. E'- 299 B grǝin. 300 T kep [ɹ kept]. E': 306 T heet. 312 B ɹɹ. 314 B ɹɹd. 315 HB fit.

EA- — B éiɹl [ale]. 319 HT gaap. EA: 323 HT fǝ'ut. 324 B éit. 326 T ǝ'uld, H ool, B óuld. 328 T kǝ'uld. 330 HT oolt. 332 T tǝ'ul. 333 T kǝɹf, H kaaf. 334 T hǝɹf, H haaf. 343 T waam, H waam. 346 HT gǝet, B gǝet, [middle class, usual] gǝit. EA'- 347 T ɹied, B ɹ'ed, H ɹed. EA': 355 B dǝf. 361 B biɹnz. 366 B grǝt. 370 H rǝa+r. 371 T straa, H straa+r.

EI- 373 T dhǝ'i, B dhǝi. 374 T naa. EI: 377 T stǝɹk. 378 HT week. EO- 383 B sǝb'm. 386 HT ɹoo. 387 T nuu.

EO: 388 B mǝ'lk [reverted (ɹ)], and the Sm. intermediate between (ǝ, i) p. 146]. — B sǝ'lk [silk, see 388]. 398 T stǝɹv. 400 T ǝnest, H ǝanest. 402 HT laan, B lǝrn. 406 T aath, H ǝth. 407 T fǝedhǝn faad'n. EO'- 411 B ɹrii [very often]. 420 T fǝ'ue, H fǝɹ, B fǝɹvɹ. EO': 425 HT lǝ'it. 427 B bǝi. 436 H trín. 437 H trǝuth, B trǝ'uth. EY- 438 HT dǝ'i [ɹ dǝ'ɹ].

I- 443 HT frǝ'idi. 444 T stǝ'il. 449 HT git. 450 HT tuuzdi. I:

452 HT ə'i, B ə'i *ai*. 458 HT nə'it, B nə'it. 459 HT rə'it. 465 HT sɪti. 466 T tʃɔ'ild. 468 B tʃuldren [u] verging to (u) and (l) reverted]. — B rɛn rən [run, some vowel intermediate to (u), ə]. 482 B ɛnt ɛnt [an't, is it not?]. I'- 490 T bə'i. 494 T tə'im, B tə'im. 496 T ə'i'en. 498 T rə'it. I': 500 HT lɔ'ik. 502 T fə'iv, B fə'iv. 503 HT lə'it. 504 T nə'it. 505 T wəif. 506 HT ʊmən.

O- 519 B ɔʊvər. O: 525 B ʌf [off]. 531 T daʊtə, H daʊtə daʊtə [but my (gael) is more usual]. 541 B ə'i wənt [ə] approaching (u). 543 B ʌn ʌn. O'- 555 B shuʊ shə'u. 559 T mɪdɪv [ɪ], H mɛm mɪdɪv. 564 B sɛn. O': 579 T ɛnɪʊ, H ɛnɪf [was the only form known]. 587 B dʊn. 592 HT sɔv.

U- — B ʊd [wood]. 603 B kɛm. 605 T sɛn, B sɛn [when used]. 606 B dʊvɪr. U: 610 T ʊl. 612 B sʊem. 614 T ʌnd [ʔ]. 615 T pɛn. 616 T grænd. 622 T ʌndv. 629 B soʊn. 632 B ʊp. 633 B kʊp. U': 658 H dɛʊn [and so on for the rest, but the diphthong is rather uncertain, and may be əʊn]. Miss Cox used (ɛʊ), herself, and was unable to decide]. 663 B əʊs. 667 B əʊt.

Y: 700 T wɛs. 701 HT fɛst. Y- 705 HT skə'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 B mɛit mɪt. E. 749 B lɛft. O. 761 HT lɔəd. 767 T nə'iz. 790 T gɛʊnd. U. 803 B dʒɔmp. — B fɔn [fun]. 808 T pɛt.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 H fɛs. 811 H plɛs [pl. plɛs'n]. 813 T biék'n, H bɛk'n. 824 T tɪv, H tɪv. 827 H eegv. 828 H eegv. 840 T tɛambɛ [not a bedroom, but any other room]. 852 T ɛɛpɛn. 862 H sɛf. 866 H pɔv.

E.. 867 H tee, B tɛi. 878 H sɛlɛri. 879 HT fɛrmɛl. 888 H saatɪn. 890 H biɛst [pl. biɛstiz, biɛs]. 896 T biiv [in common use]. I and Y. 898 B nə'is. 904 T vɔ'ilet.

O.. 913 T kɔtɪ. 914 brɔtɪ. 920 H pa'ɪnt. 923* H mɔ'is. 926 H spɔ'il. — B tʊn'l tʊn'l [tunnel]. 939 H klɔs. 940 T kɔt. H kʊt [under petticoat, the outer is *skirt*]. 942 T bɔtɪ. 947 H bɔ'il. 954 T kash'n. U.. 963 T kɛʊt. 965 H ɔ'il.

T (watɪd) wet-shod, (ʌnkɪd) wretched, a few broth. B (ai ʌr) I are. TH. hears a faint (r), but to me it was quite inaudible.

D 16 = ME. = Mid Eastern.

Boundaries. Begin at Harwich at ne. corner of Es. Go along n. b. of Es. till you reach Cb. Go along first the s. and then the w. b. of Cb. to Peterborough, Np. Go w. along n. b. of Hu. to its nw. corner about Wansford, Np. (In the map the line accidentally falls a little s. of this border, and does not quite pass through Peterborough.) Go wsw. across Np. to Rockingham, Np., at sw. angle of Rt., passing s. of King's Cliffe, Np. Go sw. along the n. b. of Np. to Watling St., near Crick. Then go se. across Np., by the b. of D 6, passing e. of Watford, through Long Buckby, where turn s. and pass e. of Daventry and Weedon, where turn more se. near Pattishall, and proceed s. of Blisworth and w. of Towcester, and continue to b. of Np. and Bu. at about Hartwell, Np. Pursue first the n. and then e. b. of Bu. to Gt. Gaddesden, Ht., and then pass s. across the w. horn of Ht. to strike the b. of Bu. again just about

Whelpley Hill (4 ssw. Gt. Gaddesden). Go e., passing s. of Hemel Hempstead, Hatfield, and Hoddesdon, Ht., n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., ne. of Epping, and w. of Brentwood to the Thames at Tilbury. Then go down the Thames, and round the e. coast of Es. to the starting-point, Harwich. It will be observed that borders of counties are much followed, betraying imperfect information. The line which forms the s. b. is quite uncertain, see D 17. The two lines through Np. are fairly correct, being founded on TH.'s numerous observations. The line across the w. horn of Ht. is rather conjectural, but I have been informed that that horn does not differ from Bu.

Area. Most of Es. and Ht., all Hu. and Bd., and the middle of Np.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ in so., ° in io.

Bd. ° Ampthill, * ‖ Bedford, † Dunstable, ° Edworth, ° Flitwick, † Girtford, ° Harrold, ° Hatley Cockaine, ° Melchbourne, * Ridgmont, † Sandy, † Sharnbrook, ° Thurleigh, † Tilbrook, ° Toddington, † Upper Dean.

Es. ° Black Notley, ° Bradfield, † Braintree, ° Brentwood, ° Brightlingsea, † Chelmsford, ° Elsenham, † Great Chesterford, ° Great Chishall, ° Great Clacton, * † Great Dunmow, ° Great Easton, ° Great Saling, ° † Great Shalford, † Henham, ‖ Ingatestone, * Maldon, † Newport, ° Paglesham, † Panfield, ° Rayne, ° Southend, ° Stanway, † Stebbing (Bran End), * Thaxted, ° Witham.

Ht. ° Anstey, ° † Ardeley, † Bishop's Stortford, ° Boxmoor, † Braughin, † Buntingford, ° Furneaux Pelham, ° Gilston, ° Great Gaddesden, ° Great Hormead, † Hadham, ° Harpenden, † Hatfield, ° Hemel Hempstead, † Hertford, † Hertford Heath, ° Hitchin, ° St. Albans, ° Sandridge, ° † Sawbridgeworth, ° † Stapleford, * † Ware, * ° Welwyn, ° Weston.

Hu. ° Alconbury, † Godmachester, ° Great Catworth, † Great Gidding, ° Great Paxton, ° † Great Stukeley, ° Hamerton, ° Hilton, ° † Holme, ° Houghton, † Huntingdon, ° Keystone, † Kimbolton, † Little Stukeley, † Old Fletton, ° Pidley, † St. Ives, ° † Sawtry, ° Somersham, † Staneley, ° † Stilton.

Np. † Blisworth, † Brixworth, † Clay Coton, † Denton, ° Duston, * East Haddon, † Great Houghton, † Hackleton, ° Hannington, † Hardingstone, ° Hargrave, ° Harrington, † Irchester, † Islip, ° † Lower Benefield, † Lowick, † Nether Heyford, * † Northampton, ° † Oundle, † Sibbertoft, † Stanion, † Sudborough, † Thrapston, † Welford, † Wellingborough, ° West Haddon, † Yelvertoft.

Character. This is a long straggling district, and between the n. in Np. and the s. in Es. there can be little or no connection. But I have found it impossible to divide the district by any definite lines, and have felt it best to consider the different counties involved as forming 'varieties,' and very slight such varieties are. The general character is

A- remains (éu) only among very old people; but becomes /ái, é'í, á'í/ in different parts among the younger people. Thus, a Mrs. Clarke, about 73, at Ardeley called apron (é'ipren), but said her grandmother called it (á'ipren). Sometimes the women have made the change only, thus at the last-named place both Calvert 77 and Clarke 73 said (méit) mate, in which the (é) is merely omitted; but their wives said (mé'it méit) respectively. It is certain then that this /éi, é'í/, which is now so characteristic of D 16, is of recent growth, and has arisen from (éu), which with (ia) is prevalent all over the S. div., just as /ái/ in the M. has grown out of (ae), an alteration of (áu). Alphabetically, the letter *a* is called (a'í).

A' is still occ. (áu) as an old form, but falls into (óu), and thence into (óu, ôu).

I' becomes quite (A'í), and the letter *i* is so called alphabetically; it is thus practically distinguished from *a* (é'í).

U' has similarly to be distinguished from (óu), and hence (á'u, áu) were ousted by (E'u, éu), which is the general form.

These characters appear pretty generally in all the varieties, which I propose to pursue and exemplify in the order Var. i., Ht.; Var. ii., Bd.; Var. iii., Hu.; Var. iv., Np.; and then, starting from Ht. again, proceed to Var. v., Es., which leads directly to the e.London variety of D 17.

VAR. i., HERTFORDSHIRE.

There were three principal centres of information. 1. Ware, where I had a vv. cs. from a native, checked by TH.'s observations; 2. Ardeley, where I had first much information from Rev. C. Malet, and then had it checked by TH. in a journey made on purpose; and 3. Welwyn with Hitchin.

1. The Ware speech is well exemplified by the following cs., with the cwl., which includes the words observed by TH.

2. Ardeley was recommended to me by the gentleman who gave me the cs. of Ware, and with much difficulty, owing to want of phonetic knowledge on the curate's part, I obtained a sufficiently intelligible version, but this was excellently supplemented by TH.'s visit, when he had the good fortune to be assisted by very old peasants, whose information is embodied in the cwl.

3. Welwyn I had hoped to have settled by a vv. from a native student at Whitelands Training College, but it was spoiled by the peculiarity of her education, and I am indebted to an old college friend, Mr. C. W. Wilshire, who lives at Welwyn, for a dt. for that place and also from Hitchin; but as they were written in unsystematic orthography, there is much that is conjectural in my pal., the interpretation being often derived from the other sources.

Finally, I add a few words from Harpenden and Hatfield, to shew the nature of the dialect at the borders of D 17.

There are very few points to be noticed. One is the partial use of (w) for (v) more developed in Es. and D 19, which we also met with in D 9, p. 132. The use of 'together' in addressing several people, and 'it do' for 'it does,' are more developed in Ch. and D 19. The use of the aspirate varies, but it is generally omitted.

WARE CS.

pal. by A.J.E. in 1876, from the dictation of Mr. J. W. Roderick, a native of Amwell (1 se. Ware), who considers that the specimen he gave applied to a district from Great Munden (6 n. Ware) to Broxbourne (4 s. Ware), and from Watton (6 nw. Ware) to Widford (4 ene. Ware). Drawing lines e. and w., n. and s. through these extremes, we get a large district including Hertford and Stapleford, but excluding Welwyn and Ardeley. TH. endeavoured to verify the indications here given. At the end I collect the principal words of this cs. in a cwl., adding the words obtained by TH. at Ware, Hertford, Hertford Heath, and Stapleford. The introductory (i) was found at Ware by TH., but the nasalisation was not observed at Ware, and neither were observed elsewhere. TH.'s chief time had been devoted to Ardeley, and he was unable to do much in the other places.

0. wói :djoo,n ez nóov déuts.

1. we'el, niebe, jú en ii me búurth léaaf et dhis níuz e móin. íu kíierz? dhaat,s nadder íie ne dhíie.

2. ííu men dói kez dhee)e léaaf et, wii núuez, dúent)es? waat shud míek em? t(ii)nt weri lóikli is)t?

3. éuseme)ve dhíes íie)z dhe tríuth e dhe kíes, soo djist óud je réu, méet, en bi kwóiet til ói)e dan. lís'n.

4. ói)m sat'n ói íied em síee,i,—səm e dhee piip'l íu we)nt thríu dhe úuel thi)q frem dhe fast dhe)selfs—dhaat ói diid, síef eníeaf.

5. dhaat dhe jæggest san ímsel, e gríet bóí e nóin, níu iz fěaa,dhez vóies et wəans, dhoo t,wəaz se kwíier en skwíiken, en ói ed,trust)em)t spíiek dhe tríuth eni díeei, aa, ói wud.

6. en dh,ódud wamen e)self, 'l tel eni əv je dhat líaaf níe)u, en tel je striet aaf tíu, bréut ne boodhe, ef jú)l ooni əks)e, úue wúent shi?

7. líestwíez shi tuuld et mii wen ói əkst)e, tíu)e thríie toimz úeve, sh)diid, en shii úuet noot tíu bi ròq ən sít) e páint eez dhíies —waat díu jú thíieqk?

8. wel, ez ói wez e)see)en shii)d tel)je éu, wíier, en wen shi fiéunt dhe drəqken bíiest she kaalz er əzben [ódud mən].

9. shi súue sh)sí)em wi er óoen óiz elóí)en stríet)t at fuul líeqkth oon dhe gríeund, in iz gúed sənde kúuet, klúues bóí dhe [be dhe] dúuer e dhe íe'us díeun et th)kúuener e)dhe líen inde.

10. ii wez e wóinen [íeulen] ewéee, sez shii, fer aal dhe wald lóik e síiek t)íóild [t)íáild] er e lít'l gjel e fréuten.

11. en dhaat aapund ez shii en er dúueter,in)laa kíiem thríu dhe bíæk jiaa,d fre əqen íeút dhe wíet klúuez tíu dróí on e woshen déei,

12. wóil dhe kít'l wez e báilen fe tíi, wən fóin broít səmer aatenuun, úuenli e wíek egu)u kam neks thəzdi.

13. en d)je náue? ói ne)ve laant eni múue dhen dhíies, e dhaat híznis əp tíu te déei, ez shíue)z mói níem)z :djaak :shəpet, en e dúuent woont tíu nadder, dhíie níeu.

14. en soo ói m gúnen úuem tíu səpe. gū)noiet, en dúuent bi se kwíiek tíu krúue úue)ver e feler egín, wen i tooeks e dhíies dhaat e t)ədhe.

15. ii)z e wíiek fúuel, dhat djía'ez eríeút kíaa'z te. en dhaat)s mói líaast wəd. fáe je wel.

Notes to Ware cs.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* is entirely absorbed in the vowel, here and elsewhere.

2. *it is not*, distinct (tiint) not (tiént).—*very*, *v* is constantly pronounced as *w*, but not conversely.

3. *this here's*; very short fracture in (dhíes).—*hold*, doubtful whether (a'ud) or (ódud) and may be (ódud).—*row*, noise.—*I are done*, *I are for I am* and that for *I have*, as usual. (óí :aə, I are, an

emphatic assertion, and (ii)e he are are common, so also thou, we, you *am*, (dhéu)m wii)m jú)m); they *be* sometimes, but in answer to a question they're, them and it's me (dhee)e dhem, it)s mii) are used.

4. *I am* with an adjective predicate, not *I are*.—*certain*, not (sat'n).—*say*, the nasality occurs only when the word is very prolonged.—*people*, *folk* is not usual.—*enough*, this was the best imita-

tion I could give, the (i) very short, the (æ) long, but I was not satisfied with the last vowel.

5. *great* (gæət) is never used.—*knew*, (niu) distinctly, not (niū).—*voice*, though this is a common word, (w) is not used.—*day*, the (ee) is not nasal, (diie) occ., the prefixed (i) was not heard in par. 11 and 13.—*aye*, also (jies) yes.

6. *ask*, distinctly (æks), not (aks). At Albury (8 nne.Ware) (jæ'ks) is heard.

7. *point*, distinctly (páint) while *pint* is (póint) similarly (djáint, áil, áint-

ment) joint, oil, ointment, (iier áil) hair oil, and similarly (riien, driien, riuelwéei triien) rain, drain, railway train.

9. *yonder* is very commonly called (inde). We have the various forms (jonder jander jinder) in S. dialects and (jende, jinde, inde) in E. dialects, but whether (inde) represents *yonder* or *hinder* is not clear.

14. *goodnight*, almost (ge)nói't.

15. *fare ye well*, *good-bye* would not be used except for a long absence, (tataa') may be heard, but it is not very common.

se. Hr., WARE, etc.

Unmarked words from Mr. Roderick's es. for Ware, with others given by him.

W wn. by TH. at Ware from Goldstone 29, and W₂ Saunders 12, natives.

H wn. by TH. at Hertford from Seymour 71, and HH. Hertford Heath (2 se.Hertford).

S wn. by TH. at Stapleford (3 n.-by-e.Hertford). All in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- W₂ [letter A = (ái)]. 5 miék, W me'ik. 8 W æv, W₂ ev, H. ènt [have not]. 17 laa, W laa. 19 HH te''iel. 21 níem, W₂ ne''im. — fáae [fare]. 34 láast. A: 39 kíum. 49 æq. 53 W₂ kæ'n. 54 woont. 56 wosh. A: or O: 60 loq. 64 ròq, HH ròq.

A'- 67 gáuen, W [between] egóu'in, egóu'in, W₂ góu'in. 69 W nóu. 72 íu, W₂ uu, W uu íu. 74 tíu, H tíu. 79 óoen. 81 líen. 82 wæns. 84 míue, H móe. 87 klíuez. 89 bíueth, W bóuth, W₂ bóuth. 92 náue. 94 kríue. A': 102 æks [at Albury (jǣ'ks)], W àsk. 105 H rûed. 106 II braad. 110 noot. 111 uat. 113 úuel, W oo'l. 115 úuvm, W òam, H oom òm. 117 wæn, HH eloon [alone]. 120 uguu'. 122 nóoe. 125 oonli úuonli. 137 nædhe, W nædhe.

Æ- 138 féaadhæ, WW₂H faadhæ. 144 egín. 150 líest. Æ: 154 bíæk. 155 HH thetj. — tægje'dhe [together, addressing several persons]. — W àd [had], W₂ ed. 151 aatæ. 161 déei, déei, díe, W de''i, W₂ dái, II dái. 169 wen. 173 waaZ. — kaat [cart]. 177 dhaat [?: dhát]. 179 waat. Æ'- 194 eni. 200 HH wit. Æ': 209 nevv. 220 shípet. 222 íie. 223 dhiie, W dhée. 224 wiie. 227 wíet.

E- 233 spíek. 241 riien, W re''in, W₂ rân. 244 we'el. 252 kit'l. E: 256 stríetj. 261 síe i, eueen [a-saying], W se''i. 263 ewéev, W ewe''i. 265 stríet, W stre'it. 276 thíueqk. 279 we'nt. 280 W 'lev'n. 281 líeqkth. E'- 297 felæ. E': 307 HH náí. 312 íie. 316 neks.

EA- 320 kíier. EA: 322 léaaf líaa, WW₂HH laaf. 326 óud, W óu'ld, W₂ óu'ld, H [between] óul óul. 330 óud, W óu'ld. 332 tuuld. 335 Aal & H. 338 kaa'l. 340 jiaa'd. EA'- 348 ói. 349 íiu. EA': 357 dhoo. 359 néeba. 366 gríet, W gre'it. EI- 372 aa. 373 dhe. EI: 378 wíek.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 387 níu, W níu & W₂. EO: 392 jælæ [yellow]. 394 inde, W jende [mostly, occ.] jinde, W₂ jende [old (jinde)], HH jinde. 399 bróit. 402 laant. 408 níu. 411 thríue. 412 shí sh-. EO': 422 síek. 435 jiu, HHW ju. 437 tríuth. EY- 438 dói, W da''i, H [between] dáid da''id. EY: 439 trast.

I- W₂ [letter I = (AA'i)] 440 wíek. 446 nóin. I: 452 ói, W ái. 453 kwíek. 458 gú,nóiet [good-night]. 465 sitj. 466 tpó'ld, tpiá'ld, W₂ tpiá'ld. 469 wu'l. — wánde [window]. 480 thiq. 482 tínt [it is not], W e'nt iz'nt, W₂ e'nt. 484 dhíus dhíus. I'- 492 W₂ saa'id. 494

tóim, H [between] ta'im táim, HH ta'im. 495 wóin. I': 500 láik, W láik & H. 596 wámen. — W₂ [between] ái, á'i [hay]. 508 HH [between] ma'ild, m'ild. 509 wóil. 510 móin, W ma'in, W₂ maa'in.

O- 519 úevé úueve. 524 wald, W wə'ld wəald. O: 525, ii. Aaf. 531 dúute, W daute, HH daa'te. 538 wud. 541 wənt, W₂ wənt [sometimes (wənt)]. 550 wəd, H wəd. O'- 555 shiu. 556 tiu. 557 tiu, H [between] tiu, tiu. 567 tədhe. O': 571 gáud. 579 unəaf, W unaf, W₂ [between] unaf, unaf. 586 diu dūent [don't], W dāu, H diu. 587 dān. 588 nuun. 592 sūue.

U- 603 kām & W. 604 sām. 605 sən, HH sə'n. 606 dúuv. U: 609 fuul. 612 sām. 616 griéand, W grīa'un. 623 fiéant, W fiə'und. 627 sānde. 629 HH sə'n. 631 thazdi. 632 əp, W₂ əp, H əp. 633 H [between] kəp kəp. 634 thríu, HH thríu. U'- 641 éu. 643 niéu, W nīa'u, W₂ [between] ne'u, nēu. 648 a'uən [ourn, in "our mode of pronouncing"]. 651 érút eréut [ʔ is this there-out], W wídhía'ut. U': 658 diéun, W dīa'un, W₂ dīe'un, H dā'un dā'un, HH dā'un. 659 W₂ te'in. 663 léus, W iə'us, HH [between] e'us ə'us. 666 əzbən. 667 yéut, W e'ut, H ə'ut.

Y- 673 H mətj. 674 diid. 677 drói. 681 biznis. 682 lit'l. Y: 692 jaqgest. 694 H wak. 701 fəst, WW₂ fəast. Y'- 706 wói, W wa'i.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 drién. 726 tóok, H tAAk. 732 aapen. 737 méet, W me'it. — djíəz [jaws]. E. 652 írét. I. and Y. 758 gjel, W ga'l, H gjal, W₂ gja'l. O. 767 W nōiz. — H wów [worn]. 781 boodhe. 789 réu, W riā'u. 791 bói, HH bów. U. 797 skiiken. 798 kwíu. 803 djəmp. 804 drəq'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plēs. 830 tríen, W tre'in. 841 H tjaans. 857 kús. 862 síuf. 864 kīAA'z [cause]. — siæə'vidj [savage]. E.. 867 tii & H. 885 weri, W veri [no w used for v], W₂ veri, H [no w used for v], HH & S [w used for v]. — piæə'tridj [partridge]. 888 sat'n. 890 biist. I.. and Y.. 901 íoin, W₂ ía'in. — W vi'nigə [vinegar] & W₂ [with v only]. — póint [pint], W [between] póint páint, W₂ p'oint. — vit'lz [victuals], & W₂ [adding, some say (wit'lz)], HH & S wit'lz. O.. 919 ántment. 920 paint, W₂ p'oint. — djáint [a joint]. 925 vóies, W vōis. 938 kúuve. 939 klíues. 940 kúuet. 941 ííuel. 947 báil. 950 sá'pe. 955 dént, W diā'ut. U.. 963 kwóiet, W kwā'iet. 965 áil. — íeal [howl]. 969 shíue. 970 djist.

ARDELEY OR YARDLEY (8 e.-by-s.Hitchin) dt.

written by Rev. C. Malet, son of the Vicar, and palaeotyped by AJE. from indications given by him. Mr. Roderick of Ware, Ht., said that (:jaa:dli :wud :iind, or Yardley Wood End was a famous outlandish place for the dialect. From TH.'s observations it appears that long vowels are too freely used in this translation.

1. soo ɔ'i séiz, méerts, jú sii néen, dhaat ɔ'i bii rə'it, tugidh'er, əbéut dhaat éev liit'l gaal v-kəm'in from dhe skiíul jaan-de.

2. shii'z egoo'in déeun dhe róovd dhéev thríu dhe réevd giút ən dhe left aand sɔ'id v dhe wéei ló'ik.

3. shíue nəf dhe tjo'ild v gaan stro'it əp tíu dhe dúuer v dhe roq éeus.

4. wéev shii əl moost)en)iin fə'nd dhaat drəq'n déev siivd tjaap nəem v :tAA'məs.

5. wi aal nóovz en ver'i wel.

6. want dh,aal tjaap sî'un laan e not te díu et ogíven nò'idhe,
púwe thiq!

7. líuk! éeent et trú'u.

Notes.

Very drawled. 4. *most on end*, sure that (en) for (em) or (im) was generally, surely. *seared*, shrivelled. used. No other authorities admit this
5. *we all knows him*. Mr. M. was strictly MS. form.

ARDELEY WOOD END (:jaadli :wud :iind, :járli :wud :iin),
(1½ se.Ardeley), cwl.

TH.'s observations on Darby and wife 48, Brown 86, Calvert and wife 77, Clarke 73 and wife 62, these are not here generally distinguished, as that would be descending to personal differences, when there was substantial agreement, but it was observed that the men inclined to older and the women to recent forms. Darby used 'together' as an address to several, as *wie[r] ju gu'in, tegjedhe?* where are you going, you people? Common in D 18 and 19.

B a few wn. by TH. at Buntingford (:bæ'nifet) about 4 ne.Ardeley, chiefly from F. Kimpton, labourer, 72. Mrs. K. said *it du* for it does. All wn. in 1884.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 21 niem nœm ne'im, B [between], née[em] née[im]. A: 43 and. A: or O: 64 [between] rœq roq [or something between (rœq, roq)]. A'- 67 guu go'in. 73 B sôu. 74 tíu. 81 léœn, lee'n, læ'in [Mrs. Clarke, whose mother said *léœn*], B læ'in. 86 óuts. 92 nôu. A': 104 [formerly] rûed, [now] rôud, [Brown and Mrs. Calvert], rood [Calvert]. 115 oom. 117 wan.

Æ- 138 faadhe. Æ: B thætj. 161 dêi, dee [Calvert], de'i [Mrs. Clarke], dee[i] [Clarke]. — stœl [stale = handle]. — waps-iz [wasps-s]. 170 à[r]vist-iz. — glaas [glass]. — kjaat [cart]. Æ'- 125 onî. Æ': 226 môs en iin [most on end, generally].

E- 241 reen [Calvert] re'in [Mrs. C.]. E: 263 ewee. 265 strê'it stréit strêt, B stréit. — fild filz [field fields]. E'- 299 griin. E': 314 îed & B. 315 fit.

EA: 326 ôuld, B ôul, ôul'd. 328 B kôuld. — jà[r]n [earn]. 346 géut. EA'- 347 e'id. EA': 355 def. 371 straa [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother]. EO- 383 sev'm. EO: 394 jinde [Darby], jande [Brown], [both at B.]. 396 [between] wæk wok. 402 laan, [between] leen læn [Mrs. Clarke].

I: 452 âi. — bād [bird]. 459 rait rō'it rē'it. 466 tja'ild tja'il. 469 wūl. 477 fa'ind fa'ind. 482 ènt [aint, is not]. I'- 492 sa'id sa'id [nearly], sâid, B sa'id [and all long i at B = A'i], B sō'id. 494 ta'im & B. I': 503 elA'iv [alive]. 510 ma'in.

O- — bō'en [born]. O: 531 daate. 541 want wōnt wont. — faak [fork]. 550 wad. — A'us [horse]. O'- 556 tíu. 560 skuul & B. 562 muun. 564 sūn suun sæ'un. O': 586 díu. 588 nuun.

U- 603 kam. 605 sūn. 606 dúue dúe dúe dœ'ue [between 'dûe, dœu]. U: 613 dru'qk, dra'qk. — wānde [wonder]. 632 æp æp. 634 thráu. U- 643 [between] nœ'u, ne'u. [Darby and Calvert], nœ''a [Brown], ne''a [Mrs. Clarke]. 648 œ'en [our'n, ours]. 650 eba'ut. U': 658 da'an [between that and (de'un) Mrs. Calvert and B: between the two, Mrs. Clarke], B dæ'an. 659 B tæ'an, B te'an. 663 œ'us [between that and (æ'us) Mrs. Calvert, B e'us].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet [Clarke, Calvert], me'it [Mrs. Calvert], méit [Mrs. Clarke]. E. 749 leit. I. 758 gjål gjal. O. — græ'ul [growl]. U. 803 B [between] djæmp, djæmp. — taneps [turnips].

III. ROMANCE.

A .. 810 fêrs. — déēm [dame]. 852 [Mrs. Clarke's grandmother said éēpen, but the present pronunciation is e'iprən]. I .. and Y .. 898 náis. 901 fāin. O .. — bīf [beef]. — B pəmp [pump]. — tūst [forced]. — tən [turn]. 955 [between] dē'ut də'ut [Calvert].

Note. B no (w) for (v).

WELWYN (8 s.-by-e.Hitchin) dt.

pal. by AJE. from notes and indications by C. W. Wilshere, Esq., of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. soo ái sez, meets, sez ái, jú sii néu ez éu ái)m ráit əbéut dhat līt'l gæl əkəmin frəm dhə skuul jandə.

2. shii,z ɛgoorin déun dhə róod dhéev thruu dhə red gáit ən dhə fədhə [dhis] sáid ɛv dhə wái.

3. shiur ɛnəf dhə tjáild iz gaan stráit ɛp tɛ dhə dúuv ɛv dhə rəq éus.

4. wév shii'l tj aans fáind dhat drəqk'n dɛf wiz'nd fɛlɛr ɛv dhə ndim ɛ :toməs.

5. wii aal nooz im veri wel.

6. woont dhə ool tjæp suun ləən)ɛ nɔt tɛ duu it ɛgen.

7. luk'i dhéev, eent it djest ez ái sɛd?

Miscellaneous Welwyn Notes from Mr. Wilshere.

r not sounded except before a vowel.

h initial almost unknown except in *hisn hern*.

I be was constantly in use about 1850, and *beant* is universal now among old people.

unked (əkɪd), uncomfortable, dreary, —common.

like (lɪk), a common qualifying addition to adverbs. She looked at me quite strange-like; I thought she knew him, they seemed quite friends-like?

do (dú), (ɔ'i aalɛz dú it, sɔn ɔ'i dú), I always do it, so I do. (i tænz in dhéev puti rɛglɛr ɛ)nɔ'its, i dú) he turns in there pretty regular at nights, he do.

gave. In Welwyn (gɪv), in Hitchin (gæv).

audacious (éudéi'shəs), impudent, —common.

who (iu). "I be-ant a-goin ther ter-day." "They people over at Har-

ford *aint* [anciently beant] like *we*," "Lookee, there, if that aint [or beant] our Jim, dooant e jist look spry [(spráɪ) not (sprɔ'i)] since ee's biin keepin company with Jane," universally used for courting.

-en, in *yearn hisn hern theirn ousen rosen* [at Welwyn].

town, up town, down town, always without the article.

done, "it was im as done it, she done it, its er as done it, it's them as done it."

favour, "e (the os) favours is off leg wus than yesterday," does not rest on it being lame; "bless me ow she dew favour her mother sure-lie," how like she is to.

shut (shɛt), *shrink* (sriɪk), *put* (put), *foot* (fæt).

donkey female ass, the male being a jackass. *clock* is feminine.

The indications were not sufficient for me to give the pronunciation fully in these notes.

HITCHIN dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from notes obtained by C. W. Wilshire, Esq.,
of the Frythe, Welwyn.

1. *soo* ɔ'i *sez*, *meets*, *sez* ɔ'i, *ju* sii *es* *eu* ɔ'i)m *rɔit* ɔbɛut *dhæt*
lɪtl *en* [dhæt *ɟɑq* *gæl*] *ez* *iz* v'kəm'in *éut* v' *skuuld* *ɟæn* də.

2. *shii*-z *vgoo* in *dém* [dæ'u] *dhæt* *é* *rúud* *dhév*, *thruu* *dhe*
red *gíet* v) *tédhə* [ə) *dhis*] *sáid* v *dhe* *wee*.

3. *shíur* *enɛf* *if* *shi* *cent* v) *gaan* *rɔit* *ap* *te* *dhe* *dúuer* v) *dhe* *rɔq*
éus.

4. *blest* *if* *shi* *woont* [bet v *pen* i *shii* l] *fɔ'ind* *dhæt* *dræqkn* *ool*
tjæp *dhév*, *wiz* 'nd *ool* :təm.

5. *wi* *aal* *nooz* *im* *put* i *wel*.

6. *woont* *dhe* *ool* *tjæp* *suun* *lern* v *te* *teek* *kéer* *eu* *shi* *daz* *it*
egen, *púue* *thing* !

7. *læk* i *dhév* ! *túueld* *je* *soo*.

Notes.

I is distinctly broad (ɔ'i).

(unéu) is said when it refers to the plural.

HARPENDEN (4 n.St. Albans) cwl.

words from Mr. T. Wilson's dt.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 *nēm*. A: 43 *aend*. A: or O: 58 *fæn* [ʔ]. 64 *rɔq*. A'- 67
gu'in. 92 *nóu*. A': 104 *rúud*. 121 *gaan*. Æ- 144 *vgi'n*. Æ: 177
dhɔt. Æ'- 183 *tetɟ*. Æ': 223 *dhie*. 224 *wie*. E: 261 *sá'i*.
262 *wái*. 265 *stréet*. 266 *wæl*. E'- 293 *wee*. 297 *fæls* *felə*. EA:
326 *ól*. 346 *gíet* *gért* *gæt*. EA': 355 *deth*. EO: 394 *jende*.
EO'- 412 *shee* [ʔ]. EO': 428 *see* [ʔ]. 435 *je'u*. 436 *tríu*. I: 452
ai [probably, uncertain]. 459 *ra'it*. 466 *tjɔ'd*. 469 *wol* [will]. 477 *rɔ'nd*.
480 *fiqk* *fiq* *thiik*. 482 *cent* [is not]. I'- 492 *só'id*. O: 541 *want*
want. O'- 560 *skuuld*. 564 *siun*. O': 579 *me'u*. 586 *díu*. U- 606
dúue. U: 634 *throo*. U'- 643 *ne'u*. U': 658 *díe'un*. 663 *e'us*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 *gæl*. U. 804 *dræqk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 841 *tjaans*. E.. 885 *weri*. U.. 969 *shíue*.

HATFIELD (6 wsw.Hertford) cwl.

wn. in 1884 by TH., chiefly from J. Hart 62, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *téik*. 5 *méik*. 8 *ént* [hasn't]. A'- 74 *tæ'u*. 82 *wans*. A': 104
rð'ud [old form (*rúud*)]. 121 *gaan*. 128 *dhð'uz*. Æ- 144 *vgjè'n*. EA:
326 *ól*. 346 *gje'it*. EO: 394 *jende*. 402 *laan* [old form]. EO'- 411

thrii. I: 466 tʃáil. 480 enithiqk [anything]. — iten [hitting]. I' - 492
 sáid. O: 541 wóunt want. O': 586 dā'u. 587 [between] dā'n, da'n.
 U- 606 dóv. U' - 650 vbo'ut. U': 663 [between] ə'us, e'us.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lād [used more than boy]. I. and Y. 758 gʃəl [old form, Mrs.
 H. said between] gʃəl gʃæ'l. O. — laast [lost]. 791 bôl [more often lad].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — gaad'nin [gardening]. O. — pamp [pump].

VAR. ii. BEDFORDSHIRE.

The Bd. var. is scarcely distinguishable from the Ht. We have Batchelor's account written 80 years ago, and it scarcely differs from the present pron., as shewn by the following dt. from Ridgmont and the es. from Bedford. It is sufficient to leave these to tell their own story.

T. Batchelor in 1809 wrote an "Orthoepical Analysis of the English Language—to which is added a minute and copious analysis of the dialect of Bedfordshire," 8vo. pp. viii. 164. This differs from ordinary writing about dialects by being written in a systematic character, and therefore I deviate from my usual habit of disregarding printed books. All is here given in the best pal. interpretation I could assign. But of course difficulties and uncertainties abound. Thus, (e, ɛ) are quite uncertain, and hence (éu, e'u). Similarly, (ə, ɜ), and hence (ə'i, ɜ'i), are also uncertain. The simple (e, ə) are therefore alone used. B. has no other way of expressing (ii, uu) but by the equivalents of (iɜ, uɰ), which might mean (ii, úu), but I interpret them as (ii, uu) for simplicity. B.'s *r* is said to be always "smooth," and that means most probably, as generally in E. div., before a vowel (*r*) or (*r*_o), and when not before a vowel simply (*v*); but to indicate his usage, 'permissive *r*' or (*ɹ*) is here employed. For the simple (*v*) see the following es. and dt. B. gives a very long list of principally "accidental" errors of pronunciation, and a large number of "colloquial phrases or low vulgarisms." The first I give to a small extent in a cwl. and a few of the latter are also added. But to go into the whole would be to give undue prominence to the district. His rules for pronouncing the dialect in 1809 amount to the following, the examples and pronunciation are his own.

1. *ow* generally = (éu), this refers to the words with U' (néu kén dhéu féul éul, now cow thou foul owl, and O' (pléu) plough, and with the French OU (véu, vléu) vow, allow. He takes the received diphthong as (óu).

2. Long *ū* is generally (iu), as trūn, trūs, true, truce, and in French words (mōuz, riw'in, niuzens, krō'il, slūs) muse, ruin, nuisance, cruel, sluice.

3. *ai ay* = (éei) in déei wéei séei néeil réeil, day way say nail rail and French (péei péeil), but *a* followed by a consonant and final *e* is (éu, év, éeu), for which I usually write (éu), as (séeul séeil sale sail, téel téil tale tail, méel méil male mail, péel péil pale pail. This corresponds to the treatment of A-, ÆG-, EG, to which other Saxon and French words are levelled up, thus he

gives also (wéer téer géert) wear tear gate, and (grées plées spées péer) grace place-space, pear & pair. And he says (néeshen stéer-hen) nation station occur in n.Bd.

4. *ea* and long *e* before *r* = (úe), for which I usually write (ie), these words are from various sources (hiēt miēt swiēt biēt fiēr :djiēmz piēr biēr) heat meat sweat beat fear James peer beer.

5. *oa* and *o* before a consonant followed by *e* = (úe), as (múen grúen thrúet búet túen sepúez, be túer múer flúer moan groan throat bought tone suppose before more floor; here whatever has (oo, oo'w) in received speech is levelled up. But B. adds *not* in "hope home rope spoke oak told mould sold soul roll," and *not* in (nóou dhóou dóou króou no though doe crow, so that each word would have as usual to be separately acquired.

6. *o* short before (k, g, q) is (o), as (brók strók spók fók broke stroke spoke folk, (dog hog rog dog hog rogue, (soq loq roq song long wrong. This rule is difficult, the *o* being (now at least) often long in rs.

7. (oq, oqk of rs. become (uq, uqk, as (soq duq huq druqk muqk truqk suqk buq muqgril umuq sung dung hung drunk monk trunk sunk bung mongrel among.

8. *oi, oy* become (ə'i) in (brə'il spə'il fə'il be'il sə'il ə'il ə'intment nə'iz təmə d rə'al) broil spoil foil boil soil oil ointment noise turmoil royal; but is (ə'i) in enjoy noise [as well as (nə'iz)?] voice choice toys boys = (bə'iz).

9. *e* is not pronounced before *s* followed by *e* or by a consonant, as (fəst dəst wəst kūs fūs aas baader bath wəth wəstid first durst worst course force horse border birth worth worsted. Here we have not always simple omission.

10. *-ow* final is often (ə), or more probably -e except when a vowel follows, (elbu melu mēru wīndu elbow mellow narrow window, also (ə'idie putéeite :æ'trike :tjéini) idea potato Africa Chinaware.

11. *-nge* final = (uzh) not (nd) as (stréeinzh réeinzh méeinzh sprinzh twinzh sinzh swinzh strange range mange springe twinge singe swinge.

12. *-ing* of participles is (in), as (sigin) singing, (gu'in) going.

13. *wh* initial is simple (w), as (wot) what.

14. *h* initial generally omitted, as (i iz im) he his him, but sometimes inserted in the wrong place, as (h)aal héel haader hækshændə'ien)awl owl order axe and iron.

15. *-aw* final generally = (-aa), but the custom is disappearing, (laa saa klaa) law saw claw.

16. *er, ir* followed by a consonant is (ə), meaning really (əə, ɛɛ, and unaccented seems to be (ə) or simply (e); (pərhəps pərswéed pərt məsitəd pərs'n) perhaps persuade pert merciful person.

17. unaccented *e*, takes the place of long *o* and even *a* in initial, middle and final unaccented syllables, as (i'nəsens ɛkəɪ ɛtə'nd eləun ɛkəunt) innocence occur offend alone account.

I are for *I am* is common, he'm she'm we'm you'm they'm, are used by a few. On b. of Bu. I be, ye be, are heard.

Batchelor's Bd. Sentences. Only a few are given.

- (wot ɛ vaas sə'it ɛv fɔk), what a vast sight of folk.
- (ə'il bi wu ɛ nekst wéiz), I'll be with you next ways, i.e. I'll come soon.
- (hiiz loq ɛ dhv bak an im), he's long of the back on him, i.e. he has a long back.
- (dhiez ɛ gud wīnts, baalīz), these are good wheats, barleys, etc., i.e. good kinds of wheats, etc.
- (ə'i kaant méek nɔthin ɛv it, nedhə hed nəɪ téil an t), I can't make nothing of it, neither head nor tail of it.
- (giv mii ɛ fiu brəath, pəridʒ), give me some broth, porridge.
- (héu meni brəath? iz dhéer eniu), how many [much] broth? is there anew. [Broth is always in the plural.]

8. (:mistres :m. iz néishen, maaatel, déusid rity, píuæ, il, gud, bad, hansem, ægli, etc.), Mrs. M. is 'nation, mortal, deucid rich, poor, ill, good, bad, handsome, ugly.
9. (dhéæ wæz v dæ-næ he-meni'), there was I don't know how many.
10. (aales gu'in tæ féæz æn sity), always going to fairs and such like.
11. (everi néu æn tan), every now and then, (dhen) with (dh) assimilated to the preceding (n).
12. (dhi wedhæ)z píuæ kômfeitebl ooover it wor), the weather is pure comfortable over it was.
13. (æ'i he)æ wæts tæjæ), I have no oats to-year [this year].
14. (it)s pæti gudish, bôbish, læ'ik), it's pretty goodish, bôbbish, like; the 'like' qualifies the meaning similarly to the usual as it were, it is *about* pretty good.
15. (it stanz tæ sens, hii wænt bi sed), it stands to sense [it is clear] he won't be said [stopped by words].

RIDGEMONT (9 ssw.Bedford) dt.

pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Susan Wheck, native, student at Whitelands, June, 1881.

1. soo æ'i séæi, méæits, juu sii nê'u æ)æ ræ'it æbæ'ut dhæt lit'l gel [gæel] kæm-ræn from dhæ skul jonde.
2. æ)æ goo'in dæ'un dhæ rúæd dhéæv, thruu dhæ ræd géæet on dhæ left æ'nd sæ'id æv dhæ wææi.
3. shææ ænæf dhæ tja'ild)z gæn stréæet æp tæ dhæ dúæv æ)dhæ roq æ'us.
4. wææ shi'l læ'ik-li fæ'ind dhæt dræqk'n dæf sriqk'ld fæler)æv dhæ néæm æv :tæm-ræ.
5. wi æal nooz æm væri wel.
6. wænt dh)ooold tja'p sæn tæetj [laan] æ not tæ duu)t ægin', píuæ thiq!
7. luk)i, æent it triu [try'u].

Notes.

2. *her-are* = she is (æ'æ).—*thou* is not usual. *I he we they knows* is common. Has not heard *he do*. The *w* and *v* are never confused. The euphonic *r* is freely introduced, as (sæærin) for *sawing*, but final *r* is the same as in London, *earth hearth* being (ææth ææth). The pl. of nouns in -*st* is -*steses*, as (biis'tesiz).—*I are* is commonest, pronounced when unem-

phatic (æ'i)æ or (æ)æ, and emphatic (æ'i ææ).—(géæet) is commoner than (giæt).—*pail, pale* are sometimes distinguished as (péil, péæl) by the peasantry.—*home, shrub* are (æm, sræb). The (h) is constantly omitted, and (w) is used for (wh) initial.—*enough* is pronounced as ænæf, ænæ'u, but with no distinction in meaning.

MID BEDFORDSHIRE CS.

pal. in 1877 by AJE. from dict. of James Wyatt, Esq., St. Peter's Green, Bedford, not a native, but who had resided 40 years in the county, and "knew the country talk pretty well." He had not observed any strong mark of separation between n. and s.Bd., but in extreme s.Bd. *I be* is used, not in n.

0. wə'i :dʒən ɛz noo dénts.

1. wel, néeba, jiu en ii mu búeth laaaf ɛt dhɪs níuz ɛ mə'in. íu kieɪ? dhat's nəðher íe ne dhéɛ.

2. fiu men dʒ'i kəz dhu bi laaft ɛt, wi noo doont wi? wət shud méekʊm? ít ízn't vəri lə'íkli, íz ít?

3. éuzi'va dhiizʊ ɛ dhu faks ɛ dhu kíus [kéus], soo dʒɪst oold ɜn nə'íz, frínd, en bi kəw'íet tel [wə'il] ɔ'i ɛ dən. aar ki.

4. ɔ'i m saat'n ɔ'i əd'ɛm see—səm ɛ dhem dhéɛ fook u went θríu dhu həl θhɪq frəm dhu fəst dhu'selvz—dhat díd ɔ'i, séuf [sɪf] ɛnəf—

5. dhet dhu ɟʌgɪst sən íz'self, ɛ gəɪt búí ɛ nə'in, nood íiz fadhɛz və'ís ɛt wəns, dhoo ít wəɪ, sɛ kə'íer en skə'íkɪn lə'ík, en ɔ'i ɛd trəst ím tɛ spíek dhu tríuth əní deɛ, aa ɔ'i ɪd.

6. en dhu ool d'ɛmən ɛ'self, l tel əní ɛ jiu dhet laaaf néu, en tel jiu street aaf tíu, ɛ, éut mətʃ bəðher, íf so bii ɛz jiu, l ooni aks ɛr, oo wənt shi?

7. líistweez shi teld ít tɛ mii, wən ɔ'i akst'ɛ, tíu ɛ θríi tə'ímz ooʊv, díd 'shii, en shii aat nɔt tɛ bi rəq ən sɪtʃ ɛ pɔ'ínt ɛz dhɪs íe, wət de jiu θhɪq?

8. wel, ɛz ɔ'i wɛr ɛ'seɪ'n, 'shii ɛl tel jiu, éu, wíer, en wən shi fən dhu drɒk'n bíest, ɛz shi kəalɪ ɛr ɛzben.

9. shi súb shi siid ím wii ɛr úen ɔ'íz lee'ín stɛtʃt ɛt fəl lenth ən dhu grəʊnd ín íiz gʊd sændi káet, kloos bí dhu dúer ɛ dhu, éus, déʊn ɛt dhu kəʊnɛr ɛ dhat dhéɛ léen.

10. ii wɛr ɛwə'i nɪn ɛweɪ, sɛz shii, fɜr aal dhu wəɪld lə'ík ɛ sɪk tʃɔ'íld ɛr ɛ lɪ'l gæl ɛ'fɪetɪn.

11. en dhat əp'nd ɛz shii en ɛ dhat ɪn lə'ɛ kəm θríu dhu bək ɟaɪd frəm ɛ, əq'ín éut dhu wɛt klúɛz tɛ drɔ'i ən ɛ wəʃɪn deɛ,

12. wə'il dhu kɪ'l wɛr ɛ bə'ílɪn fɛ tii, wən fə'ín brɔ'ít səmə aatenuun, ooni ɛ wiik ɛguu kəm nekst θəzdi.

13. en de jiu noo? ɔ'i nɪvɛ laant əní múɛ ne dhɪs ɛ dhat dhéɛ bɪznɪz əp tɛ tedeɪ, ɛz shíuer ɛz mə'i níem íz :dʒən :shípɛd, en ɔ'i doont woont tíu ədhɛ, dhíɛ néu!

14. en soo ɔ'i bí ɛgu'ín hám tɛ aa mɪ səpɛ. gʊd nə'ít, en doont bii sɛ kə'ík tɛ kroo ooʊvɛr ɛ tʃəp ɛg'ín, wən í tæks ɛ dhɪs dhat ɛ tadhɛ.

15. ít's ɛ wíek fuul ɛz príets ɛ, éut rɛɛz'n. en dhat's mə'i laast pɛwə bə'í.

Notes.

0. *why*, for the long *i* Mr. W. sometimes said (*ái, ái*), the (*ɔ'i*) which he wrote was not consistently pronounced; but it was quite (*A'i*) at Ridgmont.—*doubts*, Mr. W.'s (*éu*) was probably a refined form, as I got (*E'u*) from Ridgmont.

1. *neighbour*. Mr. W. treated *r* in the London way quite vanishing except before a vowel. TH. finds a decided *r* in Bd., but very moderate, probably not

more than (*r*), of course it was in no wise trilled.

2. *make*. (*méek méek*), "two persons in the same house will pronounce the word in different ways."

3. *case*, double pronunciation as for *make*.—*hark*, here Mr. W. considered that there was an *r*, but that it was not "quite trilled." I failed to hear it.

4. *say*, (*see*) and distinctly not (*séei see'j*), which Mr. W. did not recognise

at all. But I got it from Ridgmont, and it is found in Batchelor.—*whole*, (həl with the aspirate clearly pronounced.—*safe*, see *make* par. 2.

5. *his*, specially dictated as (iiz), quasi *he's*.

6. *without*, apparently a form of (vréut) arout = athout (vðhéut).

8. *beast*, plural (bístez).

9. *full*, the (fal) was clear, but they do not say (bəl).—*on*, the (an) was very distinct.—*lane*, see *make* par 2, for *yonder* they would use (jinde).

11. *law*, the pronunciation assumes *law* to become *lawr*.

12. *tea*, observe (tii), not (tee).

14. *home*; the aspirate well pronounced.

Miscellaneous Words and Phrases furnished by Mr. Wyatt.

1. (ɔ'i wul), I will.
2. (hi had'nt ʌt), he should not.
3. (éuzən), houses.
4. (tə empt), empty.
5. (eníu), enow, more general in the north, (enəf) enough, in the south.
6. (dæbθ), depth.
7. (dizaa'v), deserve.
8. (ən'gívrín), ungiving, (ən-) is usual for *un*.
9. (ɔ'i gəv ím v díqrər ən dhv tɔp, soo í sən gən oovv), I gave him a stinger, strong blow, on the chops, so he soon given (gave) over, or discontinued.
10. (shi gaʌnd at mɪ), she stared, girmed, at me.
11. (i ɔt mɪ v klɪqkər ən dhv bak), he hit me a clinker on the back.
12. (ɔ'i kud'nt ap'ən vɪ anɪ nəledʒəbl man), I could not happen-of (=meet with) any knowledgable man.
13. (an lə'íkɪnz), on liking or approbation.
14. (ɔ'i lə'ík v fíu braath. ɔ'i beent soo mətɪ rapt əp ín spuun vɪ'tl; gím'í plen tí v gud bíif vɪ mæsted, dhat íz sɛm'ət for v fɛlv tɪ ləl əgín), I like a few (=some) broth. I be-not so much wrapped up in spoon victual; give-me plenty of good beef and mustard, that is somewhat for a fellow to loll (=lean back, rest) against.
15. (ɔ'i beent), is used on the Bu. or w. side, (ɔ'i eent) is n.
16. (moost'n)íin) ? (múest), most-on-end=generally.
17. (ʌʌ'kəd, pleez'ən, píərət), awkward, pleasing, pert=saucy, full of spirit.
18. (i kəm pʌaltɪ'ín rɔ'ít ən mɔ'í fæt, fít), he came poltering right on my foot, feet; to *palch* is used for walking slowly in Dv., but *palchin* is a fish spear.
19. (rɔts vɪ mɪs), rats and mice.
20. (skúv, skrat, sɔ'íth, sɪd'vz, spɔ'í'tík'lz, tíom, tɔ'ít, fɔrvdɪ), score, scratch, sigh, scissors, spectacles, team, tight and forwarder =tipsy.
21. (ii)z dhv vɛk'sínest vɪ éudee'shúsest búí), he's the vexing-est and audacious-est boy.
22. (jíu)v bɪn v-etín ar'vwig pɔ'í, jii)v sv shaap), you've been a-eating earwig pie, ye are so sharp.

23. (i AA'ləz tʃɛts púə fook éut v dhə rɔ'its), he always cheats poor folk out of their rights.
 24. (jáu-l bii tɛ gɛt dhat dhée piəpɛ dən éut), you'll be to get that there paper done out=you'll have to get that document copied.
 25. (i did lək noo weez ɛz plez ɛnt lɔ'ik), he did look nowise as pleasant, like.
 26. (ɔ'i doont sɛt noo stúv bɔ'i gælz, ɔ'i)d raadhə av búiz), I do-not set no (=any) store by girls, I'd rather have boys.
 27. (wats, war, ʃæbz, hilt, wɛtʃod, bab'i), oats, our, herbs, held, wet-shod, baby.

BEDFORDSHIRE cwl.

B from Batchelor, but not nearly all his words.

D from TH.'s Dunstable observations on a railway porter, a native, representing extreme s.Bd.

R from Miss Wheck's dt. for Ridgmont.

W from Mr. Wyatt's es.

H Mr. Rowland Hill's word list for Bedford generally confirms the above, I give a few differences, or new words.

In Hatley Cockayne (12 e.Bedford), the dialect has been nearly exterminated by the action of a former Rector, the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, and his wife.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 W méuk. 8 W aa. 11 B maa. 12 B saa, H saa. 13 B naa. 14 B draa. 17 B laa, W laa'e. 20 H léem. 21 W níem, RH néem, D ne'im. 23 H séem. 24 H shéem. 35 B haal. 36 H thaa'e. 37 B klaa. A: 43 R a'nd. 44 H laand. 42 W aq. 50 H tæqz. 51 H mən man. 54 W woont, H wa'ent. 46 W wosh. A: or O: 60 B ləq, H ləq. 61 B ɛmæ'q. 62 H strəq. 64 B roq, R roq, D rəq, H rəq. 65 B soq.

A'- 67 W gu'in, R goo'in, H gu. 69 D nóu. 72 W íu [interrogative, (u) relative]. 73 R soo. 76 H táud. 79 W ún. 81 W léen. 82 W wans. 83 B múen. 84 W múv, H maa. 86 BW wəts. 87 W klúes. 89 W búeth. 92 WR noo. 94 W kroo. A': 103 BW aks. 104 R ráued. 107 H lúef. 110 W doont [don't]. 111 W Aat. 113 W hæl, H hæl wæl. 115 W hēm, D ðm. 117 W wēn. 118 B búen. 120 W egu. 121 R gə'n. 122 W noo, D nóu. 123 B naadhən nəthən. 124 B stúen ston. 125 W ooni. 129 H gúest. 134 B wuth, H óeth. 136 W ədhə. 137 W nadhə.

Æ- 138 W fadhə, D faadhə[r] ["In e.Sf. Cb. no r in these cases, in Bd. r certainly but very moderate," says TH. but probably [r] would better represent the sound, if he was not mistaken]. 141 H néel. 142 H snéel. 144 W ɛgín. 147 H brén. Æ: 154 W bak. 155 B thek. 157 H reev'n. 158 W aate. 161 W dee, D dē'i. 169 BW wen. 173 [(war) used]. 179 BW wot. Æ'- 183 R teetj. 184 H liəd. 187 B liév. 189 H wee. 190 B kéei. 194 W ani. 199 B blaāt, H bliet. 200 BH wíet, D wiit. 202 B híet. Æ': 209 W níve. 213 H cədhə. 221 B fíu. 223 W dhée dhíe, D dhē'vər, R dhéev. 224 B wéu. W wíu, R wæ. 226 H móest. 227 W wēt. 228 swíet.

E- 233 W speek, D spiik. 236 H fiive. 239 H se'il. 241 H re'in. 243 H ple'i. — B téu [tear]. 249 B wéu. 251 míet. 252 BW kit'l. E: 261 W see, R séei, DH se'i. 262 R wéei, DH we'i. 263 W ewee. 264 H e'il. 265 W street, R stréet, H stráit [:]. 272 H helm [generally]. — BW iind [end]. 281 W lenth. — B gəm [grin]. 284 H thresh. E'- 290 WD ii. 293 W wi. 297 WR fəlz. 299 D grán. E': 312 W ív. 314 W əəd, D íuəd [see 138]. 316 H neks [frequently, without the t].

EA- 320 W kíez. EA: 322 W laaaf, D laaf. 323 H fit. 324 B áit,

H eet. 326 W ool+d, R oold, D ôud. 330 B hóoult, W oold. 335 R aal. 338 W kaal. 340 W jaad. 342 B éem. 346 B géet, R géet. EA'- 347 D e'd. 348 W o'i. 349 W fiu. EA': 352 R red. 355 B deth, R def. 357 W dhoo. 359 W nébbe. 360 WH tiem. 361 H bien. 363 H tjiép, W tjiap, R tji'p. 366 W gæet, D gréit. 370 raa. EI- 372 W aa, H o'i. 373 W dhéev. EI: 377 H stéek. 378 W wíek.

EO- 386 B jéu. 387 W niu. EO: 390 W shud. 393 B bijend. 394 B jendex endex, R jonde. 399 W bró'it. 402 B laamin læmin, RD laan. 406 B éerth iith jeth. EO'- 411 W thrui. 412 W shii. EO': 422 W W sik. 425 H lo'it. 428 R sii. 430 BW frind. 431 B bíex. 434 B biét. 435 W jiu. 436 BR triú. 437 W triuth. EY- 438 W do'i, D da'i. EY: 439 W trast.

I- 440 H wíek. 446 W noín. — B iis 'ms 'mns [yes]. 449 H git. I: 452 W o'i, R a'i [practically the same sound]. 458 W no'it, D [between] na'it na'it. 459 R ra'it. 463 W tel. 465 W sitj. 466 W tji'ild, R tji'ild. 469 BW wul [will]. 473 H blo'ind. 477 R fa'ind. 478 H gréind. — B hñmest [hindmost]. 480 W thiq. 483 W iiz. 485 B fis'l. 488 B jit. I'- 491 B so'ith, W so'ith. 492 R sa'id. 494 W to'im. 499 B bet'l. I': 500 W lo'ik, R la'ik. 503 H lo'if. 506 W amén. 508 H mo'il. 509 W wo'il. 510 W mo'in.

O- 519 W oovv. — B drap [drop]. — B smædæ [smother]. 524 W wæald. — B thrúet [throat]. O: 527 B búet bot. 531 B daatæ, W daate, D daate[r] [see 138]. 535 B fok, W fook [but the length of Mr. W.'s vowel was not particularly observed]. 536 H gúuld. 538 W ud. 541 WR want. 542 H búult. 550 W wæed. 551 B staaum. 554 B kraas. O'- 555 D shæ'u. 556 W tiu. 558 WR luk. 560 R sku_l. 562 D mæ'un [H says it is (niun) "soft," as the (mæ'un) often sounds, but I think this (æ'u) at Dunstable was an individuality]. 564 R sm. 565 H núvz. O': 569 H bæk. 570 H tæk. 571 W gud. 578 B pléu. 579 WR enai [in the s.; but (enú) more general in the n., H gives it]. 583 H túel. 584 H stúel. 586 R duu. 587 W dæn, D dæn. 588 D næ'un. 589 H spúen. 590 húex. 591 B múex. 592 W súe. 595 W fat, H fæt. 597 H sët.

U- 603 B kæm, k'æp [come up], RD kæm. 604 sæmv. — B mʊqk [monk]. 605 W sæn, D sæ'n. 606 W dúv, R dúv, D dōv[r] [see 138]. U: 609 W fæl. 612 W sëm. 613 B druqk. 616 W græ'und. 619 B féund, fōnd, W fæn. 632 W æp. 634 W thriu, R thruu. 635 B wath. U'- 640 B kéu. 641 W éu [H. says that this diphthong is "broad and flat," and seems to mean (æ'u), but he may mean (e'u) after all]. 642 B dhéu. 643 BW néu, R næ'u. 647 B héul. 648 W wæc. 650 R vbe'ut. 651 W v'éu't. U': 655 B féul. 658 W dæun, R de'um. 663 B héus [the kitchen where the family sit], W éus, R éus, D [between] æ'us, æ'us. 666 W æzben. 667 W éut.

Y- 673 matj. 675 W dró'i. 682 B liit'l [intensive form], WR lit'l. Y: 692 W juqgist. 696 B beth. 700 B wæs. 701 BW fæst. 702 W wii. Y- 706 W wo'i. Y': 712 W miis, H mo'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 W taak. 737 R méet. 738 W priet. E. 745 W tjet. 751 B paut, W piut. I. and Y. 758 B gal, WR gæl, R gæl. 760 B sriv'l. O. 761 H lúed. — B dog [dog]. 767 B næ'iz, W næ'iz. — B mʊqgril [mongrel]. 790 H [adds a (d) gownd]. 791 W búí, H bō'i. U. 804 W druqk'n, R druqk'n [perhaps Miss W. did not know the word well].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 B plévs. — B fréil [flail]. 824 B tjiér. 833 B pév. — B pléizher [pleasure]. 835 B réiz'n, W reez'n. 840 B tjiambæ. 849 B stréinzher. — B waandhi waantji [warrant you]. 857 W kús kéus. 862 W séuf síuf. 864 W kóz. 866 R píuv.

E.. 867 W tii. 885 WR veri. — W jæabz [herbs]. 888 BW saartin. 890 BW biest. 895 B risiet [receipt]. — B weks [vex], W veks. 901 W fo'in. 910 H djs'ist.

O.. 913 H kúetj. 916 B injen iqen. 917 B rog. 919 B á'intment.
 920 W pə'int. 925 W və'is, H və'is. 926 B spə'il. — B wə'k'l [uncle].
 938 W kAANv. 939 W kloos. 940 W kúet. 941 W fuul. 944 B eléu'.
 945 B véu. 947 BW bə'il. 950 W səpə. 952 B kúes. 955 W déuts. 956
 B kiver.

U.. 963 W kəc'iet. 965 B ə'il. — B néetəi [nature]. 969 W shíue, R
 shəo. 970 W djist.

VAR. iii. HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

All s. of the n *sum* line No. 1, which passes just s. of Sawtry (9
 nnw.Huntingdon) and n. of Ramsey (10 nne.Huntingdon), the
 pron. is thoroughly ME. in every particular, that is, it practically
 coincides with that of the Ht. and Bd. varieties, and n. of this line
 the change seems to be confined to the treatment of U as (ə) in the
 s. and (u) or (u_o) in the n. But as all the (ə) are modernisms, this
 difference, as before observed, p. 16, cannot be considered to
 determine a difference of dialect which is preserved in all other
 important particulars.

Without TH.'s investigations, in which he was so kindly
 assisted at Great Stukeley by the late vicar's daughter, Miss
 Ebdén, I should have had a most imperfect notion of Hu. pron.,
 but these have enabled me to appreciate other information, and to
 determine the general homogeneity of the E. forms throughout the
 m. and s. part of the county, and the change in the n. part with
 respect to the treatment of U only, all other M. characters being
 absent.

GT. STUKELEY (2 nnw.Hu.) dt.

written io. by Miss Ebdén, daughter of the late Vicar, but corrected by the
 results of TH.'s interviews with old inhabitants as given in the adjoining wl.

1. sôu A'i se'i, me'its, ju sii ne'u dhet A'i)m ra'it ube'ut dhet
 lit'l gja'l kə'min frem dhə skuul jində.

2. shi)z gu'in de'im dhə rûed dhé, thrû dhə red gje'it ən dhə
 left [hand sə'id v)dhə we'i.

3. shûv enəf dhə tja'ild)z gan stréit əp tîu dhə dôv v)dhə rəq
 [héus.

4. wiə shi)l tjəns tîu fa'ind dhat drəqk'n deth [=deaf] sriv'ld
 fəlv v)dhə ne'im v :təməs.

5. wi aal ən əs nòuz im veri wel.

6. wənt dhə ôuld tjap suun tiitj)v nət te dîu it vge'n, pôv thiq !

7. luk, éint it trîu.

GREAT STUKELEY cwl.

wn. by TH. in 1881 from William Johnson 77, and James Valentine 75,
 natives and labourers, to whom he was introduced by Miss Ebdén, daughter
 of the late Vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 ne'im. A: — kànt [cannot]. 57 às. A: or O: 64 roq.
 A'- 67 egóin egu'in. — slə'ın [pl. sloes]. 69 nóu. 73 sóu. 74 tíuu. 92 dhe
 nood [they knowed]. A': 105 rûed. 115 òm. 122 nò. 130 bûet. 132
 otud [hotted, made hot]. Æ- 138 faadhə. 144 vge'n. Æ: 158 áfte.

161 de^{ti}. — bàg [bag]. — [həp^l] [apple]. 173 waa [=wor]. — [between] dlàs dlàs [glass]. — kaat [cart]. — sot [sat]. Æ'- 183 titj. 200 wit wiet. E': 218 shíp. 223 dhe^u. 224 wíe+r.

E- 233 spiik spréik. 248 me^u. 251 mîet. — fêdhê. E: 261 se^{ti}. 262 we^{ti}. 265 strêit stre^{ti}. 278 wentj [occ. usually (gjal)]. 280 elêb'm. E'- 290 i. 299 griin. E': 312 îe. 314 îed. EA: 322 [between] lãf lãf laaf. 324 e^{ti}. 326 ôuld. 332 teld. 346 gjéit. EA'- 347 êd. EA': 355 deth def. 366 grêt, grêet grêt. EI: 382 dhe^{en}. EO- 383 sev'n seb'm. 386 [between] e^u a^u. EO: 394 jãnde jãnde jãnde. 402 læn læn [æ'r, ær written, but then Johnson did not pronounce r when not before a vowel] læⁿ [Valentine's pron.]. EO'- 412 shì. EO': 428 si. 435 ju. jûen [yours]. 436 trîuu. 437 trîuth. EY- 438 dâi.

I- 447 æn [hern, written (æ'rn)]. I: 452 aⁱ dî. 458 na^{ti}. 452 ráit. 480 thiq. 482 éint [ain't, is not]. 483 iz'n. 488 jit. I'- — ongji^vin [ungiving, said of the frost giving way] gjî mî [give me]. 494 ta^m. I: 517 jîuu. O- — fored [forward]. O: — frøg [frog]. — srëbz [shrubs]. 527 ba^t. 531 daatê. 532 kûel. 541 wënt. — æ^{iz} [horses]. O'- 555 shuu. O: 579 enæⁱ [sg., but pl.] enîuu. 586 dîu, dôent [don't]. 587 dæn. 588 nuun. 595 fêt.

U- 603 ekâmîn [a-coming]. 605 sã'n. 606 dôv. U: — du^m [dumb]. — tãmb'l [tumble]. 632 æp. 634 thrîu. 636 fædv. [TH. considers that both speakers used final /-v r.]. U'- 643 ne^u. 648 a^uæn e^uen [ours]. U': 658 de^um. 663 e^{us}, [or between this and] a^{us}, e^{uz}n [pl.]. Y: — shat [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lad. — traantê [a tranter, carrier, buyer and seller of corn]. I. and Y. 758 ga^l, gjal [generally, occ. (wentj)]. O. — tløk [clock]. — tlog [clog]. — dôg [dog]. 791 bôî. U. — tãb [tub]. — skæf^l [scuffle, to rough harrow]. — læmp [lump]. — gæn [gun]. 804 dræqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 ple^{ti}z'n [pl.]. 841 trãns. — gäd'n [garden, TH. writes (gàr-)]. — paalê [parlour]. 866 pûv. E.. 869 vîel. — prietj [preach]. I.. and Y.. — ba^{il} [bile, bilious attack]. 901 faⁱⁿ. 903 dînv. O.. — tûast [toast]. U.. — dîuu [glue]. 969 shûe.

Words. aⁱ m bã^t it I am=have bought it, fîd fîdged, e^u dæn it have you done it, iz i, dæn it is=has he done it, mîet enæⁱ, tôtev enîuu, (traantê) tranter, dôkî food carried with workmen, rækln youngest pig of a litter, (k-rôsh) crush, (æ-peza^{ti}) opposite, (dô-seti) audacity, courage, (frit) frightened.

SAWTRY (9 nnw.Huntingdon) AND HOLME (10 nnw.Huntingdon).

TH. was also introduced by Miss Ebdén to John Harlock, aged 81, a Sawtry man, who had left his village in 1816, and worked in other parts of Hu. and Ch. His speech was mainly the same as that of the other old men at Great Stukeley, except in one important particular, the treatment of U. Harlock used the M. vowel (u_{\circ}), and the others the S. vowel (u). Thus I find noted (ru_{\circ} n, vu_{\circ} q, ju_{\circ} qist, ru_{\circ} q, $dù_{\circ}$ n, shu_{\circ} t, tu_{\circ} b, tu_{\circ} nîb'l, fu_{\circ} t, $skru_{\circ}$ sh, su_{\circ} n, sru_{\circ} bz, enu_{\circ} f, du_{\circ} m), run, along, youngest, wrong, done, shut, tub, tumble, foot, crash, sun, shrubs, enough, dumb. Only the words æp, dòn, gæn, kãmîn, were otherwise noted, of which (æp) was queried. To check this sudden transition, within a distance of 7 miles, which Miss Ebdén had also observed in a maid-servant from Sawtry, TH. went to Holme (:hòum), about 2 n.Sawtry, where he found (enu_{\circ} dhe, ku_{\circ} ntri, $sù_{\circ}$ m, tu_{\circ} mb'l, thu_{\circ} nde, u_{\circ} p,

gu_od, sù_on, ru_oq, su_ot, tu_op), another, country, some, tumble, thunder, up, good, son, wrong, soot, tup, and only (w_on, andred, k_omin, w_ost, one, hundred, coming, worst, with anything else but (u_o), where *one* belongs to the class A', *worst* arises from the *r*, and (k_om) seems to be common in many (u_o) regions. Hence I have drawn the n. *sum* line 1 through Hu., just s. of Sawtry. I think it unnecessary to cite TH.'s careful work at Holme and Sawtry more particularly, as it only confirms the pronunciations already obtained for Great Stukeley.

VAR. iv. MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

This variety differs from Ht. by the use of (u_o) for U, and scarcely in any other respect, although it is so far removed. The example from East Haddon is, however, evidently tinged slightly by Midland influence. From this Hannington, Harrington, and Lower Benefield are free. The researches of TH. were made in a large number of places chiefly for the sake of determining the S. limit of (u_o), hence the results are not very complete in other respects, but words enough are given to shew the strongly E. character of this comparatively remote district. The remarks on Lower Benefield will shew this distinctly.

EAST HADDON (7 nw. Northampton) es.

pal. by AJE. in 1873 from dict. of G. S. Hadley, then a railway porter at St. Pancras Station, an intelligent man and native of East Haddon. In consequence of TH.'s information from Watford and Weedon, Np., between which E. Haddon lies, I wrote to the long resident vicar, Rev. W. P. Mackesy, in 1886, and he informed me that in the two points I specially inquired after, (shéi k_ot) she cut, Hadley's pron. was correct. The (shéi) seems due to M. influence, and was observed also in Rt. As East Haddon is in the mixed region, we have the intermediate sound [o] in (f_ol b_olek) full bullock.

0. æ'u it iz :dʒən ez n_ou dæ'uts.

1. w_ol, neeb_or, juu en ðm mæ'i booth lææf et dh_os níuz ev m_oin. w_ot duu ái kéev? dhæts níidh_o úv n_o dhíúv.

2. fíu m_on dái bek_oz dhaa)v laaft æt, wéi n_ou, dóunt wéi? w_ot)ed meek em? it)s n_ot verí láikl_o iz it?

3. æ'usumev_o, dh_os iz dh_o træ'uth ev it, soo dʒíst oold j_o n_oíz, wíl)j_o, en b_oi kwáiv_o wáil ái)v finisht. l_os'n.

4. ái m shúuv_o ái úv_o em sæ'i—s_om ev dh_om f_ouks u went th_oru dh_o ol th_oq fr_om fæst t_o laast dh_ose'lvz—áí díd dhæ't, seef enæ'f.

5. dhæ't dh_o jæqgíst s_on izs_olf, v gréit b_oi ev n_oín, n_oúd iz faadh_oz v_ois ez so_on ez éi úv_o it—Aldh_o it w_oz s_ou kwíúv en skwéik_on, en ái w_od træst ðm t_o sp_oík dh_o træ'uth æni dæ'i, 'dhæ't ái w_od.

6. and dh)óuld w_omen es_olf w_od tel aal ev)ju dhæ't v lææfín næ'u, en tel ju street tæ'u wí)æ'u't matj b_odhe, íf ju,l ooní ast)v, oo! w_ount shéi?

7. æniwæ'iz shéi tóuld 'méi w_on áí aast)v tæ'u v thr_oi táimz oov_o shéi díd, en shéi ædn't aat t_o bí r_oq en s_otj v mæ'ter ez dh_os, w_ot d'ju th_oq?

8. wel ez *ái* wəz sə'in, shéi'd tel ju, æ'u, wíer en wen shéi fæ'und dhi dræqk'n skæmp dhæt shéi kaalz ɐr æzbən.

9. shéi súu shéi sii im wi ɐr óun æ'iz lái'in aal iz leqkth, en dhu græ'und, in iz best sendi flooz, floos tɐ dha dúuɐ ɐv iz æ'us, dæ'un ɐgín dhu kaa'ɐnɐ ɐv dhæt leen.

10. éi wəz wáinín ɐwæ'i, shéi sez, fɐr aal dhu wæld láik ɐ sɪk tjáild, ɐr ɐ lɪt'l gæl ɐ wɛrɪtín.

11. en dhæt ɐpɛnd ez shéi ɐn'ɐ daatɐr in laa kɛm thruu dhu bæc jaad frɔm æqín æ'ut dhu flooz tɐ dráɪ ɔn ɐ wáshín dæ'i,

12. wáil dhu ket'l wəz ɐ bóilín fɐ téi, wɛn fáin sámer aafternoon, ɔɔni ɐ wɪk ɐguu' kɛm nɛks thæzdi.

13. ænd duu ju nóou, *ái* nevv lænd æni móou dhen dhis ɐv dhæt biznis ɛp tɪl tɛdæ'i, ez shúuɐ ez mái neem)z :dʒɔn :shɛpɛd, ɐn *ái* dóunt wɛnt tɐ iɪdhu, dhíiv.

14. ænd soo *ai*)m ɐgu'in oom tɐ sɛpɐ. gud náit, ɐn dóunt ju bi so kwik tɐ króu oovɐ ænɪbɔdi, wɛn éi taaks ɐ dhis ɐn dhæt.

15. it's ɐ púuɐ fuul dhet taaks wi,æ'ut réiz'n. ɐn dhæt's mi laast wæd. gud báí.

Phrases from the same speaker.

1. (dhee lɪv in dhɛm æ'uziz), they live in those houses.
2. (wéi láik dhu mæn wel ɛnɛ'f), we like the man well enough.
3. (*ai*)m ɐgu'in dæ'un oom nɛkst wɪk), I'm a-going down home next week.
4. (júuɐ ɐn oold frɛnd ɐv máin), you are an old friend of mine ;
thou art scarcely ever used.
5. (uuz kaavz ɐn æfɛz aa dhee?), whose calves and heifers are they?
6. (wɔt's júb neem? spéik dhu trə'uth), what's your name? speak the truth.
7. (faadhɐ)z dhíiv, ɛɛnt éi? aast mædhɐ, shéi nooz), father's there, ain't he? ask mother, she knows.

Notes to the East Haddon cs.

1. *neighbour* is used in addressing. —*may* mæ'i. I noted at the time that *éi* æ'i were occ. difficult for me to catch, and that I heard them much better when conversing with Hadley, and that then æ'i, æ'u came out very well.—*I* láí, this at times approached closely to j'i, but j'i or á'i when it occurred was very distinct.—*laugh* (lææf) here and (laaft) in par. 2. It is very probable that (æ) was often used for a; as I wrote at the time, I retain it, but it is very probable that I appreciated incorrectly.

3. *truth*, though at the time I wrote (trə'uth), I noted that it was difficult to catch and not sure, and I now think it was a false appreciation for (trə'uth), with which I was then not sufficiently

familiar.—*friend*, (frɛnd frɛnz) are used.—*finished*, a common word here. But very probably (*ái*v, should be (*ái*)m).

5. *soon*, with (oo) and so *afternoon*, par. 12. they also use (ɛt-wɛns) at once without any following t.—*that I would*, (wéi) is used for aye, but is not so common as yes.

6. *all*, because any (æni) would not be used.

7. *matter*, point, pron. (póint), would not be used here.

8. *scamp*, beast (béist) would not be used in this sense.—*husband* and *wife* are the expressions always used.

9. *all his length*, stretched (stɛtɪt), full (fɔl) rather (fu:l), and so *bol botje*, bull butcher, shewing that the

place is in the *sum sōom* region.—*clothes*, but (*khoot*) coat is also used.—*that lane*, yon not used (*jandv*) is heard.

10. *whining*, this word is used; *girl* is the usual word, (*wensh*) in a bad sense, (*las*) not used, (*mæ'id*) is an old maid.

11. *wet clothes*, the *wet*, not in the text, is pron. (*wéit*).

12. *week*, observe (*wik*) not (*wik*), *weak* is (*wéik*).

13. *know*, (*nóou*), but *now* (*mæ'u*).—*shepherd*, observe *sheep* (*ship*), *ship* (*ship*).

14. *I'm a-going*, this prefix *a-* to the participle is regular.—*this and that*; *t'other* is not used.

15. *good-bye* is used only on leave-taking for a considerable time.

EAST HADDON, NP., cwl.

Words from the above cs. and a wl. from the same speaker.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 *sou*. 5 *meek*. 17 *laa*. 21 *neem*. 34 *laast*. A: 39 *kam*. 49 *æq*. 54 *want*. 56 *wash*. A: or O: 60 *laq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *səq*. A'- 67 *guu*, *egu'in* [agoing]. 73 *soo*. 74 *tæ'u*. 79 *oum*. 81 *leen*. 84 *móov*. 86 *oots*. 87 *tlooz*. 89 *booth*. 92 *nóu*. 94 *króu*. A': 101 *ook*. 102 *as* [in pres. as well as past tense]. 104 *rood*. 111 *Aat*. 113 *ol*. 117 *wæan*. 120 *eguun*. 122 *nóu*. 125 *ooni*. 130 *bout*.

Æ- 138 *faadhe*. 140 *æ'il*. Æ: 154 *bæk*. 161 *dæ'i*. 164 *mæ'i*. 166 *mæ'id*. 169 *wen*. 179 *wot*. Æ'- 182 *séi*. 190 *kéi*. 194 *æni*. 200 *wéit*. Æ': 209 *neve*. 213 *iidhe*. 214 *niidhe*. 218 *ship* [not *ship*]. 219 *sléip*. 223 *dhúv*. 224 *wíiv*. 227 *wéit*.

E- 233 *spék*. 241 *ræ'in*. — *péev* [a pear]. E: 256 *stretj*. 261 *sæ'i*. 263 *rwæ'i*. 265 *street*. 276 *thiik*. 278 *wensh*. 281 *leqkth*. E'- 290 *éi* [is as nearly as possible the sound]. 292 *méi*. 293 *wéi*. 294 *féid*. 299 *gréin*. E': 311 *ten*. 312 *iiv*. 314 *iivd*. 316 *neks*.

EA- 320 *kéev*. EA: 322 *lææf*, *laaf*. 324 *æ'it*. 326 *ould*. 330 *oold*. 332 *tould*. 338 *kaalz*. 340 *jaed*. EA'- 348 *æ'i*. — *léip* [leap]. 349 *fiu*. EA': 357 *aldhoo*. — *æie* [heifer]. 359 *neebe*. — *kréim* [cream]. 360 *téim*. 366 *gréit* [but grate is (*greet*)]. — *diu* [dew]. EI- 373 *dhaa* [before *e*] meaning *they're*. EI: 378 *wéik*. EO- 383 *sev'n*. 387 *niu*. EO: 394 *jandv*. 395 *jaq*. 399 *bráit*. 402 *læn*. 408 [*knew*, replaced by present tense *know* (*nóu*)]. EO'- — *néi* [knee]. 411 *thréi*. — *tréi* [tree]. 412 *shéi*. 429 *fóov*. EO': 422 *sik*. — *wéid* [a weed, plant]. 425 *laít*. 426 *faít*. 427 *béi*, *bi*. 430 *frend*, *frenz*. 435 *juu*. 437 *træ'uth*. EY- 438 *dái*. EY: 439 *trast*.

I- 440 *wik* [not (*wik*)]. 446 *náin*. — *péiz* [pease]. 449 *gat* [got]. I: 452 *ái*. 455 *láí*. 457 *maít*. 458 *naít*. 460 *wéit*. 462 *sáit*. 465 *satj*. 466 *tjaild*. 473 *blaínd*. 477 *faínd*. — *ship* [a ship]. 487 *Jestadee* [(*-d*) in names of the weekdays, see 631]. — *siks* [six]. I'- 494 *táim*. 495 *wáin*. I': 500 *laík*. 502 *faív*. 606 *wumén*. 509 *wáil*. 510 *máin* — *wáit*. 517 *júu*.

O- 519 *oove*. 524 *wæld*. — *rat* [to rot]. O: — *kraaft* [croft]. — *Aaf'n* [inclined to (*aaf'n*), often]. 531 *daatu*. 535 *fóuks*. 538 *wud*. 541 *wuunt*. — *tap* [top]. 550 *wæd*. O'- 557 *tæ'u*. — *food* [food]. 562 *moon*. 564 *soon*. O': 571 *gud*. — *saaft* [soft]. 579 *wnæ'f*. 586 *dæ'u* *dount* [don't]. 588 *noon*. 592 *siuue*. 594 *boot*. 595 *tot* [very, never (*tu't*)].

U- 604 *sæmb*. 605 *sæn*. 606 *dána*. U: 609 *fol*. 611 *boløk*. 612 *sam*. 615 *pæ'und*. 616 *græ'und*. 619 *fæ'und*. — *ænded* [hundred]. 631 *thææzdi*. 632 *ap*. 634 *thruu*. U'- 640 *kæ'u*. 641 *æ'u*. 643 *næ'u*. 651 *wi'æ'u't*. U': 658 *dæ'un*. 663 *æ'us*. 666 *azben*. 667 *æ'ut*.

Y- 673 *matj*. 674 *did*. 675 *drai*. 676 *laí*. 682 *lit'l*. Y: 690 *káind*. 691 *máind*. 692 *jaqgist*. 701 *fææst*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 *taak*. — *skæmp* [scamp]. I and Y. — *trái* [to try]. O.

— hab [a hob]. — dag [a dog, never (dag)]. — fag [a fog]. — hag [a hog]. — lag [a log]. 767 nǝ'iz. 776 gud bǝi. — pat [a pot]. 781 bǝdhv. 791 ba'i. U. 804 drǝqk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 822 mǝ'i. — pǝ'i [pay]. 824 tǝiē. 833 pǝev. 835 rǝiz'n. — pǝev [to pare]. 862 seef. E.. 867 thǝi. — pǝ'in [pain]. 885 veri. 890 bǝist. 891 fǝist. I.. and Y.. — krǝi [cry]. 900 prǝi. 901 fǝin. 910 dǝa'ist. O.. — dǝa'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 925 vǝis. 938 kaanv. 939 tloos. — roost [roast]. — toost [toast]. 940 khoot. 942 botv. 947 ba'il. 950 sapv. 955 dǝ'ut. U.. — wǝ'it [wait]. 963 kwǝiēt. 969 shǝuv+r. 970 dǝist.

HANNINGTON, Np. (5 nw. Wellingborough), dt.

pal. by AJE. from indications given and the io. of Miss Downes, daughter of the Vicar, written 1878.

1. sǝv a'i sǝi, mǝets, ju sii nǝ'u dhv AA'm ra'it vǝ'u't dhat lǝt'l gǝl kǝmin frǝm dhi skuul dhǝv.

2. shǝz v)go'in dǝ'uēn dhv rǝvd dhv, thrǝu dhv rǝvd gǝet ǝn dhe left ant sa'id v)dhv wǝi.

3. shǝv vǝ'u dhv tǝa'ild v bǝn ǝn gan strǝet ǝp tǝ dhv da'ur v)dhv rǝq ǝ'us.

4. wǝv shǝl hap'n ǝn dhat drǝqk'n def sniv'ld felv v)dhv nǝvm v:mabv.

5. wi a'v l nǝu im veri wǝl.

6. wǝent dhi ǝuld tǝap sǝn lǝn)v nǝt tǝ dǝv it vge'n, pǝov thǝq.

7. lǝek! ǝent it trǝu.

Notes to the Hannington dt.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. (dǝ'uēn) for (dǝ'un) is doubtful. | 4. <i>snivelled</i> used for <i>shrivelled</i> , (<i>shr-</i>) initial becomes 'sr'. — <i>Mabbutt</i> was written in by Miss D. in place of Thomas. |
| 2. (rǝvd) is doubtful, written <i>re-ad</i> . — <i>left</i> . This word was left unmarked. | 6. <i>do it</i> , (dǝv it) is suspicious. |
| 3. <i>straight</i> , this is conjectural, written <i>straiert</i> . | |

Miss D. also gave me the following words, which I have pal. as well as I could. The italics mean received spelling.

A nǝvm name, sǝek sake.

A' lǝvn lane, ǝvts oats, gu go, vǝlǝn alone, bǝenz bones, mǝa'a'v more, ǝek oak.

Æ spǝvd spade, lǝet late, rǝt rat, sǝt sat.

Æ' wǝt wheat, kǝi key, ladhv ladder, shǝ sheep.

EA gǝet gate.

EA' gret great, bǝenz beans, bǝvm beam, bǝest beast.

EO laan learn.

I sitǝ such.

O hǝal hole.

U tǝq tongue, dǝa'a'v door.

U' bu't but.

A. bǝvbi baby.

O. bwa'i boy [written buoy], duug dog [written doog].

U. srǝb shrub.

A.. kǝvdǝ cage, lǝvba labour, stǝv'b'l stable, ǝv'b'l able, wǝested wasted.

E.. tǝi tea, kǝnsaa'n concern, saavis service, saatin certain, and gave the plurals housen placen closen postes crustes brere, the last pl. of briar.

The words strong long wrong, she possibly meant to be pronounced with (ǝ) or with (u_o).

HARRINGTON, Np. (5 w.Kettering), dt.

by Miss Tollemache, daughter of the Rector. The numerous words marked to be in rec. pr. are here given in ordinary spelling and inclosed in square brackets []; no doubt the peasants pronounce slightly differently.

1. [so] A'i [say], mēuts, [you see] ne'u æz A'i)m ra'iet [about that little] gal ek_umiq throm [the school yonder].

2. ə)z egoin de'un [the] rôd [there through the red] gēst [on the] left and sa'id [of the] rôd.

3. shúuv eniu, [the] tja'ild)z bin en gan [straight up to the door of the wrong] e'us.

4. wēv [she]'l tjaans fa'ind [that there drunken] diif wiz'nd feler [of the] niem [of Thomas].

5. [we all know] im [very well].

6. wóent [the old chap soon] laan)v [not to do it again, poor] thín.

7. [look], éint [it] triu?

Notes to the Harrington dt.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>I</i> , "very much drawled." | 3. <i>up</i> must have been (<i>u</i> _o p). |
| 2. <i>road</i> , at the end, is repeated because <i>way</i> would not be used. | 4. <i>chance</i> or (<i>mebi</i>). |
| | 7. <i>ain't</i> or <i>aren't</i> (<i>aant</i>). |

The Rector himself added a wl. as follows:

HARRINGTON cwl.

by Hon. and Rev. H. T. Tollemache, Rector, conjecturally pal. by AJE.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 36 thaa. A: 55 eeshiz. A': 102 haks [occ.]. 105 [always 'he ridden']. 113 wool [occ. *w* sounded and *h* omitted]. 127 hóust [written *hourstt*]. Æ- 188 fiedhe [written *feather*]. 152 weete [written "wäter, not *worter*"]. Æ: 155 thak. 174 eesh. 181 pad. Æ'- 190 kee. 195 meeni. E: 287 bez'm. EA: 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 343 waam. EA': 355 diif. EO: 402 laan. 407 faad'n. EY- 438 da'i [occ.]. I: 468 tja'd'n. 486 jest. I'- 494 ta'im. I': 500 la'ik. 501 wa'id. 503 la'if. 504 na'if. 505 wa'if. 508 ma'il. 509 wa'il. 511 wa'in. O: 533 du_o. — AAS [written *orse*]. O'- 559 muudhe ['as in *bloom*']. O': 569 buuk. 572 bluud. 579 eniu. 593 mu_ost. U- 600 lu_ov ['as in *push*, 'that is, with (*u*), but I have used (*u*_o) as TH. heard in Np.]. 603 ku_om. 607 bu_otē. U: 638 u_ogli. 609 fəl ['as in *hull*']. 618 wə'und. 622 u_ondē. 629 su_on. 632 u_op. 633 ku_op. 632 du_ost ['as in *push*']. U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 643 ne'u. 647 he'ul. 653 bu_ot. U': 658 de'un. Y- 673 mu_otj. 676 la'i. 677 dra'i. Y: 684 brig. 621 ma'ind. Y- 705 ska'i. 706 wa'i.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 gæl ['as in *whirl*']. O. 767 na'iz. U. 808 pət ['as *hut*'].

III. ROMANCE.

A- 841 tjaans [written *chance*, which should be (*tjencs*), but Miss T. wrote *charner*]. 843 braantj. 848 tjøndj. 850 daans. 854 baal [written *barrl*].

E.. 878 saləri. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 915 stu'f. 916 injen. 919 a'intment. 920 pa'int. 926 spa'il. 942 bətrə. 943 tu'tj. 947 ba'il. 948 bə'ul. 950 su'pe. 953 ku'z'n. 954 kəsh'n. 958 kive. U.. 965 a'il.

Notes.

(u_onkid) lonely, dull, frequently used; for *very well* they often say 'deadly well'; 'chilled' for 'warm' water; (friz) froze frozen; (frit) frightened; (wed) weeded; (ku_omd) came; housen placen; (eld'n) elder tree; (wiə) our; (wiəse'n) ourselves; *them there* = those;

(sin, sid) saw, *was took*, he *ta'en*, he *given it*, *it was gave*, more frequently (gəv). 'I am read that book' usual for 'I have, etc.'; *a few broth*; *his'n whos'n theern*; he *hadn't used to do so*. Many of these provincialisms are gradually disappearing.

LOWER BENEFIELD, Np. (3 w.Oundle), dt.

pal. in 1881 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. C. H. Wykes, national schoolmaster there, native of the county, but not of the place, who believed himself, and was stated by Mr. Reade, of the Oundle Grammar School, to be perfectly well acquainted with the pron. of the district.

1. sóu áí se'ì, tjaps, jə'sii ne'u ez áí)v [ái)m] ráit vbe'ut dhat lit'l wentj kəm'in frəm)dhe skuul dhəv.

2. shi'z gù'in de'm dhə rôud dhəv thruu dhə)red gjá'it ən dhə left and sá'id v)dhe wá'i.

3. bi aq'd, if dhə tjá'ild e'nt gá'n strá'it u_op tē)dhe rəq dóuv [rəq e'us],

4. we'e shi'l veri lá'ik [mē)bi, praps] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n def skj'ini tjap [felv] v)dhe néim v :tom.

5. u_os aal ná'u im veri we'l.

6. wu_ont dhə óuld tjap suun làn)v nət tē)du'it egjē'n, pōv thi'q [wentj].

7. luk)jē! e'nt)it tríu.

Notes to the Lower Benefield dt.

This pronunciation agrees on the whole very well with that of the Islip group, including Thrapston and Oundle, and is therefore sufficiently accurate, though it is somewhat uncertain. In a previous correspondence with Mr. W. he said that the four cardinal points of the local pronunciation are the treatment of 1. long *ā*, 2. long *ō*, 3. short *u* in *but*, 4. long *i* in *mine*. Now these were heard by TH., in the dt. as follows. 1. long *ā* (se'ì, gjá'it, wá'i, strá'it, nēim e'nt), and in words subsequently given (pleez'n grēit, ná'im sá'i), so that he used (á'i, e'ì, è, ee) for this sound. 2. long *ō*, in the test 'són rôud dóuv ná'u óuld pōv, and in subsequent words (óuts) oats, labourers (úuts), (gu'in) going, (ná'u) no, (á'uld) old; so that the sound is represented by (óu, á'u) sometimes in the same word. 3. short *u*, (u_op,

dru_oqk'n u_os wu_ont) and in subsequent words (du'l, u_o dhez, shu_odn't, nu thi'q, unu_oi, nu't, bu_ote, du_on, mu k, that is, always (u_o), which Mr. W. said was pronounced with pouted lips. As this is a native sound to TH., and as it is the regular M. vowel of this part of the country, there can be no doubt that these words were correctly heard. But Mr. W. considered it to be the first element of his long *i*, which greatly perplexed me before TH.'s visit. 4. long *i* in *mine*. In the test this occurs in (ái ráit sá'id tjá'ild lá'ik), and in subsequent words (ái) frequently (máind sá'id fá'il táind, ná'it táim), from which we may conclude that (ái), as in other places, is the regular form, and the rest are slips. In no dialect could (á'i) represent both long *ā* and *i*, which must be differentiated in speech. Mr. W. did not dwell on *ou*.

This, in the test, is (nɛ'u vbe'ut de'um ɛ'us), and in subsequent words (ɛ'uz'n fe'und), that is, (ɛ'u) regularly. Hence the district has the regular E. forms, (e'i, ɛ'i, a'i) for long *ā*, (ôu) for long *ō*, (ái, ʌ'i) for long *ī*, and (ɛ'u) for *ou*, but being beyond the n. *sum* line 1, has the M. form (u_o) for *ū*.

In transcribing TH.'s version I have, as usual, put (i) in unaccented syllables for his (i, y), a mere matter of appreciation, and have omitted the (r) when not before a vowel, as, if Mr. Wykes

meant to pronounce it, other speakers shew he was wrong, and even when before a vowel it is probably no more than (r_o). I attach no weight to Mr. Wykes's medial vowels, which TH. observed, and have, as usual, omitted to note his occ. lengthened final consonants. TH. was not able to interview any natives, but a boy who shewed him the way to Mr. W.'s said (jis i dūz, u_op dhat le'in), yes he does, up that lane, thus verifying two points.

MID NORTHAMPTONSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. in three groups, distinguished by the initials I, N, Y.

I words from Islip (:A'isliɸ), with Lowick, Thrapston, Sudborough, Stanion, Oundle, and Lower Benefield, a group adjoining Hu., all lying n. of the n. *sum* line 1, and hence in the pure (u_o) region.

N words from Northampton, with Nether Heyford, Great Houghton, Hardingstone, Brixworth, and Wellingborough, a group adjoining 'Bd., all lying s. of the n. *sum* line 1, and mostly n. of the s. *sōom* line 2, and hence in the mixed *sum*, *sōm*, and *som* regions.

Y words from Yelvertoft, with Clay Coton, Welford, and Sibbertoft, a group adjoining Le., visited by TH. in 1886, all n. of the n. *sum* line, and hence with U=(u_o). In Yelvertoft one instance of verbal plural in *-en* was observed dhi kaan it ier, they call-en it here. In Sibbertoft was heard (a mmi flooz'n) how many closes=fields. In Welford dher z ɛ wu ndertel dil ɛ tɛrɛns v taakin in dhe shierz, there's a wonderful deal of difference of talking in the shires.

Final (r, ɾ) are written in where TH. so appreciated. I should myself have most probably omitted the signs altogether. They indicate a real trill made with the tip of the tongue, and my feeling is that natives are quite unable to utter such sounds. See introduction to M. div.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Y bæk beek béik. 4 I teek, Y téik, N miste'ik [mistake]. 5 Y mēik. 6 I méid. 20 Y léem lēim. 21 I nāim nēim, [between] nɛ'im, nēim : nɛ'im, N nēim, Y nēim. 23 Y séem. 33 Y rēdher. A: 56 Y wash [old], wash [new]. A: or O: 60 I lu_oq. 61 Y ɛmu_oq. 64 I roq roq, N roq, Y rəq ru_oq. A'- — I â'i [name of the letter A]. 67 I gôu gu'in go'in gôu'in, N gû'in. 69 YIN nôu. 73 I [between] sôu sô'u, N sôn. 76 Y tùd. 81 IY lēin, N [between] lôin lō'in, lēn. 84 Y mūr. 86 INY ôuts, NY ûets. 92 I nōo, N nôu. 93 I [between] snôu snâu, N snôu. 94 I [between] krôu krâu, N krôu. 95 N thrôn. A': 104 I rood, N [farmers rôd], rûed [from men from the country], rôud. — I lāidi [lady]. 109 I lôu. 110 I kânt shânt dōut [can't shan't don't], N kent kient shēt shient. 115 INY ôom, N ôm, Y oom oom wōim. 117 I wān wā'n, N wā'n. 118 Y bōen būen. 121 I gā'n. 122 I nōu nā'n. 123 IN nu_othiqk. 124 I stōn, N stōn stā'n, Y stōum. 128 I dhōuz.

Æ- — I éiks [aches]. 138 YIN faadhur, Y feedhur. 139 I drēi. 152 IY waateɾ. Æ: 160 N èg. 161 I dā'i dāi de'i, [between that and dēi], YN de'i dēi, Y dee. — N tēip [tape]. 171 Y bārli. 172 Y gras. — I dlās [glass]. — I kât [cart]. — lēit [late]. Æ'- 183 Y tātɿ. 193 N clien. 194 Y anī anī. 200 IN wūt, N wiet, Y wiet wit wūt. Æ': 209 IY nīvɛ. 223 I dhéie dhêe, N dhieɾ, Y dhéier dhe'ier dhieɾ. 224 I wéie, YN wieɾ. 226 I móust.

E- 233 I spíik spiik. 241 N rêin reen. 243 I plɛ'i. 248 Y mēer. E: 251 Y mē'it. 261 N se'i, Y see sai. 262 I wāi, N wō'i, Y wee. 263

IY eweⁿi, N [between] ewái, ewà'i. E'- 295 I bred. 299 I griin, Y griin. 300 Y káip. E': 305 I aⁿi. 312 IN ie. 314 IN ie_{rd} ə've_{rd}, [between] əəd, əəd.

EA: 322 I lài laaf. 324 I áit, Y e'itiin [18]. 326 I [between] áuld, INY óuld áuld. 328 I kóuld. 329 I fiáud. 333 N káf [pl.] kávz, Y kjáf. 334 Y aaf. 343 Y waam [? new]. 346 I gjé'its, Y gjéet gjéit. EA'- 347 INY èd. EA': 350 Y de'd. 353 IN brèd. 360 NY tiem. 361 NY biénz. 366 I gréit græt, N gréit grèt gréit. EI- 373 N dhá'i. EI. 382 N dhe'en. EO- 383 IY sev'm. EO: 395 INY ju_q. 402 I lá'rn lə'rn, N lə'rn, NY laan, Y [between] lərn lərn. EO'- — I trii [tree]. 413 N dev'l. 420 Y fów_r. EO': 425 N la'it. 428 I si, Y sí. 431 N biə_r, Y bier. 435 N jóen [your'n]. 437 I [between] trə'uth, trú'uth [first element of diphthong very peculiar in one speaker's mouth]. EY- 438 IN daⁿi, N dái, Y [between] dái, daⁿi.

I- 446 I na'in. — N shíe_r [shire]. — I jis [yes]. — N peⁿiz [peas]. I: 452 I aⁿi ái, N aⁿi ái. 458 INY na'it, NY náit, nót. 459 N ra'it ra'it. 465 N su_{ti}, Y sitj. 469 N wá_l. 481 N fíqge. — I rən ru_n, N rən rən ru_n. 482 I e'int [ain't, are not, have not]. I'- — I aⁿi [name of the letter I]. 492 N sa'id. 493 N dra'iv. 494 I ta'im [and between that and (táim)], N ta'im. I': 500 I láik, N la'ik. 502 N fa'iv. 506 I wu_{men}, N wumen. 508 I ma'il. 509 N wá'il, Y wáil. 514 Y áis.

O- 519 I óuve. 522 N óup'n. — I ba'rn [born]. O: 527 Y baat. 529 Y braat. 531 IY daater, Y dá'u_{ter} [occ.], N dáute. — I te'ed [toll]. — Y krap [crop]. 551 Y sta'rm. 554 N kra'is [nearly (kroos.)]. O'- 555 I shuu. 559 IN modhe, mædhe, NY madhe_r. 562 Y [between] mə'un móun, muun. — I mu_{nth} [month]. 566 I u_{dhe}. 568 I bru_{dhe}, Y bru_{dhe}, N bru_{dhe}_r. — I gróu [grow]. O': 571 Y gu_d. 578 Y [between] pláu, plá'u. 579 IN enu_f. 586 IN dôunt [don't], du_{ent}. 587 I dən. 588 Y nuun. 595 N fú_t.

U- N wúd. 603 IN kam. 605 IN sū_n sən. 606 IN dóe_r, N dū_r. 607 IY bu_{ter}, N [between] bu_{ter} boter. — N nət [nut]. U: — N [between] dām dom [dumb]. — I tūmb'l tām'b'l [between] tām'b'l tām'b'l. 613 N [between] dru_{qk} dregk. 615 Y páund. 622 N u_{nde}. — I thu_{nde}. 632 YI u_p, N u_p op əp. 633 I [between] kəp kəp; ku_p kop, N ku_p kop kəp, Y ku_p. 634 Y thrə'u. 639 Y du_{st}. U'- — I [usual pronunciation (e'u)]. 640 N kjāu, káu_{us} [cowhouse]. 641 I e'u, N ə'u. 643 I ne'u, N nā'u nēu. — N plomz [plums]. 648 IY áue, N ə'uen. 650 I vbiá'ut. U': 658 I de'un də'un, IN də'un, N də'un də'un, Y dāun. 659 N tə'un. 661 Y sháuer. 663 I e'us ə'us iá'us, N ə'us, Y áus áuzez, áuz'n [Sibbertoft]. 667 I á'et, N e'ut ə'ut.

Y- 673 IY mu_{ti}. 679 Y tpartj. Y: 691 N ma'ind. 699 N [between] ráit ra'it. — I shət [shut], N shu_t. Y': 709 I fáiv.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 I bad. I. and Y. 758 IN gjal. O. 773 N dəqki. U. — I [between] təb tob [tub], N tu_b tob. 794 I dju_g djo_g [and between the two]. 803 INY dju_{mp}, I dɛmp djo_{mp}. — N fu_{ni} [funny]. 808 IN pu_t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 N plées, Y pleez'n. 814 I mêis'n. 822 I mêi. — N páli [pay]. — I pléin [plain]. 830 I tréin. — N pliez [please]. 836 Y seez'n. 851 N aant. E.. 867 Y teⁿi tii. — N pre'iti [preach]. — N klàrk [clerk]. — N paas'n [parson]. I.. and Y.. 898 N [between] na'is náis. — I kra'i [cry]. 900 N pre'ierz [prayers]. 901 IN fa'in. 903 IN dīnē. — N pra'is [price]. O.. 916 N ənēn, Y u_{nēn}. 920 N pə'int. — IN pu_{mp} pomp. — N u_{qk}'l [and twice] əqk'l. — N re'umd. 933 I frū_{nt} frant. 939 I tlóus, N tlóes [pl.] tlóez'n. — brəsh [brush]. 940 N [between] kót kə'ut. — I bot'n [button]. — I mu_t'n [mutton]. U.. — N pu_{blík} [public]. 965 N éil. — N ərt [hurt]. 970 I dju_s, Y dju_{st}, N dīs dju_{st}.

Usages. I (áim dən) I have done. N (gu'in :kjeterin) going to Kettering, regularly. No euphonic r.

VAR. V. ESSEX.

Coming s. again, we proceed from Ht. to Es., where the E. characters are most marked. But the greatest difficulty was experienced in obtaining information. And after all, most of the information obtained failed to bring out the chief peculiarities. Hence, until I had obtained the Maldon specimen, and TH. had made a special journey through the nw. of Es., I could feel very little confidence in the meagre accounts I obtained. But the result is that the ME. characters are all identified.

A- becomes (e'i e'i) and even (á'i, ái), so that it seems at first hearing to displace i, and as an alphabetical letter is called by some form of (a'i).

Á- is variously treated: (úe) and (óe) seem to be lost, but the latter survives in a few words as (óu óu). TH. heard (sóu) so, at Stebbing (11 n-by-w. Chelmsford) and (nôu, know at Braintree (11 n-by-e. Chelmsford), but on the other hand home, oats, appeared there as (ôm, ôts) mixed with (em, ats uts), and so on. The transition to (óu) seems therefore not to have taken place, and there is an occasional reversion to (oo, o). This applies also to O when usually lengthened.

I' and I usually lengthened, as generally in E. div., is much broadened and falls into (a'i, ai, o'i, á'i). Most writers of the dialect use oi, oy, as *toime, soide*, but I think that (a'i, ai) are really the most common pronunciations. TH. gives (ta'im mæ'it) from Braintree, (láiklī kwa'it) from Gt. Shalford, between (ma'i, mói) from Stebbing, (mæ'i mæ'i, láiklī) from Great Easton, and I got (da'ik dáik, móin) from Gt. Dunmow, but quite (b'iklī f'ind) from Maldon. I do not, however, entirely trust any one of my own authorities on such a delicate point.

As to the U' and the U usually lengthened in S. sp., that is, the usual (a'u) sound, there was much uncertainty. TH. gives (e'us te'un de'un e'ut) house town down out, from Braintree, (re'un ə'uz'n ne'un) and between (də'un de'un), round housen now down, from Panfield, with (ə'uz'n néu) and the intermediate (əb'at vbe'ut, grə'und grə'und) from Gt. Shalford. This intermediate sound causes the difficulty, as also the occasional prefix of a, as (mæ'u) Maldon; but as (e'ə) was frequently heard, and I got it from Gt. Dunmow and Maldon, I think that (e'u) must be taken as the general sound. This will be found to harmonise with the other varieties of D 16 and with D 9.

As to the U sounds, they are regularly (ə, ə'), but some exceptions seem to occur. The Vicar of Panfield stated that the following words had "German u" (u), "dust, love, above, hunger, tongue, under, some, but, batter, cup, rum, root, enough, drunken, coming," and even "about." It was principally for that reason that TH. spent some time in Panfield and the neighbourhood, but he could find no trace of this pronunciation. The same vicar gave "ew as in new" for the sound in "school threw sure too soon do poor true," and said that French u was not heard. TH. found no confirmation of this in the neighbourhood, nor did I from Gt. Dunmow or Maldon, though the Vicar of Rayne (3 s. Panfield) gave me a similar list, just reversing ordinary usage, which I attributed to his exactly misunderstanding the signs I asked him to use. I therefore conclude that U is treated as in received speech.

Another salient point is the use of (w) for (v). TH. got (wit'l winege) victuals vinegar from Braintree, (weri wit'lz winege) but (váis) voice, from Panfield (where the Vicar had acknowledged *verry*), but (veri winege wôis) from Gt. Shalford, and (wit'ls wineger wôis) from Stebbing. On the other hand, an inn-keeper and an old man at Gt. Dunmow assured him that (w) was not used for (v) there, but my Gt. Dunmow authority, a native, gave (wə'is) voice, and my Maldon authority gave (weri), and from Southend I obtained (westri wæli vestry value, from Paiglesham (6 nne. Southend) and Stanway (3 w. Colchester, and Brightlingsea (7 sse. Colchester) (weri), while from Bradfield (9 ene. Colchester) came (wes'lz) vessels, with the remark that the people could not pronounce (v). In Clark's Glossary to his "John Noakes and Mary Styles," the classical Es. dialect specimen, I find "wark warld warmin wares warsley." I believe a corruption of universally that is, *altogether*, for Clark used "I shudn't warsley loike to

troy," I should not altogether like to try, compare the 'Varsity for University in the boat races, "wentersome werry weskit wisit." Hence we may conclude that (w) is generally used for (v), and that where in isolated cases (v) is heard, it is a modern refinement. But does (v) ever occur for (w)? Dr. Charnock in his Glossary has *rae ren zite rot* = way when white what, but I have had no confirmation from any of my authorities. Compare D 9, p. 132.

As in E. div. generally, *r*, when not preceding a vowel, becomes (ə) or disappears altogether. Every dialect writer puts in the *r*, however, even where it never was and never could have been sounded, as Clark's *baccar* (bæke) tobacco, *bargun* (bɜɡən) begun, *bellar* (bele) bellow, *boarnt* (bóont) bonnet, *carl* (kaal) crawl, *chambrer* (tʃaambe) chamber, *darter* (daate) daughter, *fellar* (fele) fellow, *hort* (haat) hot, *loss* (laas) loss, *marster* (maaste) master, *morrar* (móre) morrow, *naarbour* (naabe) neighbour, *orfan* (aafən) often, *scarl* (skraal) scrawl, *squawls* (skwaalz) squawls, *thurral* (there) furrow, *uster* (juus te) used to, was accustomed to, *yallar* (jaele) yellow. And in addition I find in Charnock *arrar* (ære) arrow, *arter* (aate) after, *harve* (haav) a haw, or small piece of land by a house, *snaath* (snaath, snath, long handle of a scythe. The acme of this mode of writing was reached by my Southend authority, who described the clerk's pronunciation of *amen* as "rmen rmon, rrrmon," that is (aaa-men) with the first (aaa) very prolonged. In my phonetic printing-office at Bath with London compositors the confusion between the names of the types for (aa, r) was so great, that I was forced to have the latter called (éeə) or (ree). The writing in of *r* in such cases shews that the writer habitually neglects it in speech, but its insertion is very confusing to the reader occasionally. It serves only as a diacritic to modify the meaning of the preceding vowel, and when such modification does not occur it is omitted by the writer. Thus we find in Clark *coas* (koos, kóes) course, *foce* (foos, fós) forced, *fast* (fást) first, *gal* (gæl) girl, *hoss* (hós) horse, *hull* (həl) hurl, *suppas* (sepaa's) surpass, *tunnips* (tənips) turnips, *wusser* (wase) worse-r. What the precise sound of *r* was before a vowel was not recorded either by TH. or myself. It was certainly a light *r*, but whether lightly trilled ([r]) or lightly buzzed ([r̥]) I cannot say; theoretically certainly the latter as a degredation of ([R]), but ([r]) alone has been written by both of us. When (aa, aa, æə, ə) precede a vowel, a euphonic *r* is always added, even in the same word, as (saa-r-ig) saw-r-ing, (draa-r-ig) draw-r-ing, whether the syllable or word did or did not originally end in an ([r]). Hence the country people were accused of adding on an ([r]) in places where they could not pronounce it!!

Clark gives (Aaldoo') although, which would be remarkable if certain. Other slighter peculiarities will be found in the following word list.

Of constructions the only striking usage is putting the plural verb to the singular subject, as: he *do* (i doo), my head *swim* (ma'ed swim), usual in all the E. div. But I have no example of the reverse, or putting the singular verb to the plural subject as: we *does*. *Be* is apparently occasionally used in *he be*, not in *I be*. Without *he*, belong to *we*, a S. construction, is sometimes heard. Of peculiar words which are not also found in D. 19 there are few or none. *Mawther* (maadhv) is here used in a depreciatory sense, as a coarse wench. *Together* is a common form of address to several persons. Come to *mine*, means to my house, and so in other persons. But all this is more developed in D 19. At Brightlingsea *master* is used in the sense of *very*, an intensitive adverb. *Snace* (snees) the snuff of a candle is (sniis) in Cb.

Illustrations.

Gr. DUNMOW (10 nnw.Chelmsford).

Abridged es. pal. in 1873 by A.J.E. from dict. of Mr. J. N. Cullingford, a native of Great Dunmow, who when it was made had been several years absent, and had been endeavouring to forget his dialectal tendencies. But the uncertainty which would therefore cling to it has been mostly dissipated by TH.'s investigations in the neighbourhood.

1. wel, neebv, jɛ'u ɛn ii mɜ booth laaf, uu kéevz ?

2. wi noo, dóort wi?
3. dʒɪst ooldʒe rɛ'u, tɪl ái dæn.
4. ɔ'i)m saatin ái íed ɛm séei, dhæt ái ded, séif ɛnəf.
5. dhæt dhe ʒəq'gest sən íself, ɛ gret buɔ'i ɛv nɔ'in niú iz faadhuz wɔ'is ɛt wɛns, ɛn ái ud trəst ím tɛ spiik dhe triúth ɛni déi, éi, ái 'uud.
6. ɛn dhe E'ud ʌmɛn ɛrsɛlf ul tel ɛni ɔn)ʒi íf ʒE'u)l ɔni æks)ɛ, oo woont shi?
8. E'u, wíie ɛn wɛn shi fɛ'ʌn dhe dræqk'n biist shi kaalz ɛr ɛzbɛn.
9. shi saar)im wídh ɛr ɔon áiz léi'ɛn strɛtʃt ɔn dhe grɛ'ʌnd, in iz gud sændi kóort ɛgi'n dhe daar)ɛv)dhe E'us, dɛ'ʌn ɛt dhe kaaner ɛv dhæt)ɛɛ léin.
11. dhæt æp'nd ɛz shii)ɛn)ɛ daater)in)laa kɔm thriú dhe bæk jaad frɛm æqɛn E'ut dhe wɛt klóoz tɛ drɔ'i ɔn ɛ wɔshɛn dɛ'i,
12. wɔ'il dhe kɪt'l wɛz bɔ'ílen fɛ tii.
13. æn dʒɛ noo? ái nɪvɛ laant ɛni maa dhɛn dhɪs, ɛn ái doont wənt ít eedhɛ, dhíe nɛ'u!
14. ɛn soo ái)m gu'ɛn ɔom tɛ sɛpɛ. gud nɔ'ít.

Notes to Great Dunmow cs.

2. don't (dóort) for (doont) is doubtful, compare don't, par. 13.
 3. hold your row till I done, possibly I've done.
 5. youngest, great. I am not quite sure of having correctly separated (ɛ ɛ, ə ə) at this early period of my work.
 9. saw him with euphonic (r).—eyes, (a'i ɔ'i) seem to have been confused.—door of the, the (r) is euphonic, (daa'ɛ) might be said if no word followed, but (daa) would be most usual before a consonant, compare (maa) par. 13.
 11. daughter-in-law, euphonic (r).
 13. do you know.
- Mr. Roderick, see Ware, Ht., told me he heard at Great Dunmow (she dʒaad ái, ɛn ái dʒaad ʔæ bæk ɛgi'n, she jawed I, and I jawed her back again.

MALDON (9 e.Chelmsford) dt.

pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of Miss Wing, a native of Hornsey, six years at the National School, Maldon, as pupil teacher, at the time of dict. a student at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea.

1. sóu ɔ'i sɛ'i, mæ'its, ʒE'u sii nɪɛ'u dhɛt ɔ'i)m rɔ'ít ɛbɛ'u't dha't lɪl gɛl [gæl] ɛ-kəm'ɛn frɔm dhe skuul ʒɔn'dɛ.
2. ɛt bi ɛ-gíen dɛ'ʌn dhe róod dhíie thruu dhe red grɛ'ít ɔn dhe lɛft a'nd sɔ'id ɛ dhe wæ'i.
3. shúur ɔnəf dhe tʃɔ'ild ɛz gaan strɛ'ít ɛp tɛ dhe dúur ɛ dhe roq E'us,
4. wíie shíel lɔ'ík'li fɔ'ind dha't dræqk'n dɛf srɪv'ld fɛlɛr, ɛ dhe næ'im ə :tɔm'əs.
5. ɛs aal noo ím wɛr'i wɛl.
6. ɔont dhe oold tʃa'p suun tɛɛtʃ [laan] ɛ not tɛ duu ít ɛgi'n, poov thiq!
7. luk, ɛɛnt ít tríu?

Notes to the Maldon dt.

1. *so*, this is one of the very few instances collected of this pron.—*I am* most usual. *I be* is used more than *I are*, but *I are* is also used. Never heard *we is*, or *thou*. *He do*, *we was*, and *theirselves* are used.—*now*, this inserted (i) was given me in (fi'und gri'a'nd pi'a'nd ti'a'ul ki'a'u shia'ne mi'a'uth mi'as ti'a'on ia'at pri'a'nd by the Vicar of Panfield, but he also gave me 'ebuun't) about, and reiterated it, though it was not heard or known in the place when TH. visited it.—*yonder*, probably an error for (inde),

an E. form, possibly *hinder* used in place of *yonder*. As to the final *r* I felt uncertain, as Miss Wing being from Hornsey might have imported the London use; but it has been fully confirmed.

3. *enough* (vna'u) was not known.—*door*, this (duu) is suspicious, the (r) is euphonic.

4. *shrivelled*, *shr-* becomes ('sr-) as ('srak, shrieked. Generally, the voice is pitched high with a final rising inflection, which runs very high in questions.

ESSEX cwl.

As the dialect seems homogeneous, I have not distinguished the places whence the words came. Those obtained from TH. are placed first or are unmarked, and those from other sources are preceded by —.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 mi'ik meek. 10 — haa. 13 — naa. 14 — draa. 21 nêim ne'im, — n'eeim náim. 33 — reedhu. 34 — las. 37 — klaa. A: — kjéint [can't]. A: or O: 64 roq. A'- 67 gu'en [going], — gə'u. 73 — sôu se'u. 76 — tôud. 86 ots ots u'ts, — óts. 91 — ma'u. 92 nôu. A': 104 rood rôud, — róod re'ud. 110 — nat. 115 òm [hòm, — hèm òm, — haamli [homely]. 117 wa'n wən. 118 — bon. 121 — gaan. 122 — nə'an. 123 — naathun. 124 stoon, — stə'un. 125 — onì.

Æ- 138 — faadhu. 140 — ha'il. 141 nâ'il. 143 — tæ'iel téiel téel. 152 waate. Æ: 158 — aate. 161 dêi de'i. 171 baali. 179 vət [this, 224 and 266 are the only examples of (v) for (w) actually heard from an innkeeper at Panfield, and they are very doubtful as he was merely stating his opinion]. Æ'- — retj [reach]. 183 — tiitj. — ærend [errand]. 199 — bleet. 200 wéit wiit. Æ': 213 — eedher. 217 — etj. 219 — shap. 224 vè'r [see 179].

E- 241 rêin râ'in râin, — ra'in. 252 — kit'l. E: 261 sêi sâ'i se'i. 262 wâ'i we'i. 263 ewâi. 265 stréit stre'it stráit. 266 vè'l [once given, see 179]. — fil [field]. 273 — mín. 278 — iind [end]. 282 — gæen [grin]. E': 305 — hō'i. 306 — hekth. 307 — nō'i. 312 ív. 314 — haad. 315 — fit.

EA- 319 — gaap. 320 — kîv. EA: 322 laaf. 324 — a'it a'iet. 326 á'uld, [between] óud á'ud, — ə'uld, ood. 327 — bə'uld. 328 — kə'uld. 329 — food. 330 — hood. 331 — sood. 332 tá'ud, — tood. 333 — kíef. 334 — heef. 346 — gvit. EA': 355 — diif dif. 359 neebə ná'ibə náibə ne'ibə. 361 béinz biinz. 369 — slóu. 370 — raab. 371 straa, — straab.

EO- — sev'm. 384 — hev'm. EO: 388 — mek. 393 — biæ'nd. 394 indv [see top of this page, col. 2]. 396 wak wák, — wək. — aal [earl]. 400 — aanest. 402 laan. 406 — aath. EO'- — fra'iz [freeze]. EO': 430 — frin. 435 jaa [your]. 437 trúuth trə'uth. EY- 438 da'i.

I- 444 — stô'il. 446 nâin. — piiz [pease]. — iis [yes]. I: 452 ái. 458 na'it. 459 — rō'it. 468 tǽldurn [approaching, tǽldurn]. 469 — wul [will]. 477 — fa'in. 483 — his [not (hiz)]. 488 — it. — dæt [dirt]. I'- 491 — sa'ith. 494 ta'im ta'im, ta'im [verging to tōim]. — rep [reap]. 499 — biid'l. I': — da'ik daik [dyke]. 500 láikli, — lō'ik. 501 — wō'id. 502 — fō'iv. 505 wā'if. — ha'iv hee hēei [hay]. 508 mæ'il. 510 máin mái.

O- — smək [smoke]. 524 wald wöld. O: 527 — boot. 528 — thoot. 529 — broot. 531 — daate. 533 — dæl. 535 — fók. 541 ònt. — ɔs

[horse]. O': 560 sk'ul. — guums [gums]. 562 muun. O': 583 t'ul. 586 dooz [he does], — doo [does]. 587 d'n. 588 n'uen n'uen. 593 mäs-t.

U: 602 — sia'u. 603 kam, — kim. 605 s'n. 606 döe. U: 614 — he'un. 616 gra'und. 623 — fa'un. 632 əp əp, — əp [at Stanway]. 634 thrə'u thrə'u, — thrū. 636 — fəde. U': 640 — kia'u. 643 nā'u [varying to nā'u]. 650 eba'ut ebe'ut, — ebia'ut. U': 658 dē'un dē'un dē'un [between] (dē'un, dē'un, — diā'un. 659 tē'un. 663 ə'us ə'us e'us. 667 e'at.

Y: 674 — ded, dent [did not]. — hiiv [hive]. 679 — t'aat. 682 — liit'l lid'l. Y: 684 — bredj. 690 kjā'ind. 691 — mō'ind. Y': 711 — liis. 712 — miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 — driin. 737 me'it. I. and Y. 758 — gæl. O. 761 — lod. 767 — na'iz. 790 — ga'und. 791 bōi, bōi. U. — mæg [mug]. — gən [gun]. — kaal [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. pail [pail], — pæ'iel p'ail p'iel. — plā'in [plain = dialectal]. 840 — tjaambe. 845 ā'inshent. 849 strā'indj. — skees [scarce]. — sle'it [slate]. 862 sēif. E.. 885 weri veri. — kensaa'n [concern]. 888 — saat'n. — saavis [service]. I.. and Y.. — wiledj [village]. 901 fā'in. — winege vinege [vinegar]. — wāt'lz vāt'ls [victuals]. O.. — kotj. — dja'un [join]. 925 wōis wōis vāis. 926 — spā'il. — rē'un [round]. 940 — kot. 947 — ba'il. — djaani [journey]. — māv [move]. 956 — kive. 963 kwa'iet kwā'iet. 965 — a'il. 970 — djes.

D 17 = SE. = South Eastern.

Boundary. To the s. the Thames R., being the b. of the S. div. To the n. a sweeping semicircular line, from the b. of Ox. from 10 s. Aylesbury, Bu., s. of Wendover, Bu., and of Hemel Hempstead, Ht., of Hatfield, Ht., and Hoddesdon, Ht., and just n. of Waltham Abbey, Es., and then passing through Epping, Es., and w. of Brentwood, Es., to the Thames R. at Tilbury, opposite Gravesend. This line is, of course, very roughly and conjecturally drawn, the parts of Bu., Ht., and Es. to the north, not being perceptibly different from those immediately south of it. But to the n. of this line the speech of the people seems to be really dialectal, while within there are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech. But there is a decided tendency to E. as distinguished from S. feeling, and hence the district is considered to be a mixture of Metropolitan and Eastern.

Area. The whole of Mi., the se. of Bu., s. of Ht., and sw. of Es. D 17 SE. and D 8 sBS. are the two halves of the Metropolitan Area, n. and s. of the Thames R., where the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible. Nevertheless, D 17 is even more distinctly E. than D 8 is S. Almost all the so-called "vulgarisms" of London are of E. and more especially metropolitan E. origin. And this form of speech has become prevalent also in Australasia (see p. 236).

Character. This must be collected from the following sections, especially the first.

§ 1. *Mr. D'Orsey on London Town Speech.*

The Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, B.D., Professor of Public Reading at King's College, London, with large experience in correcting errors of speech and defects of utterance, in writing to the School Board for London, 4th December, 1882, said:

"Such words as *paper, shape, train*, are pronounced *piper, shipe, trine*,—the very first letter of the alphabet being thus wrongly taught. *Cab* is *keb*, *bank* is *benk*, *strand* is *strend*; *light* is almost *loyt*; the short *i* is made *ee*, e.g., 'second edeeshon'; *no* is *now*; *mountain* is *meowtain*; *stupid* is *stoopid*, and many more. The final consonants are so feebly uttered that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the pupil says *life*, or *like*, or *light*. 'H' is constantly transposed. 'G' is dropped in such words as *coming, going*, etc., or is turned into *k* in *nothink*. Most pupils cannot trill the *r*, burring it in the throat, or making it a *w*, as *dewink* for *drink*. In many cases *r* appears improperly at the ends of words, thus *Maida-hill* as *Myder-eel*, *Maria Ann* as *Maria ran*."

In *piper, shipe, trine*, the *i* probably means (é'i) or (æ'i), and only rarely (á'i); if so, this is only a fully developed Es. form. It is found all over Ht. and Es. as already shewn, and is strongest in East and North London, being as yet comparatively little developed in North West and West London. But it is recent, as will be shewn in the following sections. I was myself born in North London in 1814, and cannot recall it.

We have seen that when long *a* has developed in (é'i, æ'i, á'i), long *i* develops into (ái A'i), but in London I have not myself observed anything beyond (ái), and that very rarely. This is perhaps the sound which Mr. D'Orsey alluded to by saying "*light* is almost *loyt*."

The correlative of the change of long *a* into (á'i) is that of long *o* into (á'u), but to my ears it seldom reaches this in London, though I have heard 'ladies in a boat' in Hyde Park spoken much like (la'idiz ín) v ba'ut), but I think it did not go beyond (læ'idiz ín) a bóut). This is common ME, D 16, etc. For London it is not mentioned in Walker or Smart (see § 2), or in the 'Errors of Pronunciation 1817' (see § 3), or in 'Pickwick' 1837 (see § 4), or Thackeray 1845 (see § 5), and must therefore be recent. For the received (oo'w), which is quite different, see Part IV. p. 1152. But when *o* tends to (óu), the *ow* diphthongs tend to (éu, é'u) as in the whole of the E. div., and this is most probably the sound meant by Mr. D'Orsey's *meowtain*.

The use of *keb, benk, strend*, probably (KEB BEqk strend) for (kæb bæqk strænd), may be growing. The use of *edeeshon*, often heard as (ídlishen), seems confined to newsboys, and is merely emphasisism.

The use of (uu) for (iú) in *stupid news*, etc., is by no means confined to London or E. div. The 'transposition' of "H" is very common, though its simple omission is still more common, everywhere. The use of *comin' goin'* etc. in the participle is historically preferable to the received *coming going*, and is almost universal

dialectally, but becomes (-iŋg) in s.La. and (-iŋk) in Ch. The received sound is (-iŋ), which of course is what Mr. D'Orsey meant. We find *nothink* (nathɪŋk) in several dialects. The London treatment of *r* belongs not merely to the whole E. div. but to the whole e. coast of England from Ke. to Nb. The feebleness of the pron. of final consonants is so far as I know insufficient to characterise London.

Mr. D'Orsey's examples, therefore, do not seem to characterise a peculiar mode of speech, but merely show a grafting of some E. habits on our received speech.

§ 2. *Walker* (1792-1807) and *Smart* (1836) on *London Speech*.

These two well-known authors of *Pronouncing Dictionaries* have each given a section on Cockney Pronunciation. I quote Walker from the stereotype edition of 1814. He enumerates four faults only. 1) *postes, fistes, mistes*, etc., for *posts, fists, mists* [mentioned in § 3 under P, p. 228]; 2, interchange of *e, w* as *weal, winegar, vine, vind*, for *veal, vinegar, wine, wind*, the two latter are spoken of as common; 3) not sounding *h* after *w* to distinguish *while wile, whet wet, where were* [now firmly rooted even in educated speech]; 4) interchange of *h* as *art, harm, for heart, arm*. There is no hint at pronouncing *ā, ō* as *ī, ow*.

Smart in his *Hints to Cockney Speakers* finds it almost unnecessary to remark on the interchange of *e, w*. But notes *wōld cōld shōld*, would could should, [now never heard]; *chick'n, Laf'n, mō'l, parv'l*, but swivel, heaven, evil, devil, [the last of which is scarcely heard now but in the pulpit]. Other errors he notes as *arithmetick, character, writin', readin', spile sile* for *spoil soil, towsday, dooty, perpet-rate, affinaty, providence, education*; *boa'd fōm cō'd* for *board form cord, lawr, sawr*, and, *heart, honour, honest*. There is no hint of sounding *ā, ō* as *ī, ow*. But he says that the *ā* of "a well-educated Londoner . . . finishes more slenderly than it begins, tapering, so to speak, towards the sound of *e*" (ii); and that *ō* "in a Londoner's mouth is not quite simple . . . finishing almost as *oo* in *too*." These are the *ee'j, oo'w* of rec. sp. which are quite different from the *ī, ow* sounds.

§ 3. *Errors in London Speech in 1817*.

In an anonymous book called "Errors of Pronunciation and improper expressions used frequently and chiefly by the inhabitants of London" (Lackington), 1817, not one example of the pronunciation *ī, ow* for *ā, ō* is adduced. As this little work is probably not accessible, the following extract may be of service. Wrong pronunciations only are extracted, the author's orthography is adopted, and any explanations are given in []. The order is alphabetical, arranged by the initial letter.

A advertisement, arter, airy [area], alabaster [alabaster], ally [ally], angola [angora, now usual], any-think, archangel [*ch* = (tɪ)] archetype, architect, architecture, architrave, archives, aristocrasy, arnt [aunt ant], arrac [now usual], arrant [errand], arer [arrow], ast [ask], attainer [attainder], axe [ask].

B babby, baggonet [bayonet], balcony [now usual], basilicum [basilica], beadle [beetle], bile [boil], Bishergate St. [Bishopgate], botherdash [balderdash], brachygraphy, brile [broil], breach [brooch, now generally with (oo not um)], broccolo, Brummagem, Burgamy [Burgundy], burnfire [bonfire], berrin [burying], buzzum pronounced boosom [seemingly meaning (buuz'm) bosom].

C chaney [China-ware, obsolete], chamber [obs.], chimley [chimney], chisscake [cheesecake], comforts [comfits], crow'd [crew], curossety.

D democrasy, drugs [dregs], dysentery.

E eddication [observe not edjication] i-thur [oldest form, still in use], -er for -ow in arrer heller teller holler narrer piller swaller willer, ere pronounced are [not clear], ewe is pronounced yeo [this must be common provincial (*Jojo*) now unknown in London].

F feater [feature], Febberwary [February], figary [vagary].

G gaap [gaap] gape, common prov., genus [genius], geograph[y], gobble [cobble], gownd [gown], Gracious St. [Gracechurch St.], grassplat for —plot [both usual].

H omitted in 'eart, put in in *harm*, etc., hankechur harbour [arbour], have rhyming to cave, hedge, heir [*h* with abnormal aspirate], Herkerlis [Hercules], his'n, holler [see -er].

I idear Mariar Louisar, ile [oil], imminent [eminent], Ingia [India], ingenious [ingenuous], instid [instead], irrep[arable].

J janders [jaundice], Janniwery, jessamy [-mine], jest [just], jine [join].

K kittle [kettle, common provincial].

L larn larning, least [less], leef [sub. leave], leeftenant pronounced levetenant [leftenant, now usual], leetle [very little], lickerish [licorice], line [loin], lingo, live for lief, lozenger [lozenge].

M maniafter, maniafterer, marrew [marrow], massacree, materials [materials], meller [mellow], Mepomeneé [Melpomene], meracle maracle for miracle, mercantile, mezereum, mischeévous, muckenger [muckender, obs. for mockadour, Fr. mouchoir].

N narrer [narrow], nater [nature], necessitate, nevv[y], noways [no wise].

O obstroperous, oman "this error is constantly committed by the ordinary class of people," otherways [-wise], otter of roses, our'n.

P pantomine [-mime] peashuks [peashells], Penelopé, pertikalar, piller, pint [point], pi-son [poison] post-es persist-es and other words in -ist, preambulate, prejudiciary [prejudicial], pronunciation, pudden [pudding].

R redikerlous [ridiculous].

S salary [celery], salitary [salutary], sartin, sarve, sarvice, sawder [solder], sentry [century], set [sit], shay [chaise], shemmy [chamois, applied to leather], shet [shut], should, could, would, sittetation [situation], sparrow-grass [or grass only, asparagus], spear [sphere], sperrits [spirits], spile [spoil], statute [statue], stenography, subtraction, successfully [successively], sich [such], suddun, to summons, superflúous, supperate [suppurate], surgeon for Sir John, to swaller.

T taller [tallow], Terpsi-chore in three syllables, terrestrial [terrestrial], Thália, Toosday, topography, towáreds, trow [trough, a common provincialism].

U umberella, 'un [one], uvola [uvula].

V & W constantly confused, weal, winegar, vine, vind.

W warnt, Wensday, willer [willow], winder [-ow], wurt [wart].

Y your'n.

Z called izard in place of zed.

It is observable that in this list the great number of cases are not at all dialect, but are false appreciations of unfamiliar words. Sometimes they are genuine survivals, as *arrant* ags. *w'rende*, in place of *errand*, falsely derived from *errandum* in imitation of *errant*. On the whole these are not Londonisms of the present day and are in that respect noteworthy.

§ 4. *Dickens' London Speech, 1837.*

We do not find the peculiar pron. *píper* for *paper* in Sam Weller's speeches in Dickens's "*Pickwick*," 1837, where it would have been immensely picturesque, and we may therefore infer that Dickens did not then know it. Indeed 11 years later in his *Haunted Man*, p. 66, 1st ed. 1848, where there was a splendid opening for it, it never seems to have occurred to Dickens. Adolphus Tetterby, the news-boy, varies his calling out of Paper! by changing "the first vowel in the word *páper* and substituting in its stead, at different periods of the day, all the other vowels in grammatical succession." The effects are written as "*pa-per*, *pepper*" not *pe-per*, "*pipper*" not *pi-per*, "*popper*, *pupper*." All this is natural supposing (*pe-pe*, *pe-pe*, *pip-pe*, *pape*, *pá-pe*) to be used, the second and third being regular degradations of the first, but *pa'í-pe* would not come in anyhow. We may thus conclude that the pron. *pi-per* was not known 40 years ago in London.

In Sam Weller the principal fun is made out of the interchange of *w* and *v*, and while (*w*) is constantly used for (*v*) in D 9, Ke. and D 16, Es., and also D 19, Nl., I have not found a certain example in the provinces of (*v* being used for (*w*), and though I have for many years been on the look out for it, have never heard (*v*) used for (*w*) in *earnest* in London (see p. 132). Now Dickens's Sam Weller, who calls himself Veller, and says he spells his name with a *u*, is full of this. I have noted the following examples of *v* for *w*: vaggin, vouldn't, vy [why], vos, vurth, white, widower, vidder, veskit, ve, vay, vile, vun, vunce, vich, Pickvick, Veller, Valker, vide, vhen, ven, vheel, Barnvell, Vellingtons, vorn, svear, vare-ever: and the following *w* for *v*: dewotion, wery, inwest, conwert, rewerse, wictim, wisit, wessell, inwention, woter, wentilation. Sometimes, but rarely, *w* is preserved, as in well, widder, washus [wash-house].

The other words of S. and T. Weller have no great peculiarity, as: babby [incompatible with *bibby*], feller, I des-say, fort'nit, biled [boiled], 'ooman, see'd, hollering, bustin' [the *g* not by any means always lost], nothin', anythin', a'nt, ha'nt, 'ansome [handsome, Hansons did not exist], rayther, natur, imperence, dooties, most of them common in all dialects. Most of these are merely conventional literary cockney, and it is only the absence of *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō* which is of any importance.

§ 5. *Thackeray's London Footman's Speech*, 1845-6.

In *Punch* for 1845-6, W. M. Thackeray first published his *James's* [not *James's*] *Diary* in highly picturesque spelling, founded, of course, principally on phonetic habits, or it would have had no point. Now here I find no hint of *ā*, *ō* being called *i*, *ow*. He uses *y* for unaccented *a*, that is, (*ə*) for (*e*), in gyzett, myjestick, jyponica, myommidn [Mahometan], and also nybobb (n:bob), the accentuation (nee:bob) for *nauwauh* being quite modern, and from an Indian point of view incorrect. For *ā* he either uses *a*, as infamation, gave, able, place, pane, hate [eight], chasely [chastely], phamously, champagne, fate [fête], lazy fase, grasefly, labor, istate, gacing [gazing], sitawashns, A [=hay], taty taty [tête à tête], or employs *ai*, *ay*, as awaled, hordayshis, plat, payges, haypix [apex], gayv, layt, brayv, sayle, straynger, say, beayviour, sayber, fainted, narrat, gaytors, layborer, rayge. For *ō*, which occurs seldom, he has *oa* in roag, paker, noas, toan. The *w* for *v* is not very conspicuous in wery, vulgar] [but also vulgar], invite, visit, concussing, weakle [vehicle], prevents, divine. Of *v* for *w* I have found only one instance, visper, twice repeated. The euphonic *r* is common, porring, pawring, hideer of, droring, sor'em; and the interchange of *or* and *ow*, as por, lors, dror, enowmous, spawring, tarn. The use of *j* for *d*, and *ch* for *t* is conspicuous in hojous, juice, treemenjeeous, assijuously, jewties [but also dooties], enjurance, and coschewm, creechurs [cosume, once spelled costewm, and creatures]. The *i* for *oi* occurs in pint, adjining, enjy. Thackeray seldom marks *-in'* for *-ing*, but this was mere carelessness. Much more might be cited, but the above will suffice to shew the common errors then, and to prove his ignorance of *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*.

§ 6. *Mr. Tuer's Cockney Almanac*.

Returning to recent times, in 1883 Messrs. Field & Tuer published "The Kaukneigh Awlmineek, edited by 'Enery 'Arris, down't-tcher-now," in which what are supposed to be cockneyisms of pronunciation are for fun conspicuously exaggerated. It is therefore worth while examining these.

The principal fun of the book is made from the *ā* and *ō*, which become (*a'i*, *a'u*). Thus we have for *ā*: sy [say] tyken eyen't [ain't] myke engyged opertyed relytions adjityting lydees [ladies] grytis [gratis] pygis [pages] ible wy plice dize [days] fital [fatal] fyver [favour] stytmints risin' [raising] dy sitoovshun pytient edooeytion [education] brines [brains] py myde pice [pace] nyked wites [waits]

gryte waist [? an error for wyste] nyture rite [rate] 'a-penny ipnee [both half-penny] ty-ste flyver [flavour] stairkise pline pint [paint] vyper [vapour] pypers pline sine fyth [plain same faith]. Then for *ō*, I find: knou own'y [only] tould moust ould now [no] stoun noutice [notice] gous gows [both meant for *goes*] down't sou grous bouth sowp [soap] nowsiz [noses] sowl oun lown [loan] bouns own [home] smouke jouke wows [woes] Ow'b'n [Holborn] spouken. But the author, partly perhaps for lack of a convenient spelling, does not notice the corresponding changes of *i*, *ow*, but writes: minds lie eye fires nice, and thousand pound 'ow [how] down out cloud round, with the usual spelling of the diphthong.

Two vowels *ā ā* are both represented by *e*. The first must be *ē*, but I am not at all sure what the second is, as different from my own *ē*. These both occasion strange combinations. Thus for *ā*: bed men bellence edjityte [agitate] ket peck ven etteckin' [attacking] rets [rats], Elbert medder leshir ēv [have] et [at] then exedy beek kebhiyez pession trenwize [tramwise] smeks kebs eccidints kerriyez Clep'em [Clapham] fet begs 'ets [hats] metches enxiety grend veccinitid fet gremmer. And for *ā*: sembly [somebody] kentry [country] metch [much] dezzin [dozen] nethink trenk Lendin [London] yeng nethir eneff enkemitterble ether [other] shevving [shoving] tetch ekkempnued sem [some] entil serebbled bledly ren 'besses [omnibuses] Jengshin [Junction] glevs teng [tongue] semmers inselt frent [also spelled front] thenb enderstands metherly eptstairs kazzin [cousin] brether peblicytion pesshed [pushed for *pəsht*]. But either by accident or design *u* is written in: wuz [was], uv [of], drunk, 'ungry, 'unts gun 'undard gluttid, and *i* in sitch. I do not recognise the sound at all. It is, however, quite a novelty so far as neighbouring dialects are concerned. But see THL's cwl. p. 232, Nos. 632 and 633.

The *ō* before *s*, *f* becomes *aw* [AA], a common Es., form as: crawss auif [off] au'en kauffey lawst craussin's tauss, to which the writer adds: dawg [dog, common], faugy [foggy, unknown] daunkey kaukneigh and faund [fond]. On the other hand short unaccented *ō*, *ow* become *-er* [e], as innercent serciety; widdier winder yeller [? yaller] sparrer barrer [barrow], which is common in every S. and E. dialect.

The use of (uu) for (iū) is quite customary everywhere, as: dooly gredooal doo [due] accoomoolyte [accumulate, evidently interred] noozpyper [newspaper, one of the commonest words] amooz valoo [value, ? valley].

H is of course regularly omitted, in fact it is now so universally omitted, and has been for so long a time in old literary English, that its retention has become a mere artificial mark of breeding, so we expect: 'eard 'orses 'int 'evin [heaven] 'ow 'arf [halt] 'ed 'i [high], and again: wot wair wite [what, where, white], these last being admitted in polite S. speech.

The *R* is of course not pronounced except before a vowel, thus: fust cowardly wuth wuss [first cowardly worth worse] and paw yaw [poor your], but it is euphonicallly introduced after (AA) as in all the E div. as: sawr-a, draw-ring, jawrache [jaw-ache], strawr'et [straw hat]. Of course *-ore* (*ōov*, *ōov*) becomes simply (AA).

H, *I*. These are not interchanged at all in the *Cockney Almanac*, though *v* is put for *r* in one passage, apparently for the sake of a pun. It runs thus: "Veccinite from the calf direct if yer *w*alue yar infant's *w*eal (veal)." In no case is *r* used for *w*. The contrast, then, between Mr. Tuer's and Dickens's *Cockney* is complete and very curious. In Dickens's the run is made out of the interchange of *v* and *w*, and there is no hint of using *i*, *ow* for *ā*, *ō*. Here the fun is made out of the latter, and the former is ignored. This shews a change in London habits as viewed by humourists in the last 50 years. Still more curious is it to note that the American humourists examined in Part IV. pp. 1224-1230, namely, Mr. Davis (Major Downing 1835), C. F. Brown (Artemus Ward 1860), Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick), and Bret Harte, make no fun at all of either interchange.

§ 7. Mr. Baumann's Londonisms.

Mr. Heinrich Baumann, head-master of the Anglo-German School, Brixton, a German who is thoroughly acquainted with English,

in 1887 brought out his book called "Londinismen, Slang und Cant" (Berlin, Langenscheidt), which, besides being exhaustive on Slang and Cant, gives the pron. of every word on the Langenscheidt'sch system of notation. On pp. xc-xciv Mr. B. gives a summary of popular London pron., which I have still further abridged, adding brief observations in [].

A. *Consonants*. 1. *h* omitted and inserted [general dialectally]. 2. *r* vocalised and inserted [all the east coast]. 3. *ng* for *n* in a few words, *kitching*, *golding*, *certing* [frequent in literature, but I have not heard it, probably at most a misappreciation, not dialectal], and *n* for *ng* in participles [regular in dialects]. 4. *mn* becomes *mbl* in *chimbley* [frequent provincially]. 5. *ni* becomes *ng* in *ungans*, *ingans* onions [which Mr. B. pron. (ə)gənz, i)gənz] in place of (i)gənz, I do not know (ə)gənz]. 6. *gn* reduces to *n* in *reckonise*. 7. *w* often omitted, as *old 'ooman*, *west'ard*, *innard* [to which he adds *hot'un* hot one, whereas here the *w* was the insertion] and used for *v* [as in all the Land of Wee, see D 9, D 16, D 19]. 8. *v* final omitted in *have* [general when unaccented]. 9. *l* omitted especially before *m* and *n*, *on'y*, *a'most*, *certn'y*, *Lor' A'mighty* [common everywhere]. 10. *d* final nearly inaudible, as *ole hushin'* [common after *n*] and *dreffle* dreadful [a special word, common in literature, merely assimilation]. 11. *dia* = (d)pi in *Ingee* India, *soger* soldier [both common everywhere]. 12. Final *t* lost in *brekfus*, *fac* [breakfast, fact] and medial *t* in *gen'lman* [the old *gemman* of literature is not named]. 13. *tian* = 'tjen in *Christian* [common educated, as in question]. 14. *th* initial omitted in 'em for them [old English *hem*] *more'n harder'un*, more than harder than [quite common], *th* final omitted *wi' sou'wester* [common everywhere], *th* medial becomes *d* in *farder*, *farden* further farthing [common everywhere], "isolated *th* becomes *r* in *wirrou't* without" [arout known provincially, but not the other], "with old people becomes *f* as *nuffin* nothing" [also common]. 15. *k* occ. for *q* as *ekal* equal [I have heard this, but take it for an old and not London pron.]. 16. *y* added in *yearn* earn, omitted in 'ears years [common].

B. *Vowels*. 1. Long vowels shortened, *agen*, *babby*, *craddle*, *mebbe*, *thripund*, *fippence*, *tuppenny*, *I dun know*, again baby cradle may-be three-pounds five-pence, twopenny, *I don't know* [common, except *craddle*, even among better speakers]. 2. *e* for *a* in *keh*, *ketch*, *Standard*, cab, catch, Standard. 3. *per* in *partickler* particular, (i) for *a* in *extry*, *bony fide* [misappreciations of foreign words]. 4. *jest sech*, *jist sich* just such [common]. 5. (ee) is very commonly (éi), [already discussed], *ea* becomes (i) in *airey* area [this is merely an abbreviation, like *ide* (e'idii) for *idea*, final *a* omitted, belongs to No. 3]. 6. *ar* for *ear*, *er* in *arn sarve* earn, serve [still common, but going out]. 7. *a* obscured to (ə) in (məm) for *mu'am* [merely unaccented obscuration, common]. 8. (i) for (ə, ə) in *kiver kimplete* [not confined to London]. 9. *heard* for *heard* [common]. 10. *ile*, *pint*, *hist*, oil, point, hoist [common old]. 11. "ō [the *o* in *born*] is very common for *au* (AA) as in *cort kōt* for *caught*" (kaat [this I do not quite understand], "conversely *aw* (AA) is used for ō (ə) as *dawg* for *dog*" [not confined to London]. 12. (oo) becomes generally (oo-ə) as *road*, pronounced (roo-əd), unaccented *o* becomes (v) as *pertato* [? pertater, tater] potato. 13. *doo* for *dow*, *insinivate*, *cowcumber* [the last old]. 14. *oo* for ū, *Rooshan*, *Proossian* [old], (poo, shoo) poor sure [unknown, but (paa, shaa) known].

This is sufficient to shew that although these pron. may have been heard in London, they generally did not arise there, but were importations, or misappreciations of non-Saxon words common throughout England.

§ 8. Mr. T. Hallam's London Observations.

When TH., a Derbyshire man resident in Manchester, on different occasions visited London, he noted, as usual, differences of pro-

nunciation which he heard from the middle and lower classes. His notes are not complete, but they possess the value of observations made by a phonetist who was not a Londoner, and therefore I collect the examples without distinguishing the different speakers or occasions, as he has done in his notes. It will be found that his experience is far from yielding such pronounced results as the *Aulmineck*. The *ā* becomes (éi, êi, E'i), the *ă* yields only once to (è), the *ō* is (ôu, œ'u), the word *road* as shouted at railway-stations by porters (who were very possibly not Londoners) giving a singular variety of forms, the *ī* becomes generally (ái), but once reaches (A'i) (I heard a very near approach to (ói) from a boy in Kensington today, 30th March, 1886), the *ū* is generally (ə), rarely reaching (æ), and the *ow* varies from (ə'u) to (æ'u). These pronunciations are, however, such as ME., D 16, would lead us to expect.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 téik. 5 méik me'ik. — mistêik [mistake]. 24 shé'im. 31 lē'it. 34 laast. A: — [between] hæ'm, hē'm [ham]. — stēnd [stand]. — kjæ'n, kaant [can't]. A'- — ôh œ'u [oh!]. 67 gó'ū, gə'ū [long o seems often to be (æ'u) perhaps (æ'o)]. 69 nœ'u. 92 nōu. A': 104 [between] rōud, rāud; rōud ró'ud; [between] rōud, rə'ud; [between] ró'ud, rə'ud; rə'ud. 117 wēn. 122 nōu. 132 ot. — rə'ū [row rank]. Æ: 160 èg [nearly (ég)]. 161 de'i. — bæ'g [bag]. — [between] æp'l, ep'l. 172 grā's. — [between] æ't èt [hat]. 179 wəd [what, before (de)], wət [before a vowel]. Æ'- 195 meni₁. Æ': 223 dhêv. 224 wêv. — strit [street]. E- 231 dhv. E: 261 se'i. — bed [bed]. 262 wē'i. 263 wē'i. 266 wel. — fiēlz [fields]. — sell'i₁n [selling]. E'- 290 ii. 300 kiip. E': 311 tēn. EA: 324 éit. — shaant [shan't] shæ'l. 334 aaf. 335 Aal AA'lwi₁z [always, (AA'l) "with a peculiar pursed rounding"]. 340 jaad. — paak [park]. EA'- 347 vhead [a-head]. EA': 352 red. 364 tæp. 365 níer [near, ? (r)]. EI- 373 dhe. EO- 387 nū. EO: 388 míelk. 396 wæ₁rk [the (r) doubtful, possibly (wæak)]. EO'- 420 fōv. EO': 428 sii. 431 bīv.

I- — liv [live]. 446 náain. 448 dhiiz. 449 gít ["even middle class people say (gít ən)"]. 450 ti'úzdī. I: 452 ái [on one occasion, long i like (ói), nearly ái], [between] ə'i ái. 459 ráit, [between that and (ráit)]. 465 sətj. 477 fáind. 482 eent ènt [ain't]. I'- 494 ta'im. I': 500 láik. 510 máin. O- — smə'ukī₁n [smoking]. 520 :bə'u [the town]. — bi'fōv [before]. O: 525 [off], AA'l, Aaf əf; [of] ov. — moō,ni₁n [morning "the analysis for these depressed vowels seems to be, tongue for (o), lips for (o) pursed"]. 554 kroozs [or] kroozs; [between] kra's, kròs ["say (kròs) with pursed lips"]. O'- 556 tē [unemphatic]. 557 tū. 559 madher [? (r)]. O': 571 gùd. 576 wenzdī. 586 dó'unt [don't]. 587 dən, du'i₁n [doing].

U- 603 kəm. U: 612 sēm. 631 thærzdī [? (r)]. 632 [between] əp, ep; əp. 633 [between] kəp, kēp. 634 thərəfEE'l₁r [thoroughfare]. U'- 643 [between] náae náa'ə; ná'ə, nə'u. — pləm [plum, when intensive (pla'm)]. 650 vbaast. U': [(a'u) was heard as (áaə) approaching áav]. 656 ruum. 658 de'um. 663 áa'əs. 667 áa'ut; [between] áaət, áa'et; áa'at; [between] ə'ut, á'ut; ə'ut. Y: 689 bi'ldi₁nz [buildings]. — i'l íal [hill]. — shəterz [shutters].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 727 djæ'm. — sæ'ndwi₁tj. — bære [barrow]. — éist, e'ist [haste]. I. and Y. — táierī₁n [tiring]. O. — [between] oof'n Aaf'n [often]. U. — fəni₁ [funny]. — krəsh [crush]. — shəterz [shutters].

III. ROMANCE.

A. 811 pléis ple'is. 822 mèi. 833 tréin tre'in. — êar [air]. — pali₁s. —

pal'mal [Pall Mall, generally (:pel :mel)]. 841 tjàns. — bærend [band]. — [between] maati:n, maati:n [marching]. — dja'ki:t [jacket]. — ga:rd'nz [gardens]. — kja:ri:dʒ [carriage]. — paast [past]. — platfòm [platform]. — ste'i [stay]. E.. 869 viil. — ekó'u [Echo]. — etend [or -end]. — kententi:d [contented]. — tɛnt [tent]. 885 veri. — gaze't [gazette]. — aa'və [hour], aa:rz [ʔ r], w'ə'rz [ʔ Londoner]. I.. and Y.. 898 [between] náis, náis. 903 [between] da:ni:n, da'ni:n. — mi'ni:ts [minutes]. O.. — grəmblɪ:n [grumbling]. — mənɪ. — ó'rdə [order, ʔ both (r), possibly (AAdB)]. — fə:ri:st. — pooshən [portion]. — trəns'pəʊz [transpose]. — grəʊsə [grocer, at Bermondsey, no (ou), ʔ (r)]. 942 bʊtʃə [ʔ (r) at Bermondsey, must have been (r) almost]. — kə:lə [ʔ (r)]. — tɜ:n [turn, ʔ (r)]. U.. — vke'ri:əm.

§ 9. Mr. J. G. Goodchild's East London Pronunciation.

Mr. J. G. Goodchild (:gutʃáil'd), who is an East Londoner by birth and education, has been at the pains to write a very long wl. of *his own* 'colloquial' as distinguished from his 'studied' pronunciation, as in lecturing, and as distinguished from low East London talk. As this was carefully written in pal., it is a document of considerable interest to shew the middle-class pron. of the district. It is not, however, dialectal, as is shewn by the same pron. being regularly assigned to vowels of very different origin. Hence it seems better to give it in classes founded on received pronunciation.

1. Long *ā* is always (é₁i) except before (v), where (e₁) is deeper than (e) and more like (e) or (E) even, than (e), the circumflex shews the diphthong and medial length of the first element. But JGG. does not consider even the first element to be uniform; he thinks rather that beginning with (e₁) he glides to (e) and thence to (i); all this is, however, avoided before (v) representing final written *v*, and the vowel is then (ee) simply as in (éev) air. This long *ā* occurs in A- (bē₁ik) bake, etc., A: (kē₁im) came, Æ- (dr.é₁i) dray, (hē₁il) hail, etc., Æ: (dé₁i) day, etc., Æ'- (nē₁i) neigh, etc., Æ': (klē₁i) clay, etc., E- (br.é₁ik) break, (sē₁il) sail, etc.; E: (lé₁i) lay, (sē₁ū) say, etc., EA- (flē₁i) flay, EA: (é₁it) eight, EA': (grē₁it) great, etc., EI- (dhē₁i) they, etc., EI: (stē₁ik) steak, etc. I: (wē₁it) weight, etc. A. (tr.é₁id) trade, etc. A.. (é₁ib'l) able, etc. E.. dp₁i, etc., where the etc. refers to other words in the class in the wl. thus headed, which have *ā* in rec. sp., but not to those otherwise treated. This long *ā* is evidently of E. origin. Before (v)=*r* we have A- (hēev) hare, Æ- (fēev) fair, Æ'- (wēev) were, Æ': (hēev) hair, (wēev) where [but dhæ'v, there], E- (mēev) mare, (wēev) wear, (swēev) swear, EA- (kēev) care, [but EA: (dæv) dare], EI (dhēev) their. A.. (mēev) mayor, (pēev) pair, E.. (ēev) heir. [Observe (ēev) and not the rec. (éev). My own pronunciation has been subjected to so many influences in different parts of England, and abroad, and has been so artificially cultivated, that though I am a North Londoner, I refrain from citing it; but refer generally to Part IV. pp. 1090-1157, 1168-1173, 1206-1207, where Bell's, Haldeman's, Sweet's, Smart's pron. are also considered.]

2. Short *ā* is sometimes (ah) [which JGG. considers to occur in the local pronunciation of Bath (baahth), where I hear (bæeth), a difference of appreciation simply, for both of us are well used to hear the name from natives], and sometimes (av). Thus he has A- (hahv) have, A: (thahvk hahn'd lahn'd, thank hand land, etc., A: and O: (lahm) lamb, etc. A. (bahd bæd) bad, etc., A.. (bær, 'l) barrel, (kahr, 'et kær, 'et) carrot, etc.

3. Long *ē*, Æ'- (sii) sea, etc., Æ': (diid) deed, etc., E- (niid) knead, etc., E: (jiil'd) yield, etc., E'- (jii) ye, (fiid) feed, etc., E': (hiil) heel, etc., EA' (tiim) team, EO (binih) beneath, EO'- (bi) bee, etc., EO' (si) see, etc., I- (dhiiz) these, etc. E. (skr, iim) scream, etc. E.. (ti) tea, (viil) veal, etc.

4. Short *ē*, E: (edj) edge, (men') men, etc., EA' (ded) dead. E. (beg) beg, etc. E.. (sens) sense, etc. Observe always (e) and not (E); this is metropolitan.

5. Long *ī*, diphthong, is always (āi) which is broad, but not nearly so broad as

in Ht. and Es., EY (dái) die, I- (áivi) ivy, etc., I: (ái) I, (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skáí) sky, etc., Y': (máit) might, etc., I'- (táim) time, etc., I': (láik) like, etc., Y'- (skáí) sky, etc., Y': (máís) mice, etc. I. (táini) tiny. I- (náis) nice.

6. Short *i* is regularly (i), I- (gít) get, ooc. I: (wít) witch which, etc. Y: (bríd) bridge, etc. I. (píg) pig, etc. I- (síst'en) cistern.

7. Long *o*, this is invariably (ôu), except before (v) = *r*, *s*, *f* and *th* ooc., in which case it is (AA, A'). But this (ôu) includes at least three sounds (as in the case of long *ā*), it "begins with (o) and goes on through (o) to end in (u)." This occurs in every case, thus A'- (gôu) go, (môan) moan, etc., A': (ôak) oak, O- (ôap'n) open, etc. O'- (nôuz) nose. O. (pôani) pony, and it even occurs unaccented as (təlôu) tallow--before *r*, *s*, *f*, *th* it falls into (A, AA), the (r) becoming (v) when final and being omitted before another consonant, as A'- (laad) lord, (ma'e) more, (sa'e) sore, A': (gaau) gone, (haas) hoarse, (kla'th) cloth, EA: (wa'm) warm, EO: (saad) sword, EO'- (fab) four, (fati) forty, EO': (faath) fourth, O: (ka't) cough, (ba't) bought, (tha't) thought, (br'a't) brought, (r'a't) wrought, (da'te) daughter, (baad) board, (faad) ford, (haad) hoard, (staam) storm, (kaau) corn, (haan) horn, (kr'as) cross; O': (sa't) sought, (flaav) floor, (maav) moor, (swaav) swore; U- (daav) door. O. (e'fa'd) afford. A- (paav) poor; O- (ka's) course coarse corse.

8. Short *o* is almost always (o), as O: (hōli) holly.

9. Long *ā* is regular (juu), and is so written after a consonant, as (njuu) new.

10. Short *ā* is regularly (a), but becomes (v, v') before suppressed *r*, as EO: (l'en) learn, (v'th) earth; O- (weel'd) world; O: (weed) word; U: (weeth) worth, (feedhe) further. E. (p'e't) pert; I. (ge'l) girl, while all the unaccented final -*ar*, -*er*, -*ir*, -*yr*, -*or*, -*ur* become (v) unless a vowel follows and determines (v_o).

11. Incidental *ah* seldom arises [as in A- (r'adhv) rather, Æ- (fadhv) father], without a suppressed *r*, but it is the regular form of *ar*, as in EA: (jaad) yard, (aam) arm, EO: (staav) starve, (faa) far, (staa) star, (haath) hearth, (faudhiq) fathering.

12. Incidental *aw* is regular for *or*, as in the examples to No. 7, but sometimes occurs otherwise, as EA: (fa't) fought, (wa'k) walk, (faal') fall, (waal') wall; EA': (r_oAA) raw, (str_oAA) straw. A. (baal'd) bald.

13. Diphthongal *oy* is regularly (A'i) or (A'*i*).

14. Diphthongal *ow* is regularly (ā'u), excluding the cases in which it belongs to No. 7. It is curious that diphthongal *i*, *ow* have a different first element, (a) in the first and (a') in the second, the first apparently to distinguish the sound from (ēi), and the second as a reaction against the common (ēu).

15. The sounds (l, n) are lengthened before a following consonant, as (baal'd lahn'd) bawled land, and often when final, as (Aal') all. This of course is most conspicuous when the words are taken singly, and less so in connected speaking.

16. The *r* is at most (r_c) when preceding a vowel, or between two vowels. This imperfect (r_c) when vocalised and made syllabic as (r_c) is very difficult to distinguish from (v), and when no vowel follows is regularly suppressed; but on a vowel following, either in a new or the same word, it recovers its power. Now as the *r* when suppressed converts *ar*, *or*, *ur* into (aa, AA, vv), it follows that when these sounds have otherwise arisen, the speaker inserts an (r_c) before a following vowel, thus saw, sawing, saw him, become (saa, saar iq, saar'am). This has been here termed "euphonic *r*," and it produces an unpleasant effect, which JGG. avoids, but the natural "East-End" and Eastern Counties man regularly introduces. The unaccented (v) usually written *or* ought not to insert a euphonic *r*, but even persons of high cultivation will often talk of (dhia'idi-vr_cevethi'q) the idea of a thing.

§ 10. Rural Speech.

For the rural portions of the SE. district, I have very slender information. My informants find a shifting population, and nothing distinctive to record. They imagine that if there is nothing different

to their hearing than uneducated London speech, there is nothing to report.

In *Bu.* the late vicar of Henley-on-Thames after 60 years experience had nothing to say. From Penn (se. High Wycombe) the Vicar after 17 years writes, "It would be useless to attempt to go systematically through the following list [wl.], as the dialect of this neighbourhood is of a very natural character, *i.e.* apart from a few vulgarisms there are very few (if any) pure provincialisms or archaisms. The only instance of the latter that occurs to me is *housen* for houses, and that is fast dying out." But he marks *I*, *we*, *you*, *they be*; *I*, *he were*; *they*, *we, goes, those* not used, *he do, he live, theirsell*, didn't *ought*, which shew a mixture of provincial *Bu.* With regard to the use of *I be* it disappears gradually s. of Penn (10 nw. Eton); it is occ. heard between Beaconsfield (7 n-by-w. Eton) and Denham (7 ne. Eton), but further s. it seems lost.

In *Ht.* the late Rector of Bushey (2 se. Watford) says: "This place offers no opportunity of assisting your work. The inhabitants come and go, from various places, and remain but a very short time, but chiefly from London. I will not call this place a *colluries omnium gentium*, but very much like it, and hence has no special language or dialect." But from Rickmansworth (3 sw. Watford and hence very near Bushey) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte obtained a few notes. *I be* is not much in use, *I are* is more common, and *we am, am you? I, we knows* are heard occ., *I says* frequently, *w* for *v* rarely if ever heard. The National Schoolmaster, who gave this information, kindly wrote a dt. for me where some ruralisms occur, as *ɔ'i rɔ't kɜm'n ski'ul gu'in rɔ'd aand sɔ'd gɜn ti'u wɛs tɔ'nd wɛrɪ wɔl want 'ɛgɜn bɛnt tri'u* I right coming school going road hand side gone to where find very will won't again be-not true. He notes also *on, wrong* nearly like *an, rang*. All these have a stronger provincial tinge than might have been expected, but this does not represent the general language. From St. Albans, *Ht.*, which I place on the borders, my informant after 8 years had only noticed *tale pr.* as *tile*. From *Es.* I could get no information beyond the borderline marked. Even at Brentwood very little was obtained.

In *Mi.* from Harmondsworth (7 w. Brentford) the Schoolmaster gives me (*aate want fɪl sɑ'il hɪl hɪz'n a'uən juvən dhɛɛn mi'ʊn ni'ʊn spi'ʊn di'u bɪn ee wɑɑ kɪt'l vɑ'is*) *atter* won't feel soil heal his ours yours theirs moon noon spoon do been have was kettle voice, and the phrases, *I or we wants, or does, make they come, we bin* [have been], *I is* [very doubtful], *we was, I, he, were, they is, for to do it, -in* for participial *-ing*. And he says that "*leasing* is used for *gleaning* exclusively," which is the only strict ruralism in the list.

From Ashford (7 sw. Brentford) the Vicar writes: "The inhabitants of this locality are *mainly* strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent *any* and *no* special pronunciation."

From Hanwell Rectory (3 nw. Brentford) I am informed that "the people speak what is commonly called the cockney dialect, the chief peculiarities of which are inability to pronounce *a* or *o* correctly. The former is turned into *ah-ee*, (*ái*), the latter into *a-ow* (*e'u*) and a tendency to add *r* to words ending in *aw* (*I sawr* a man, the *lawr* of). These defects are common in the lowest class, particularly the boys, but are less observable in the better educated."

At Willesden (5 nne. Brentford) Prince L.-L. Bonaparte made attempts to find native pronunciation and construction from the Vicar. He found *be* not used, but *I are* as well as *I am, I war, we was, I loves, they loves*; *day say hay may eake gate home*, with the *vanishes*, he even writes "*eike gite*"; *wiper*, *vinegar*, vocalised final *r*; euphonic *r*; *I seen* for *I saw*, better *nor* me. Hence there was nothing distinctive, nothing rural. It was common London SE., as was to be expected.

From "the chief mason at Enfield" [(5 e. Barnet), sometimes called (*:e'nful, :e'n'f'l*), Prince L.-L. Bonaparte notes that *I be, I is, I are, we am*, are not found, but only *I am, I loves, we says, they gives, they was a goin*; *I got 'em, he do* (rarely, better *nor* me; and, as pronunciations, (*AAkerd shAAv*) awkward sure, (*lisem, géit kéik déi séi méi héi*) lithesome, gate cake day say may hay, (*kɪt'l*

tjimbli kettle chimney. Hence this has fully the London SE. character, with no distinctive rurality.

As South Mymms (3 m.w. Barnet) lies in a corner of Mi., projecting into Ht., I hoped to find more of a rural character, but no perceptible differences from Enfield were found. The Vicar, however, noted that the village being on the old high road to the north, "the population has a large proportion of families originally from a distance."

This examination will shew that in so far as this northern part of the Metropolitan Area has any dialect at all, it is essentially ME. in its character. Even the (a'i, a'u) forms of long *a* and long *o* have an Eastern origin and are comparatively modern, within the memory of persons now living. They have of late years rapidly advanced in all the SE. district and in our Australian colonies. They threaten to become predominant in received speech, for habits of pronunciation work upwards, and in another hundred years the 'polite' pronunciation of *ā*, *ō* may become (a'i, a'u), while *ī*, *ow* sink to (ɔ'i, ɛ'u), just as our received (*ee*, *oo*) have ousted (a, â) and our received (a'i, a'u) have replaced (ii, uu). It is only quite recently that in such words as *boil*, *joint*, the present (ɔ'i) has replaced Pope's (a'i). We now think (ɔ'i) "polite" in *join* and (a'i) "vulgar." Pope thought just the reverse. And to all old people, like myself, of all generations, modern changes such as those just noted are simply excruciating.

AUSTRALASIAN SOUTH EASTERN.

English colonies, including the United States, whose independent government has of course not changed their origin, necessarily at first speak the English which they carry with them. That might have been originally any one of the forms of English contained in this book, or else of Irish English. This English alters in generations, and is much interfered with by constant immigration from the mother country. And now, when education is so prominent both in the mother country and the colonies, the speech of the colonists is modified artificially by teachers aiming at what each considers a "good" pronunciation, and the test of this "goodness" must necessarily be the habit of persons of "consideration," that is, social position, first in the mother country and secondly in the colonies themselves. Now the centre of English is London, which, as far as pron. is concerned, lies in the E. div., and, as we have seen, is at present, at least in its middle and lower strata, distinctly modified by the habits of the Eastern Counties. The habit of speech among the educated classes in London may be looked upon as the basis of "received speech and pron." It is, therefore, to be expected that the pron. of the colonies would, as a whole, tend to resemble it. On examination we find that the colonies speak generally such a form, with modifications belonging to a less artificial stratum. Thus, in the eastern United States, New York and Massachusetts, there is a tinge of Norfolk. In the Australasian colonies, that is, those in Australia, Tasmania (or Van Diemen's Land) and New Zealand, there is more than a tinge of what is

commonly called "cockney," as exhibited in pp. 239-248. On the whole, therefore, a visitor from England to Australasia finds great resemblance to the mode of speech he has left behind him, and, struck by that, does not much observe the differences. So Mr. Froude says (according to the Australian *Daily Telegraph* of 29th March, 1886) that Australian English is "free from provincialism, not Americanised, of soft tone, good language and correct aspiration." And a letter in the same paper on the following day says that "after listening to the 'colonial' of various degrees of education in all parts of Australia, in the street, the coach, the steamer and the train, and particularly in the schoolroom, Mr. Sala's opinion is confirmed that their only peculiarity of speech is a very slight drawl in the school-attendant, which wears off and becomes imperceptible in manhood."

After such opinions from such well-known literary men, one might almost stay any further inquiry and put Australia on a par with London. But it must be remembered that, as just shewn, there are marked peculiarities at present in London among the mercantile and labouring classes at least, and the question arises whether these peculiarities exist in Australasia and to what extent. Persons who have visited Australia declare that there is a marked "cockney" element in its speech. Mr. Samuel McBurney, who was for several years principal of the Ladies' College at Geelong, Victoria, and has travelled much about the Australasian colonies, where he has had the opportunity of examining schools and large classes of Tonic Solfa singers, is decidedly of the same opinion, and he made numerous observations in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales, Queensland and New Zealand, from January to November, 1887, for the purpose of ascertaining real Australasian usage. The result of these observations he tabulated and sent to me in Dec. 1887, from St. Francisco, so that I received them in Jan. 1888, on purpose that I might insert them here. They are so full of condensed original information that I feel unable to do better than present them almost in their original form, transliterating the Glossic into palaeotype. His plan was to take a number of test words, and record the pron. in glossic, and then mark by symbols whether these were general, in the majority or minority, about half, or sporadic. In some cases he has even found it expedient to separate the habits of boys and girls in schools.

The following extracts from an article by Mr. McB. in the *Lyttelton Times*, Christchurch, New Zealand, will form a fitting introduction to these tables, and will explain their general tendency. I have introduced a few words in [], and given some pron. in pal.

" . . . It is generally supposed that two main influences affect pronunciation—*parentage and the teacher*. In the bush, where children hear only their parents, we may find broad Scotch, Irish, or provincial English, but in almost all other circumstances the influence of parentage is very slight, and generally acts by modifying the *general* usage, not by conserving the original type of speech. This decided variation from the parent speech is easily accounted for in some cases, as the universal tendency of all speech-alteration is towards what may be called 'the line of least resistance.' . . . Where the young colonial finds

himself understood by half the oral exertion necessary, he forthwith abbreviates. . . . 'Do you hear me?' becomes *jeer me*; pudding, *puɔn*, etc., and the strong trilled final *r* is avoided as an unnecessary exertion, when it is noticed that the majority of arrivals habitually neglect it. It is therefore quite common for the children to call farther *fahthu* (*u* of *but*) (*faɔthu*) when the parent says *farthurr* with a very loud trill (*fa.rɔthu.r*); world, *wu'ld*, (*wɔld*) instead of *wurrɔld* (*wæ.rɔld*), and so forth. The insertion of *r* where it is not wanted, as in *idea-r-ɔf*, is also explicable, as it is easier than to make the necessary hiatus between the two tongue positions of the several vowels. But why there should be a general tendency, as there undoubtedly is in Australia, to a Cockney pronunciation . . . is a mystery still to be explained.

"The modern Cockney . . . is of comparatively recent date, and is, I think, not to be found in Dickens [see p. 228]. Its leading features are—(1) The omission of the aspirate, and its occasional wrong insertion; (2) clipping *ing*, as *siugin'*, *shillin'*; (3) alteration of *a* in *fate*, to nearly *i* in *bite*; (4) alteration of *o* in *hope*, to nearly *ow* in *how*; (5) alteration of the first factor of *ow* in *cow*, so that it is written *kyow*, or *cuow* (*kjɛ'u*, *kæ'u*); (6) a general drawling of the vowels, so that *dog* becomes *dawg*, *coffee*, *kawfy*, etc.; (7) insertion of *r* between the vowels, *I saw-r'im*.

"In Australia and parts of New Zealand, (1), (2), and (7) are of frequent occurrence, as in all parts of England, but they are decidedly less frequent in New Zealand, where (1) and (7) are rarely to be met, at least in flagrant positions. *Idea-r-ɔf*, however, is pretty general. (3) and (4) are to be heard pretty often in Australia, but seldom in New Zealand. . . . (5) has nearly naturalised itself in Australia, and is extremely hard either to express or to get rid of. The first part of the diphthong is often so short that it is difficult to fix it. The ordinary English *ow* begins with *a* of *sofa*, *u* of *nut*, or *a* of *father*, tapering off to *oo* of *too* *u'u*, *ə'u*, *ʌ'u*. The Australian begins with *a* of *cat*, or *e* of *get*, prolonged *æ'u*, *ee'u*, while the New Zealanders give all sorts of varieties, but are, I think, settling down to a sharp *a* of *father*, followed by *oo* (*ʌ'u*). One has only to hear "down town," "around and around," said by Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Colonials, to notice at least that there is a difference. The tendency to drawl the short vowels is noticeable in parts of Australia and Tasmania, *ha'nd*, *da'ug*, etc. (*hænd* *dAag*), but not, so far as I can discover, in New Zealand.

There is a strange development in the *oo* in *food*, *school*, *room*, to be found in Australia, the true sound being introduced by something like the French *eu*, forming a diphthong [*ə'uu*, *æ'uu*] or possibly (*a'uu*), but this is quite absent in New Zealand, although there is in its place a peculiar shortening of the sound—of Scottish origin—*good food* being both given with the short *u* of *pull* [*gud*, *fud*], the first rightly, the second wrongly [not at all uncommon in London].

One thing in common with Australia is the broadening of *i* in *die*, which is a diphthong formed by a very broad *ah*, tapering to *ee* (*ai*). This in Tasmania and parts of New Zealand even approaches *oi*, *I die* sounding *oi doi* (*A'i* *dA'i*). There is also in some places a peculiar final *r*, with introverted tongue modifying the previous vowel, especially *e* and *u*, as *fern*, *furnish*, taking the place of the rough Scotch *r* [apparently reverted (*R*)].

The only point that has struck me in New Zealand as peculiar is the short *u* in *but*, *tub*, etc., which has a much more open sound than I have been accustomed to, approaching the *a* in *father*, but difficult to describe [between (*ɛ*) and (*ai*)].

Throughout the schools a fair amount of attention is being paid to pronunciation, and I am told by the teachers that common errors eradicated in the lower classes, give very little trouble among the older children, and that the good habits formed in school are generally retained afterwards. I think, therefore, that we may hope for a very fair average pronunciation throughout the colony, which will compare favourably with that of any home district."

These conclusions are established in the following Table, itself a mere condensed abstract of many observations which it would be too lengthy to give in full. After the table will be found full explanatory notes relating to the separate entries and pronunciations.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF AUSTRALASIAN PRONUNCIATION

Containing the results of observations on the pron. of each particular school with different classes, examined where possible in every town visited. These results have been condensed, and the main features of each district only are given. Where the pron. is *normal*, i.e. *received* in England, no note is made except where it is contrary to colonial usage.

The arrangement of the table is as follows :

In the first column in each page is a numbered set of words used as types, in *Italics*, the different pron. as estimated by Mr. McBurney being added in *pal.* in separate lines below each type.

The seven other columns in each page refer to the districts examined, and each column is headed by an abbreviation of the name of the district referred to.

The seven columns on the left-hand page refer to districts or towns in Victoria, the first two relating to Melbourne. Mr. McBurney drew up a smaller table of observations in this colony in Gippsland, made in July, 1886, for the towns of Sale, Maffra, Stratford, Traralgon, Wallallal, Warragul, and afterwards Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, Castlemaine, and Sandhurst, which he had visited, or resided in, and examined. But this table is superseded by the left-hand page of the present one.

The last seven columns of the right-hand page contain notes of the two Australian colonies of Queensland and New South Wales, as represented by Brisbane and Sydney, and general observations in Tasmania, with particular observations in New Zealand, in which the districts examined were large, occasioning the necessity for marking variations. In the W., Na. (Wellington and Napier) column, notes inclosed in { } refer especially to Napier. In the Ne., Ch. (Nelson and Christchurch) column, notes in () refer to Christchurch, but those in [] to other unnamed districts, and in the Sydney column notes in [] refer to similarly unnamed districts in New South Wales.

The notes shew about the proportion of those school children examined who used the pron. in the given line. As a rule boys and girls are taken indiscriminately, but are sometimes distinguished.

Notes used in the columns.

B boys { boys and girls frequently vary much : in some cases the G were *finer*, as
G girls { E, for (æ), (œu) for (â'w), (aai, â'i) for (ahi), in other cases they
were broader.

g general or almost all, more than three-quarters.

m many or more than half.

e equal proportion, and hence if only one or two pron. are mentioned, half.

s some or several, but less than half.

f few, two or three, less than a quarter.

? doubtful if the proportion is rightly estimated.

..... indicates no note made, and serves to guide the eye across the page.

Contraction of names of places at the head of the columns, in alphabetical order.

A. Auckland, New Zealand.
Ba. Ballarat, Victoria.
Br. Brisbane, Queensland.
Co. Collingwood, Me., Victoria.
Ch. Christchurch, New Zealand.
Dn. Dunedin, New Zealand.
Dy. Dunolly, Victoria.
F. Frankton, Victoria.
Ma. Maryborough, Victoria.

Me. Melbourne, Victoria.
Mo. Mornington, Victoria.
Na. Napier, New Zealand.
Ne. Nelson, New Zealand.
S. Sydney, New South Wales.
T. Tasmania, general.
W. Wellington, New Zealand.
Y. South Yarra, Me. Victoria.

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
1. <i>please</i>							
pliz	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
2. <i>here</i>							
hiie	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
ie	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
ia ¹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
R	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>							
-i	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4. <i>city</i>							
siti	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
siti ₁	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
si ₁ ti ₁	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5. <i>new, tune</i>							
nuu, tuun	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6. <i>day say</i>							
dee déei	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	B <i>e</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	B <i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
déi	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>
dae'a'i	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
7. <i>dare</i>							
déer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
déer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
8. <i>die</i>							
dai	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g m</i>
da'i	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
9. <i>my might</i>							
mái	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
mái má'it	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
ma'i má'it	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
mái mō'it	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. <i>no</i>							
noo	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	2 <i>g</i>
na ¹ u	.....	.....	.....	G <i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
11. <i>toe</i>							
too	B <i>g</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
tá'u	G <i>g</i>	.....	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	.....	.....
12. <i>tore</i>							
tAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
tAA'v(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
tóov(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
tóov	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13. <i>now, town</i>							
éeu	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
ææ'u	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	B 2 <i>g</i>	.....
aa ¹ u	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
áu	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
ə'u	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14. <i>woman</i>							
u _o	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pull</i>							
u _o	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....
u	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
16. <i>pool</i>							
p'uul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
puul	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
pul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, N.A.	NE, CH.	DN.
1. <i>please</i>							
plɪz	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2. <i>here</i>							
hiɪ	ʔ <i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
iɪ	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	.....
iɪa ¹	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	.....
r	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	.....
3. <i>simplicity</i>							
-i	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>m g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>
4. <i>city</i>							
sɪtɪ	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
sɪtɪ ₁	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>
sɪ ₁ tɪ ₁	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
5. <i>new, tune</i>							
nuu, tuun	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
6. <i>day, say</i>							
dɛɛ dɛɛ	<i>e</i>	ʔ <i>e m</i>	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i> , G <i>e</i>	[G] <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
dɛɛ	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>s</i>	G <i>s</i>
dɛɛ'i	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
7. <i>dure</i>							
dɛɛr	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
dɛɛr	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
8. <i>die</i>							
dɛɪ	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>m</i>	G <i>g</i>	see
dɛɪ'i	<i>m</i>	.....	[<i>s</i>]	B <i>g</i>	B <i>m</i>	B <i>m</i>	note
9. <i>my might</i>							
mɛɪ	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	G <i>s e</i>	<i>e</i>	G <i>e</i>	.....
mɛɪ mɛɪ't	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	G <i>e</i>	G <i>m</i>	.....
mɛɪ' mɛɪ't	<i>m</i>	.....	[<i>s</i>]	G <i>m</i>	B <i>e</i>	B <i>m</i>	B <i>g</i> [G <i>s</i>]
mɛɪ mɛɪ't	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	G <i>m</i>
10. <i>no</i>							
noo	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
nɛɪ'u	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	G <i>s</i>	.....
11. <i>toe</i>							
too	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	(<i>g</i>) <i>e</i>	<i>m</i>
tɛɪ'u	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	G <i>m</i>	<i>s</i>
12. <i>tore</i>							
tɛɛ	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
tɛɛ'ɐ(r)	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
tɛɛɐ(r)	ʔ <i>s</i>	.....	ʔ <i>s</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
tɛɛɐ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	B <i>m</i>
13. <i>now, town</i>							
ɛɛu	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	(ʔ G <i>m</i>) <i>f</i>
ɛɛ'u	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>e f</i>	<i>f</i>
ɛɛ'u	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e f</i>	(B) <i>m</i>
ɛu	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e f</i>	<i>s</i>
s'u	.....	.....	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e f</i>	<i>s</i>
14. <i>woman</i>							
u	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
15. <i>pull</i>							
u	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
u	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
16. <i>poul</i>							
p'uul	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	G <i>f</i>	.....
puul	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
17. <i>rule</i>							
ruul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
r��ul	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>
18. <i>food</i>							
fuud	.....	.....	.....		.....	.....	.....
f��d	.....	.....	.....	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
f����d	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
19. <i>law paw</i>							
p���	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
p���'��	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
20. <i>floor</i>							
fl���	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
fl���'��	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
fl�����
fl�����
—R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—r	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. <i>poor</i>							
p���	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
p�����	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	.....
p�����
p������
22. <i>pure</i>							
p����	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>? e</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
p������	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	.....
p�������
23. <i>sure</i>							
sh���	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
sh�����	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
sh������
24. <i>more</i>							
ma��	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
mo��
m�����	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
m�����
ma��'���
25. <i>morning</i>							
ma��—	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
ma��'—
ma��—
26. <i>dance</i>							
d�����	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
d����	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	G <i>g</i>
da'���	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
d����	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>
27. <i>hand</i>							
he���	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....
he���	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	B <i>m</i>	G <i>g</i>
h����	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>
hand	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
28. <i>saw him</i>							
s������	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
s���—r—���	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
s���—r—���
29. <i>drawing</i>							
������	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
���—r—���	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....

TYPES.	T.	BR.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	DN.
17. <i>rule</i>							
ruul	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
réul	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
18. <i>food</i>							
fuud	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	(<i>g</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>
fud	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
f'uud	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>s</i>	.....
19. <i>law paw</i>							
pAA	<i>m g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pAA'e	<i>s</i>	.....	[<i>m</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>s</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
20. <i>floor</i>							
flAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>m</i>] <i>e</i>	.....	(<i>m</i>) <i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	.....
flAA'e	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	<i>m</i>	.....
flóob	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
flóob	.....	<i>f</i> [<i>s</i>]	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	?
—R	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	?
—r	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21. <i>poor</i>							
pAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	[<i>e</i>] <i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
púue	.....	.....	.....	[B s]	.....	.....	.....
púue	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
púuer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[<i>f</i>] <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
22. <i>pure</i>							
pJAA	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
pJúue	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
pJúuer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	[<i>s</i>]	.....
23. <i>sure</i>							
shAA	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f s</i>	G <i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
shúue	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	B <i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
shúuer	.....	.....	.....	[<i>f</i>]	.....	[<i>s</i>]	.....
24. <i>more</i>							
MAA	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....
MOO	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
móob	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>
móob	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>
MAA'ER	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....
25. <i>morning</i>							
MAA—	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>g</i>
MAA'—	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
MAAR—	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
26. <i>dance</i>							
DEENS	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	.....	.....
DENS	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>s</i>
dans (? a ¹)	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	G <i>g</i>	(<i>f</i>) <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	.....
DENS	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	.....	<i>m</i>
27. <i>hand</i>							
HEEND	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	<i>e</i>	.....
HEND	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>
hEND	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>
hand	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>
28. <i>saw him</i>							
SAA'im	<i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
SAA-r-im	<i>s f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....
SAA-R-im	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
29. <i>drawing</i>							
AA-iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
AA-r-iq	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....

TYPES.	Y.	Co.	Mo.	F.	DY.	MA.	BA.
30. <i>Ada has</i>							
de hæz	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>
ɐ-r-æz	.....	<i>e</i>	.....	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>
ɐ-R-æz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
31. <i>idea of</i>							
a'idiiuɔv	.....	.....	<i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
—ɐ-r-ɔv	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	G B <i>g</i>
—ɐ-R-ɔv	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
32. <i>pearls</i>							
pæɔlz	.....	.....	G <i>g</i>	.....	.....	.....	.....
pærlz	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
33. <i>ferns</i>							
fæœnz	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	B <i>m</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	? <i>g</i>
34. —ing							
—iq	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	.....	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
—in	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
35. <i>anything</i>							
—thiq	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—thiɔk	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
36. <i>dog</i>							
dɔg	<i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
dAag	<i>f</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>s</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
dɔhg	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
37. <i>H omitted</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	.....
38. <i>wh—</i>							
wh—	.....	<i>e</i>	G <i>g</i>	G <i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	.....	.....
w—	<i>g</i>	<i>e</i>	B <i>g</i>	B <i>g</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>g</i>
39. <i>wet</i>							
wɛt	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....
40. <i>s</i>							
th	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41. <i>tub</i>							
tab	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i>							
ɔh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i>							
ææ	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boy</i>							
oi	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

Notes to the above Table.

The numbers refer to the numbers of the word types. The columns are, when necessary, indicated by the initial letters at their head, the pronunciations referred to are given in palaeotype.

1. *please*, (pliiz) was only heard from a few children, and I think always in singing, when it is much easier to take (ii) than (ii). There was a line to say that *ee* was (ii) generally.

2. *here*, three sounds are entered, of which (iie) seems the most popular, though (iiv) is not unfrequent. In rs. only (iie) is acknowledged, but (iiv) is

more frequent. The sound (ia¹, ia), which is given only in Ne. and Ch., is well known as either an affected or vulgar sound in London, as *heeah!* for *here!* from a "swell," who has a difficulty with his *r*'s. The appearance of reverted (r), if rightly observed, here and in 7, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, is highly interesting,

TYPES.	T.	Br.	S.	A.	W, NA.	NE, CH.	Du.
30. <i>Ada has</i> dɛjhæz ɛ-r-æz ɛ-R-æz	<i>s</i> <i>m</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>m</i> [<i>g</i>] <i>s</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>m</i> <i>s</i>.....	...............
31. <i>idea of</i> aɪdiəjəv —ɛ-r-ɔv —ɛ-R-ɔv	<i>f</i> <i>g</i>	? <i>m</i> <i>s</i> .....	..... <i>g</i>	<i>e</i> <i>e</i>	<i>e</i> (<i>m</i>) <i>e</i>	<i>s</i> [<i>g</i>] <i>m</i>	<i>g</i> G <i>s</i>
32. <i>pearls</i> pəʊəlz pərlz	<i>f</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i> .....	..... .....	<i>s</i> <i>e</i>	..... <i>e</i>	..... <i>m</i>
33. <i>ferns</i> fœənz	<i>m</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	(<i>g</i>) <i>e</i>	G <i>m</i>
34. — <i>ing</i> —iq —in	<i>m</i> <i>f</i>	<i>m</i> <i>s</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>g</i> [<i>m</i>] <i>f</i>	<i>g</i>
35. <i>anything</i> —thiq —thiɪk	(?) <i>e</i> (?) <i>e</i>	..... <i>f</i>	..... <i>f</i>	..... .....	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	..... [<i>m</i>] <i>f</i>	..... <i>f</i>
36. <i>dog</i> dɔg daag dɔhg	<i>s</i> <i>m</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>m</i> <i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i> <i>f</i>	<i>g</i> B <i>m</i>	<i>m</i> <i>e</i>
37. <i>H omitted</i>	<i>m</i>	? <i>f</i>	? <i>f</i>	.....	?	.....	.....
38. <i>wh—</i> wh— w—	<i>f</i> <i>m</i>	<i>s</i> <i>m</i>	<i>f s</i> <i>m</i>	<i>f</i> <i>g</i>	(G <i>g</i>) <i>e</i> (B <i>g</i>) <i>e</i>	[<i>f</i>] <i>m</i> [<i>m</i>] <i>s</i>	G <i>g</i> , B <i>m</i> B <i>s</i>
39. <i>wet</i> wət	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40. <i>s</i> th,	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	B <i>s</i>	B <i>s f</i>	<i>f s</i>
41. <i>tub</i> tab talb	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
42. <i>water</i> ɔh	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
43. <i>star</i> ææ	.....	.....	.....	<i>f</i>	.....	.....	.....
44. <i>boys</i> boiz	.....	.....	.....	.....	(<i>f</i>)	.....	.....

but is possibly due to some colonists from our D. 4 or 11. See note on 24 floor, col. Dn.

3. *simplicity* with final *y* as (-i, -ii) and not (-i). This was not tested by Mr. McB. till he came to Br., and there he found it very common in Br., S., A., W. and Na., Ne. and Ch., and Dn. His attention had been drawn to it by two Englishmen as a colonial peculiarity.

4. *city*. There is a schism among English speakers as to the pron. of the *i*, *y* in this word. My (*i*₁) here is used for a sound between (*i*, *e*), which I am

loth to identify exactly with (*y*), the equivalent of the symbols Mr. M. Bell and Mr. McBurney use. Hence the observation on the great predominance of (*siti*) is interesting.

5. *new, tune*, the pron. (nuu tuun), which was found with comparative rarity by Mr. McB., is very common in London.

6. *say day* includes all the words usually having (*ee*) sounds, see p. 233, and forms one of the chiefly "cockney" tests, No. 3, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The sound given as (*éei*) in the table may be, Mr. McB. says, (*ee'i*) or

probably (E'i). In England certainly the sounds so vary. Mr. McB. also gives from Ba. (dææ'i græ'ev) day grave, with (i), and in all cases long first elements. In England they are heard with the first element quite short, as (dE'i, dæ'i, dá'i, dái) as shewn in D. 16. Mr. McB. says the (ee) is purer in New Zealand, although the (éei, ææ'i, EE'i) are still to be heard. In Napier Mr. McB. did not notice any strong tendency to make (ee) into (a'i), but two Scotch teachers there told him that the children used to be very bad, reading (dhì a'ikaan gra'uz on dhì sta'tli a'uk) the acorn grows on the stately oak.

7. *dare*, on the (r) see 2.

8. *die*, under Dn. he notes G seem to have more (ái), perhaps (ái), B (áai). At Ba. the *g m* for (dái) probably refer to different classes. The (dái) of G was frequently (daa'i) or (dah'i), Mr. McB. could not be sure which, but at any rate more (A'i) than (ái).

9. *my might* contrasts the treatment of (a'i) in open and close syllables, from which it appears that the latter generally have the finer sound.

10. *no*, and 11. *toe*. Mr. BcB. considers that the forms (ná'u, tá'u) which he wrote were uncertain, and that they may have been rather (áu) or something else. In *no*, *go*, *home* as a general rule it seems to be some form of (a'u); but in 11. *toe* there was generally a marked change, especially with G.

12. *tore*. About final *r* see 2.

13. *now town*, this is another test diphthong (a'u), see No. 5, in Mr. McB.'s article, p. 238. The first element in (éeu) may be rather (EE), as in No. 6. *say day*. "In New Zealand," says Mr. McB., "this diphthong (a'u) was very varied. You never could guess how the next child would pronounce it, and (ææ'u, áau, áau, á'u, ææ'u, EE'u, éeu) I think were all to be heard, but not, or rarely, (óou, áhu), which I have heard from Americans here [St. Francisco, Dec. 1887]. In New Zealand the (ææ'u, éeu) were not so marked as in Australia. They did not dwell on the first syllable with a drawl, but went rather quickly to the (u)." [In reference to this drawl Mr. McB. says: "A young intelligent American, who had travelled a good deal and walked 2000 miles through Europe, etc., told me that no Englishman could pronounce the *a* of *nasty*

properly — *laugh fast*, etc.!!! He pronounced it (nææ.sti) to the best of my hearing, with a nasal (æ) well drawn out."] "The American [meaning the St. Franciscan] (a'u) is totally opposed to the colonial (éeu). I hear (háaus, háaus), and perhaps (hææ'us) around me, but nothing like our Australian (hEE'us). I am so far utterly bewildered in my attempt to analyse and localise American pron. People from all parts of the States and every nationality are here, and I feel thoroughly in a foreign land. I have a difficulty in understanding the people, and they evidently in understanding my simplest questions." On the east side of the continent in the States of New York and Massachusetts the case would have been different.

14. *woman*, and 15. *pull*, with (u_o). I almost fear that Mr. McB. got his notion of (u_o) from my *Pronunciation for Singers*, where it is written [ù] in glossic and described as the result of "giving the tongue a mid-back position and rounding the lips as for (u)." This I have subsequently found to be slightly in error, the tongue is still high-back as for (u), and the lips are placed as for (oo). See the introduction to the M. div., where it is fully considered. Hence I do not feel sure about this vowel, and it may be (u₁) rather than (u_o). To find this peculiar transitional vowel (u_o) in Australia is more than could be expected, although according to TH. it exists n. of the s. *sööm* line 2 in the n. of Cb. Hu. and Nf. in the E. div., but quite out of ken of London.

16. *pool* (pæ'uul) and 18. *food* (fæ'uud). Mr. McB. writes the sound (æ'u) with (æ) short but accented, for which I have substituted (ə), which is the finer form of (æ). He says that it is common in Australia, especially in the word *food* (although not in all *oo* words), and was very marked in a Paramatta school (Sydney), but almost disappears in New Zealand, and becomes replaced by (fud) or (fud). This shortened form is not unfamiliar to me in London. The longer form (s'uū) I suspect to be one of the forms of my (æ'u) discussed in the introduction to M. div., which seems to have generated the Nf. (y₁). In its mildest form I hear it not unfrequently in London, especially in the words *too*, *afternoon*, where it is apt to generate (iu). At Ba. Mr.

McB. notes (féuud) singing in a large collective class. The sound is always difficult to analyse and necessarily unstable.

17. *rule* (rē'ul), and hence one of the forms of (a'u) in place of (iu). The form is remarkable, and does not occur very widely. I do not know it in England, but (ríuul) is common.

18. *food*, see note on 16.

19. *paw*, the only thing to be noted is the form (paa'v), which immediately suggests, perhaps occasions, a euphonic (r) as in 29. *drawing*.

20. *floor*, here we have both (flAA, flAA'v), where instead of (v) having been developed from the (AA), the latter was obtained by throwing off an (v), which replaced an (r), probably through (R), which still occurs occ. At Dn. Mr. McB. notes "final r throughout (R, r, v), each from several speakers." We have similar cases in Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24.

21. *poor*, the pron. (paa) is known in London. The title of Mr. Burnand's burlesque of (paa :klAA'diən), poor Claudian, written *paw Claudian*, was, however, little understood, and had to be explained in the newspapers.

24. *more*, 25. *morning*. Mr. McB. says "final (r) or (R) is common, especially in Dn., and the difference between *more* and *morn*, *oar* and *aur* and *au*, is quite distinct, while they are almost indistinguishable in Australia and Tasmania. In Ne. district final (R) was very marked with a peculiar vowel preceding, perhaps u in *fur*, *pearl*. I have heard it before from Birmingham and elsewhere." This may have been merely (v) as modified by the following (R).

26. *dance*, 27. *hand*, both (E) and (æ) were frequently nasalised in the colonies, as (dæ̃ns dæ̃ns, hænd hæ̃nd), but the two words belong to entirely different categories, *dance* is French and *hand* Ws., though the (n) has affected both alike.

28 to 31 are cases of inserted euphonic (r) which may be (R), the insertion of (r, r_c) is regular at many places in the E. div. and often heard in London.

32. *pearls*, 33. *ferns*. Mr. McB. has apparently appreciated the two vowels differently, but they may be only two different attempts to figure the same vowel. Probably I should have written (pæ̃lz fæ̃nz) or (pæ̃rlz,

fæ̃rnz) as he writes for the first at Ne. and Dn.

34. *-ing*, and 35. *anything*. Mr. McB. did not hear (-in, -thiŋk) himself, but took it on trust from the teachers in Ba., who gave both as used by several.

36. *dog*, 42. *water*, the writing (dohg) is rather an uncertain attempt to symbolise the sound heard. Mr. McB. calls it "an open o in *hot dog*, and sometimes also in *water*—like the Irish and American." He thinks it must be (əh), and says "it is quite a marked difference." It approaches (a), and he was about to write it (a¹) at first.

37. *H omitted*, as he heard in singing *God save the Queen* at Ba., "on 'er be pleased to pour."

39. *wet*, written in the table [e+u] glossic. But Mr. McB. says: "In some cases it seemed to lie between (e, a), perhaps (wa¹t), at another between (e, ə), perhaps (wət), as his 'Scotch ear,'" he says, "inclines, perhaps, to the broad (æ) for (ə)." But I know no such English sound for *wet*.

40. *s* (th), Mr. McB. says: "A peculiarity in the *s* struck me frequently in New Zealand, which I write *s'* but without certainty. The natives have no *s*, and they also produce frequently a strange *s* more approaching (sh), while the other *s'* approaches (th)." I have therefore written (th), the symbol for the Spanish *z*, which becomes (s) in Spanish America. He goes on to say, "The Maori *o* is, I think, in reality (o). The *t*=(t) or (t̃) generally, although some districts have the English (t). *wh* was at times decidedly (t̃), and at times, I think, a lip -f" = (ph). Although, as he says, this is *not* English dialect, it is worth preserving.

41. *tub*. "The u of *tub* struck me as very open, almost (a), in a large area of New Zealand, probably (a¹), as (ra¹b v da¹b), rub a dub." The Germans find our u in *tub* the nearest approach to their a in *mann* (man), and so, possibly, they hit this sound in saying *tub*.

42. *water*, see note on 36.

43. *star*. "A strange (a) was to be heard in Auckland. The boys calling the *Evening Star* shouted out *sta* . . . , perhaps (stæææ). It had a strange effect."

44. *boy*, *voice*. "oy most unfortunately escaped my notice, I know not how, but I have not heard anything

peculiar except in rare cases. Two teachers (Scotch) in Na. said it was habitually pronounced (*óoi*), as (*bóoiz* *vóoisiz*), boys' voices. I have noticed (*óoi*) but rarely."

This examination, conducted entirely by one man over such a large range of country, is entirely unprecedented, and furnishes the first trustworthy account that has been rendered of Australasian English. Mr. McBurney is a Glasgow man, but his parents belonged to Dumfries and Edinburgh; he lived in the Isle of Man for some years, and on his voyage to Australia studied Mr. Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*, and, subsequently, my *Pronunciation for Singers*, adopting my glossic-writing in his reports, as most convenient for writing and pointing. This phonetic training was, of course, indispensable, and adds much weight to his testimony. I feel under great obligations to Mr. McBurney for his kindness in enabling me thus unexpectedly to complete my account of South-Eastern pronunciation.

D 18 = NE. = North Eastern, so called in opposition to D 17 = SE.

Boundaries. Begin at the sw. angle of Rt., near Rockingham, Np. Go ene. across Np. s. of King's Cliffe to the nw. angle of Hu., near Wansford, Np. Pass along the b. of Hu. to Peterborough (in the map, the line has been accidentally drawn a little s. of this border). Go all round Cb. to the ne. angle of Np., then proceed along the n. b. of Np. to the entrance of the inlet of Li. containing Stamford. Cut across that inlet to the opposite point of Rt., and then pass round Rt. to the starting-point.

Area. The whole of Cb. and Rt., ne. Np., and the Stamford inlet of Li.

Authorities.—See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in systematic spelling, ° in io.

Cb. *general (Mr. Perkins, Prof. Skeat), †Cambridge, †Chatteris, †Ely, °Haddenham, °†March, †Sawston, †Shelford, °Soham, †Whittlesford, †Willingham, °†Wisbech, *°Wood Ditton.

Li. †Stamford.

Np. †Ailesworth, †Castor, †Eye, †Peakirk, *†Peterborough, †Rockingham, †Wakerley, †Werrington, †Wryde.

Rt. *Cottesmore (:kɔtjɪmóœ), °Empingham, *Oakham, °Stretton, °Uppingham, °Whitwell.

Character. It is curious that Cb. differs from Hu., especially in the A- words, which are no longer (*éi*) as a rule, though of course there are exceptions near the b. of Hu., Bd., Ht., and Es., but are simple (*ee*), and this is also frequently the case for the ÆG, EG words, though these more frequently admit of (*EE'i*), or some such form. This astonished me very much when I first became aware of it, but it is an evident approximation to Nf. and Sf., across both of which Cb. lies.¹ The A' words have also (*oo*) rather than (*óu*, *óou*).

¹ It is, however, not quite uniform. (de"i) day, at Ely (stre"it, pléis, wêi, meed, ee, kjeíz) straight, place, way, TH. noted at Willingham (8 n. Cambridge), (de"i re"ín, téib'l me"este) made, letter A, because, and at Cambridge (e"int) is-not? day rain table master, at Wisbech

The U' words take the general E. form (E'u) or thereabouts. The U, however, changes, for the n. *sum* line 1 runs across the n. part of Cb. in a straight line from Sawtry, Hu. (9 nnw. Huntingdon), to just n. of Ramsey, Hu., and s. of March, Cb. (12 nnw. Ely), and then, turning suddenly northwards, passes just w. of Wisbech and proceeds to the ne. point of Cb., whence it pursues the b. of Nf. to the sea. All n. of this line is therefore in the *sööm* region. But the s. *sööm* line passes from Hu., goes s. of Ramsey, Hu., and passes between Chatteris (9 nw. Ely) and Ely, then passing ne. to Downham Market, Nf. (6 s. King's Lynn). The intervening part of Cb. is therefore in the mixed region, so that s. of the s. *sööm* line we have pure (ə, æ), in the mixed region (ə, æ, u_o, o) and other intermediate forms, and in the n. part pure (u_o). But this seems to have no effect upon the rest of the dialect.

Remembering this, I was struck by the great resemblance of Rt. to Cb. pron. There are the same A- (ee), A' (oo), I' (ái, a'i), the same U' (E'u). On the extreme of Rt. I noticed a slight tinge of M. in the use of (shéi) for (shii), as I had found in E. Haddon, Np., D 16, p. 213). This satisfied me that the portion of Np. intervening between Cb. and Rt. must present the same peculiarities. But my information from this region was far too scanty for me to judge till TH. at Easter, 1886, took a rapid phonetic survey of the country, and finding there the Rt. characters, I included it in D 18.

Cb. has many usages like those of the adjacent Nf. and Sf., such as 'together' as an address to several persons; 'come to mine,' that is, my house, 'he do' for he does. Also the words 'to do' are frequently (tíu díu), which is half-way to (tíy₁ díy₁), which will be considered in D 19. These do not appear to occur in ne. Np. and Rt. Hence we must distinguish three varieties, Var. i. Cb., Var. ii. ne.Np., Var. iii. Rt.

VAR. i. MID CAMBRIDGESHIRE dt.

pal. in 1879 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Mr. John Perkins, of Downing College, Cambridge, who was very familiar with the peasant speech, but he could assign no particular locality.

1. *soo ái* se, meets, JE'u sii NE'u dhæt ái)m ráit vbe'ut dhæt lít'l gæl kæmín frém dhæ skuul hínðv.

2. shi)z v)go'in dE'um dhv rood dhêv, thríu dhv red ge'vt on dhv left hand sáid v)dhv wee.

3. shûv enə'f dhv tjáild)z gan street æp tɛ dhv do'er v)dhv rəq he'us,

4. wêv shi)l bi shûv tɛ fáind dhæt def wiz'nd félv v)dhv neem v :təməs, dhæt)s ɔləs táit ez v drəm.

5. we ʌʌl noo ím ver_oi wel.

6. woont dhi óud tɶæp suun tiitɶ [laan] v nɔt tɛ duu ít [diu)t] vɛn.

7. luk ! eent ít tru.

Notes to m. Cambridgeshire dt.

1. *so*, noted as usual pron.—*mates*, no vanish noted here or in other cases.—*yonder*, the aspirate is not usually dropped, but often wrongly inserted.

3. *child*, pl. (tjildən).

4. *wizened*, the word *shrivelled* not in use, the use of (shr-) seemed un-

certain. Mr. P. gave (shrimps srimps, ram srab, shruu mē'us, srægd) shrimps, rum shrub, shrew mouse, shrugged.—*that is always tight as a drum*, the people object to the word *drunk*.

6. *teach*, 'learn' is much more usual.

s.CB., SAWSTON (6 sse. Cambridge), dt.

pal. in 1879 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Mullett, native, 18, and 3 years latterly in Nt., son of the foreman to a paper mill.

1. náu ái see, meetiz, jə'u sì ái wer_o ráit vbaút dhat lit'l gjal vka'min frəm jon skuul.

2. shi)z vgu'in dāum dhe rood dhév thruu dhat red gjeet v)dhe left and said.

3. wái dhe tjáild)z gən strē'it tē)dhe dóv v)dhe rəq áus,

4. wē'v shi)l praps fáind dhat óud drəqk'n dɛf laqki tjap v)v :təməz.

5. ju aal noo)im wɛl vɛnə'f.

6. ónt dh)óud tjap suun tiitj)er nət tē du)it vɛgje'n, pòv thiɔ.

7. lək jə ! it)s ráit, jə sii.

Notes to Sawston dt.

1. *now*, the diphthong (áu) is very doubtful. It most probably should be (ē'u) as in the surrounding districts.—*say*, no vanish written.—*that*, the (a) for (æ) is doubtful, and may have been a slip here and elsewhere.

5. *road*, observe the absence of vanish.

6. *won't*, the absence of (w) is noticeable.—*old*, the absence of (l) is suspicions.

se.CB., WOOD DITTON (3 sse. Newmarket, 13 e. Cambridge, on the b. of Sf.), dt.

pal. in 1879 by AJE. from dict. of Miss Walker, native, daughter of the then vicar.

1. nē'u A'i diú see, tēge·dhv, jə'u sii nē'u A'i bi ra'it vbe'ut dhæt éev lit'l gɛl [mɛdhv] kɛmɛn frəm dhæt éev skiúl [dhv skiúl jəndv, hɛndv].

2. shi bi goo'in dē'un dhe rod dhév, thriú dhe red gáit on dhe left hæn sa'id v)dhe rod.

3. shiúv vne'u dhæt tjá'ild)z [dhv lit'l vɛn)z] gən strá'it [ra'it] əp tē dhe dóv v)dhe rəq hē'us,

4. wēv shi)l hæp'n fá'ind dhæt drəqk'n dɛf wɪz'nd fɛlɛ, v)dhe nēvm v :təməs.

5. wi aal noo vɛm wɛl vne'u [wɛr_oi wɛl].

6. oont dhe ool tjæp siún teetj [laan] shi not tē diú dhæt vɛgɪn, pòv thiɔ !

7. lək, tēge·dhv, beent it triú.

Notes to Wood Ditton dt.

1. *now I say*, (soo) as it is called would not be used here, they (siú a dres en sóou dhæ kər, 'n) they sew a dress and sow the corn.—*together*, the regular address in Cb. to more than one, (meets) is also used.—*I be*, 'I am' is also used, 'thou' is not in use.—*girl*, *mauther*, the latter word imported from Sf., *wench* is not used.—*that there school* is the usual phrase.

2. *road*, with a short vowel certainly, but doubtful if (o) or (ə).—*gate* clearly dictated as (gáit), possibly due to adjacent Sf., but (gêet) is also used.—*of the road* or (WEE) way.

3. *enow*, 'enough' is never used.—

door, they say (pæ'uv, fæ'uv) pour, four.

4. *happen*, used for 'it may happen,' perhaps.—*find*, the (A'i) was dictated clearly throughout, (v sA'it v piip'l) a sight, great number, of people.—*name*, also pronounced (nææ'im). The alternative forms (gêet ga'it, nêem nææ'im) recall the succession of (e'i) to (év) observed in Ht. (p. 196 d).

5. *very well*, given as an alternative, is the only example of (w) for (v) I have found in Cb., and it may be like *mauther*, an importation from Sf.

6. *teach she* for *her* is a suspicious S. form.

Miss Walker also dictated the following sentences and words :

1. (h'indæ bií v de'u), yonder is a dove.
2. (wæ'v v jóu v goo'in tiú, bə?), where are you going to, bo? [lad, man, a Sf. word].
3. (A'i bi glad tiú sii shii), I be glad to see she.
4. (heu shi 'diú gra'h), how she *do* grow, with an amount of wind following, like a guttural.
5. (diú jæ'u goo ewee, doont ækt soo fiuulish), do you go away, don't act so foolish.
6. (shi)z dhæt bæd), she is so ill.
7. (tə kop), to throw, (miz'n, miis), mice, the latter rare, (pee'z 'n beenz), peas and beans, (tæmets), turnips, (wæz'l), wurzel, (fæst, bæst), first, burst, (kæld), only convalescent, in Nf. brisk.

n.CB., MARCH (12 nnw.Ely), dt.

by the Rev. J. W. Green, Rector, pal. by AJE. from his notes; the words in [] were marked rp. and are retained in ordinary spelling, as the exact pron. intended could not be assigned.

1. [so I say, mates,] jə'u [see now that I am] rədít [about that little] gæl kəmin frəm [the] skiúl jinder.

2. shi biz goo'in [down the] róod dhaar [through the red gate on the left] hænd [side of the way].

3. [sure] enú [the] tjáild hez [gone] stráit up tiú [the] dóor [of the] rəəqg [house].

4. waar shi'l tjaentj [to find that] drəqk'n [deaf] drə'iz'nd felə [of the name of Thomas].

5. [we all] noo [him] værəi [well].

6. uunt [the old chap soon teach her not] tíu díu [it] gin, póor thiq!

7. lək, iint [it] tríu?

Notes to March dt.

1. *you*, rh. *now*.—*right*, “the tip of the tongue is merely raised,” this must be (r_o) in all cases before a vowel, otherwise it is probably omitted; hence as the Rector always wrote the *r*, I have inserted (r_o) always.—*coming*, “first syllable as in *hum*, second sounded *in*.”—*school*, “pronounced *skwul* as in *skewer*.”—*yonder* “*yin* is the word used, and *yinder*.”

2. *She is*, “*be* is mostly used, *she bees*.”—*going*, “*a* is prefixed when the first person is used before it, as *I’m a goin*.”—*road* “*roh-ud*.”—*there*, rh. *tar*.

3. *enough*, “one form *enew* always used.”—*child*, “the vowel ‘*i*’ has a diphthongal sound as if *ei* ‘cheild.’” I have taken the (ái) from TH.’s observations at March.—*has*, ‘hez’ as in ‘fez,’ ‘have’ as in ‘heav-en.’”—*straight*, “*ai* as in the Greek diphthong *ai*,” as pronounced in England.—*up*, “vowel as in *full*.” Mr. Green marked the following words as having *u* in dull (ə), us husband dust love dove above hunger tongue sun under but butter *up* cup jump gun tumble thunder, and with *u* in full (u) bullock full. Thus he gave *up* differently in the list and the dt.—to “as in *tew*.”—*door* “as in *oar*.”—*wrong* “sounded with double *gg*, and the vowel as in *rung*.”—*house*, “and *home* are not commonly used, the pronoun ours, yours, mine, being commonly employed alone, as ‘come to mine,’ instead of ‘my house.’”

4. *where*, “*h* not pronounced, the vowel sounded as in *far*.”—*she’ll*, “if emphatic sounded as *wul*” (wəl).—*chance*, pr. *chanch*.—*drunken*, “*dr* sounded with the tongue against the

teeth, *u* as in *sunk* ;” this dental *dr* must apparently be an error.—*shrivelled*, “the word used is *drizzend* ; *shr* is sounded in words of that beginning.”

5. *know*, ‘we know’ is the form used, vowel as in *over*.—*very*, “like *Harry*,” this is a very remarkable form.

6. *teach*, “*learn*, used instead of *teach*, is pronounced *larn*” (lar_on, laan).—*poor*, “as in *oar*.”—*thing*, “sometimes *k* instead of *g*, and sometimes *g* dropped, *somethin*, *anythink*.”

7. *look* “as in *luck*.”—*isn’t* “as *ēent*.”—*true* “as *treuw*.”

The treatment of U from the account of the Rector (except in the word *up* in the dt.) appeared to be the same as in rs. But TH. on visits made with the express purpose of verifying this point in 1881 and 1882, found generally (u_o) for short *u* and short *o* treated as *u*, as in *tumble* *stumble* *thunder* *gun* *up* *sun* *jump* *pump* *cup* *tub* *jug* *mutton* *some* *son* *crumbs* *couple* *another* *colour* *supper* *other* *sum* *duck* *brother* (mu_onə) [mustn’t] *honey* *monkey* *trumpet* *plunder* *run* *stomach*. Once he got (o) in each of the words *tumble*, *cup*, *colour*, *others*, and once a vowel between (u_o, o) in *onion* (u_oⁿnən). Hence I have placed March on the n. *sum* line 1 itself.

With regard to other sounds TH. found *ai*, *ay* = (ee) in *way* *day* *say*, with no *vanish*.

i, *y* long = (ái) in *die* *while* *time* *behind*.

o long, *o-e*, *ow* generally (oo) without *vanish*.

ou and *ow* generally (ə’u), sometimes (ə’u), and sometimes an intermediate diphthong.

ne.CB., WISBECH, cwl.

Herbert J. Little, Esq., of Wisbech (:wizbɪtʃ), kindly filled up one of my old wl. He marked by far the majority of the words as having rp., and only those which follow had any indication of a dialectal change, except such minor points as *w* for *wh*, *g* and *k* omitted in *gnaw*, *know*, *knead*, etc., which are not distinctive. These now follow in the order of the cwl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 14 draa + r [before a following vowel]. 33 reedhæ. 36 thoo. A: 47 wandæ. 54 want. A’: 102 æks. 105 rid. 115 hæm. 118 bæn. 123 nathiq [ʔ na-]. 124 stæn. 133 rit. Æ- 144 egi’n. Æ: 155 thæk. 173 waa. 118 pæd. Æ’: 218 ship. E- 233 speak. 236 feevv. 248 maa. E: 265 stra’it. 270 belez. 272 elem. 273 min. E’: 306 ha’ith.

314 hîed. 316 neks. EA- 319 gaap. EA: 323 foot. 324 a'it. EA': 355 diif. 366 gret. 370 rîe [written rear]. EO- 386 ja'u. EO: 389 jelk. 396 wak. 397 sûed. 400 énest. 402 laan. 406 êeth [written airth]. 407 faad'n. EO': 434 bet. I- 441 siv. 442 a'iveri [written ivory]. O: 537 ma'uld. U- [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 600 love [a very slight approximation of the *o* to *u*, scarcely perceptible: this expression must refer to one of the sounds intermediate to *ə*, *u*]. 603 come [very slight approximation to *u*]. 605 son [rp.]. 607 butter [rp.]. U: [where rp. was especially marked, the word is given in Italics in ordinary spelling]. 608 ugly [very slight approximation to *ui*]. 612 some [very slight approximation to *u*]. 618 wa'und. 625 tongue [rp.]. 626 hunger [*u* approximates slightly to *ui*, not (huu)gre]. 629 sun [slight approximation to *u*]. 630 won [slight approximation to *ui*]. 631 Thursday [rp.]. 632 up [rp.]. 633 cup [rp.]. 635 weth. 636 fêde. 637 tash tash. 639 dust [rp.]. U'- 653 but [rp.]. U': 662 us [rp.]. 666 husband [the *u* approaches (*u*) sometimes]. Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 688 build [written beuld]. 696 bath. 697 biuri [written bewry]. 700 was. 701 fest.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 na'iz. 769 mɔl. 790 ga'und. U. 808 put [rp.].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dja'ist. O.. 916 iqren [written ingyon]. 919 a'intment. 920 pa'int. 923 ma'ist. 924 tja'is. 925 va'is. 926 spa'il. 947 ba'il. U.. 965 a'il. 968 a'iste.

Usages. I am, I are, we you they are, I be, I is [this must be imported], they is, he do, he live there, I am a-going.

Note to Wisbech cwl.

Mr. Little says: "In a district like this, with very little dialect proper, one has to consider whether individual peculiarities are not often due to some connection with either Norfolk or Lincolnshire, which approach so very closely, and which have distinct modes of speech. I was much influenced by this consideration. I therefore dwelled (mentally) as much as possible on the speech of a typical labourer or two of my acquaintance, rather than marked the numerous peculiarities of those who, in my opinion, or to my knowledge, had borrowed accidentally from our neighbours." Mr. Little, however, kindly went once more over the words which have (*u*, *ə*) in rs., and the result is given under U- U: U'- U':. Here he frequently recognises a tendency of (*ə*) to pass, more or less, generally slightly into (*u*) and the consequent occ. generation of (*o*), see No. 637 *tusk*. This is the distinctive mark of the mixed area, in which therefore Wisbech is situate, the n. *sum* line passing just above it. TH., who visited Wisbech in 1882, must have fallen in chiefly with those who in Mr. Little's opinion were affected by neighbouring

Li. and Nf., both of which have (*u*_o), Wisbech being wedged between them, so that it could scarcely keep an (*ə*) in the younger generation. Thus from a boy of 13, a native, TH. heard (*u*_o) in jump [with at one time a blending of (*o*, *ə*)], pump, cup, tub, jug, tumble, mutton, sun, son, duck, crumbs; but in *some* he heard a mixture of (*u*_o, *ə*) and in *colour* a mixture of (*o*, *ə*) while in *couple* the sound was completely (*o*). From a man of 39, a native, he heard (*u*_o) in jump, cup, mutton, *some*, sun, son, duck, couple, crumb, but a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in tumble, and complete (*o*) in pump, tub, jug, colour. The phenomenon was almost the same at Chatteris, which is 15 ssw. Wisbech, and hence not exposed to the Li. action, and is 9 m. from the Nf. b. Here TH. from a native, a roadman of 73, noted (*u*_o) in nothing, tub, *some*, crush, wonderful; but also (*ə*) in nothing, just, a mixture of (*u*_o, *o*) in jump, cup, and of (*o*, *ə*) in crumble, crumbs, crumbly, but pure (*o*) in jug, tumble, mutton, gruffer, couple, colour, sun, son, scholar, and so on from others, shewing that Chatteris is in the mixed region, but just at the limit of (*u*_o).

Mr. Little says that "the fen country generally is the home of pure speech, by which I mean, of language but little differing from the ordinary literary English." It is an opinion held by many that "received speech is pure, and dialectal speech impure," forgetting that received speech has been highly "doctored" in the course of ages from some form of dialectal hereditary speech, and hence is really the impurest possible form of speech. Received English, however, probably descended from E. speech, especially the inland variety, and that would account for the marked resemblance between the two.

VAR. ii., ne.NORTHAMPTON cwl. containing:

Pt Peterborough, wn. by TH. at Peterborough and Werrington in 1881-2.

Pe those observed by AJE. from Miss Furness, student at Whitelands, and the following wn. by TH. at Easter, 1886.

A Ailesworth (5 w. Peterborough).

C Castor (4½ w.P.).

E Eye (3 ne.P.).

P Peakirk (5½ n-by-w.P.).

R Rockingham (8 n. Kettering).

S Stamford, Li., from a Rutland man.

Wak Wakerley (15 w.P.).

Wer Werrington (3½ nnw.P.).

Wr Wryde, in parish of Thorney, Cb. (9 ene.P.).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 PWr beek. 8 ARE ev. 18 P kjeek. 20 PPe leem (with no vanish). 21 WakePWrS neem. A: or O: 58 A thrəm. 60 AWerP luq. 64 ARWr roq, WakeWerS ruq, R ruq, EP roq. A'- 69 WakREP noo. 74 C tūu tuu, R tuu. 76 Pe tood. 81 WakR leen. 82 A wu_cns. 86 Wer oots, AEPWr ōts, CE ōuts. 92 E nooz. 93 AWak snoo, P snōu. A': 104 AWak rood. 115 CP ōum, AWakREWerWr oom, Pt ōm, CPt ōum, P ō_ium. 117 C wa'n. 118 Wak boon. 122 WakREP nō. 124 WakP stoon.

Æ- 138 AWakREWerPWr faadhæ. 142 APWakE sneel. 152 ARE waate. Æ: 162 CA dēi, AWakREWerP dee. 172 Wak gres, RE gras. 181 Wak pad. Æ'- 197 CAEPWr tpiiz. 200 CREPWr wit, AEP wiit. Æ': 209 WakPE nivæ. 223 CWakREP dhæv. 224 REP wiæ+r, E wæv we'v.

E- 233 CWakREWerP speek, A spēk, RP spiik. 241 C rêin, AR reen. 243 S plec'in. E: 261 A se', WakREP see, R sii, E see. 262 WakREWerPWr wee, E wee. 263 P ewee, S ewēi. 278 A wentpejz. E'- 290 AREPWr i. 292 R mīi. 299 WakREWerPWr griin. E': 314 A ə'llrd, E e_llrd, WakREP ied, R əəd.

EA: 322 WakREPptWr lāf. 324 EP e'it. 326 WakREP ōuld. 328 Wer kōuld. 335 A aal. 338 A kaalin. EA'- 347 AWakePWr èd, R èd, Pt. e'id. EA': 361 AWakeWer biin. 366 WakPWr greet, E gret. EO: 394 C jōndv, Wer jōnde, AEWak jōndv. 395 ARWerP juq. 402 Wak lə'lni_n, REP lœn, E Wer laan. EO'- 411 C thrii. 412 R shi, EPWr shi. EO': 428 A sii. 437 Wak trūth, PWr tri_iuth. EY- 438 RE dāi, WakWer [between] dā'i dāi, P dā'i dāi.

I: 458 WakREWerP nait, Wr nē'it. 465 WakeS sitj. I'- — [name of the letter] A ai, Pe a'i. 494 P ta'im, WakePWr taim. I: 500 AWake lāik.

O: — Pe sru_cb [shrub, shr- never used]. 531 CAREWerPWr daate. O'- 555 AEP shuu. 559 PE madhv, A [between] madhv modhv, E modhv, Pt mōdhv, Wr mēdhv. 562 WakREWerPWr muun. 564 P suun. 568 AR

bru dhe. O': 579 WakE unu_of, Pe uniú. 587 WakREP dùn, Wr dù_n. 588 WakREW_erPW_r nuun.

U- 605 WakREW_erPS sù_n. 606 AWakREW_erP dóv+r. 607 R bu t_v. U: — P tu_omb'l [tumble]. 629 Wer su_n. 632 AWakRPS u_op. 633 Wr ku_op. U'- 641 A E''u, Wr ə'u. 643 AE nâu. 650 S vbat. U': 658 R dâun, E dáun, P dīE''un. 659 E táun, P tīE''un, Wr [between] te'un tə'un. 663 AWak ə'us, WakWerWr [between] ə'us, E'us, RE áus, P [l]iE'us [A E''uz'n, Wak ə'uz'n].

Y- 673 WakE mu_otj. Y': 712 AWak máis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. and Y. 758 Pe gjel [Miss F. had not heard *wench*]. O. 791 ARE bôî, WakP bóî. U. 794 Pt dju_og. 803 Pt dju_omp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 A fès. 866 Pe póov. I.. and Y.. 901 AE fáin. O.. — CAPWr bií [beef]. 947 AR bóil, Wak bóil. U.. 965 A ôil.

VAR. iii., RUTLAND.

The short *u* as dictated to me in Ru. seemed to be rather (*u*₁) than (*u*_o), due perhaps to the neighbouring Li., but as a compromise I have used only (*u*). Ru. is quite distinct from adjoining Le., where according to TH. (*u*_o) prevails. See Introduction to M. div.

COTTESMORE, RT. (4 nne.Oakham), dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell, native, who resided there till 14, but had been absent 14 years, and was then teacher at St. Mark's Coll., Chelsea. The *r* was not particularly observed.

1. soo A'i see, butiz, jv séi nē'u dhēt A'i)m rā'it v̄bā'ut dhat līt'l gēl kumēn frēm jən [JEN] skīuul.

2. shéi)z gō'v̄n dē'un dhē rood dhēv thruu dhē rēd geet on dhē lēft and sā'id v)dhē wee.

3. shīū'v̄r unuf dhē tja'ild v̄z gon street up tē dhē dú'v̄r v)dhē roq ē'us,

4. wīv̄ shéi)l tja'ns tō fā'in dhat dru₁qk'n dēf sriv'ld fēl v)dhē neem v : tōmēs.

5. wī aal noo im wērī wēl.

6. wuunt dhē ool tja_op sīuun tiitj v not tē duu it vgi'n [agē'n], pōv thi_oqk !

7. luuk, eent it truū.

Notes to Cottesmore dt.

1. *so*, *say* without *vanish*; whether (*see*) or (*see*) was said is not absolutely certain, but I have generally marked (*ee*), and so I retain it in preference to (*ee*), as there was no trace of a following (*i*).—*see*, both (*sēi*, *sii*) seem to be used, the (*sēi*) is of course a M. encroachment.—*girl*, (*wentj*) *wench* is used affectionately.

2. *she*, (*shēi*) was heard here, but in

par. 4 (*shīi*) wrs also given.—*on* rather (*on*) than (*on*).

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not used.

4. *shrivelled*, the word is common, and so is (*wiz'nd*) *wizened*.

5. *know*, occ. *knows*.—*very*, inclined to (*wērī*), but not very certain, (*wit'lz*) *virtuals* is the only instance of (*w*) for (*v*) quite certain.

OAKHAM, RT., dt.

pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss Kemm, native, teacher at Whitelands, assisted by her wl. which had been corrected from dict.

1. *soo di séei*, meets, *ju sii na'u dhut di'm ráit vbe'ut dhat-êe* lî't'1 gel, *kumîn thrum dhu skuul*.
2. *shii)z)ego'in da'un dhu rood dhêe*, *thriu dhu red géeit on dhu* left and *sáid* v' dhu *wéei*.
3. *shûer vnauf*, *dhu tjàild iz gôn stret up* t' dhu *dôer* v' dhu *ruq a'us*.
4. *wîe shi)l tjaansh* t' *fáind* dhat *dru'nk'n diif* [def] *sriv'ld feler* v' dhu *neem* v' :tóməs.
5. *wi haal* [ôul] *noo)im veri wel*.
6. *wuunt dhu hoold tjàp suun laan)* v' not t' *duu it ege'n*, *pôu thiq* !
7. *luuk* ! eent)it *triu* ?

Notes from Miss Kemm.

R as Miss K. pron. was when initial a decided (r), when final it was untrilled and mostly like the vowel (v) as in London.

The cwl. is made up from Miss K.'s observations on old people, especially shepherds, which she had observed from childhood.

H. is generally omitted in the right and inserted in the wrong place, the latter especially when the speaker is emphatic and slow, and is anxious to speak well, as (*hav koos*) of course.

Irregular (strong) verbs are often made regular (weak).

Th and F are not confused, we have neither (throks) frocks, nor (fis'lz) thistles [but observe (thrum) from, par. 1].

Many is called (*meeni*) by old and antiquated people.

Cl, *Gl* initial become (tl, dl).

Old, well-educated people say (*fift sikst eet náint*) fifth sixth eighth ninth.

Noise is used for sound.

Proud is expressed by (*di en lofti*) high and lofty.

Though *ointment* is not used, they speak of (*v na'inted raaskel*) a 'nointed rascal, one who has been well thrashed.

To *addle*, earn, is not common, but has been heard.

* * I cannot be sure of my notes for (*ee*, *ee*), as they were not distinctly separated, and hence have generally used (*ee*) even when perhaps (*ee*) or (*éei*) was said.

RUTLAND cwl.

C Cottesmore (:kətmôv) wl. pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. E. Cattell in 1882, as above.

O Oakham (:uukəm) wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from dict. of Miss A. Kemm, as above. This is town pron., and in some respects refined. Miss K. says : "The provincialisms are not glaring, they consist chiefly in the use of old Saxon words, and the peculiar sound of *u*" as (*u*). Oakham was celebrated for its holm-oaks, as at Ashwell (3 n.Oakham) there are beautiful ash-trees.

S Stretton, as given by the then Rector, Rev. E. Bradley ('Cuthbert Bede').

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 O beek. 4 C tek. 5 CO mek. 6 O meed. 7 O sévik. 8 CO ev. 9 C bi,ê-v, bi,ee-v. 10 O ôv. 12 O sôv+r. 13 O nôv+r. 14 O drôv+r. 17 O lôv+r [sometimes]. 18 O keek. 20 CO leem. 21 CO neem. 22 O teem. 23 CO seem. 24 CO sheem. 28 êv. 32 C beedh. 33 COS reedh, O radh. 36 O thôv. 37 O klôv+r. A: 39 O kuum. 56 C wesh, O wash.

A: *or* O: 58 C *throm* [has been heard from poor people]. O *throm throm*. 60 C *laq*, O [between that and] *laq*. 61 CO *emraq*. 62 O [between] *straq* *struq*. 64 O [between] *raq ruq*. 66 O [between] *thaq thaq*.

A'- 67 O *goo + u* [in the pause]. 69 O *noo + u* [in the pause]. 70 O *too + u* [in the pause]. 71 O *woo + u* [in the pause]. 72 C *oo*. 73 O *soo + u* [in the pause]. 74 C *too*, O *too + u* [in the pause]. 75 O *strook*. 76 O *tôed*. 77 O *lôed*. 81 C *leen*. 82 O *wuns*. 84 O *môv* [like 12]. 85 O *sôv* [like 12]. 86 C *oots*. 87 C *klooz*, O *tlooz*. 89 *booth*. 92 O *noo*. 93 O *snoo*. 94 O *kroo*.

A': 101 O *ook* [but old-fashioned people call *Oakham* 'uukem']. 102 O *aast* [both pres. and pret., old people say 'aks']. 104 CO *rood*. 105 CO *rood*. 106 CO *braad*, O *brôed*. 107 C *loof*, O *laf*, *laf*. 108 O *dôv* [(peest) more common]. 111 O *ôet*. 113 CO *æl* [*hurl* is not so pronounced, as it is in Nf.], O *hwl*. 115 O *um* [with or without h], S *wam*. 116 O *uum* [rarely used]. 117 O *wan* [never *wam*]. 118 C *boon*, O *boon*. 122 CO *nun* [non in Le.]. 123 CO *noot*, *nôthiuk*. 124 O *ston*. 125 O *ooni*, *ooni*. 126 O *ôv* [like 12]. 127 C *ôes*, O *ôesti* [occ.]. 129 O *goost*. 132 O *ot*. 134 O *ôyth*.

E- 138 C *nachv*, OS *feedne*. 139 O *dree*. 141 CO *neel* [no vanish]. 142 CO *sneel*. 143 CO *teel*. 147 C *breen*. 148 O *fêv*. — a'nt [ant, oftener (pismáiv)]. 149 C *bleez*. 152 C *watz*. Æ: 155 C *thak thek thetj*. 158 O *haatenum* [afternoon, very common]. 161 CO *dee*. 163 O *lee*. 164 CO *mee*. 166 C *meed*. 171 G *bêgli*. 172 C *gres*. 173 CO *waa*. 181 CO *pad* [regular form]. E'- 182 CO *si*. 183 C *teeti*, O [kan learn, used]. 184 O *liid*. 185 C *reed*, red [pt.]. O *riid*, red [pt.]. 186 O *breeth*. 187 C *leev*, O *liiv*. 188 C *nee* [*wani* more common], O *névi wani* [both used]. 189 C *wee*, O *wévi*. 190 CO *kii*. 191 *iil*. 192 C *meen*, O *miin*. 193 O *klæq* [heard from an old lady near Uppingham, who was 90 when she died]. 194 C *oni*, O *eeni eni*. 195 O *meeni* [old], S *moni*. 196 O *ai waa*, *wi waa*, *dhe waa* [I was, we they were]. 197 C *treez*, CO *trüz* [C both used]. 199 O *bliit*. 200 C *wiet*, O *wiit*. 201 CO *iidh'n*, C *eedh'n* [C both used]. 202 O *iit*. Æ: 204 O *diid*. 205 C *thrid*, O *thred*. 207 O *niid'l*. 210 C *kee*, O *klévi*. 211 C *gree*, O *grévi*. 212 O *wévi*. 213 S *eedhe*. 216 CO *diil*, C *del* [C both used]. 218 O *ship*. 219 CO *sliip*. 221 O *fiiv*. 222 O *êv*. 223 CO *dhêv*. 224 CO *wîv*. 226 O *moost*. 227 O *wet*. 228 C *swot*, O *swet*.

E- 232 C *brook*. 233 C *speck*, O *spéek*, *spok* [pret.]. 234 C *niid*. 235 O *wiiv*. 236 O *fiiv*. 238 O *edi* [always, compare 257]. 239 C *seel*, O *sêl*. 241 C *reen*. 243 C *plee*, O *plêi*. 246 O *kwiin*. 247 O *wiin*. 248 O *mêv*. 249 O *wêv*. 250 O *swêv*. 251 C *meet mêt miit* [all used], O *miit*. 252 O *ket'l* [never (kit'l)]. 253 O *net'l*. 254 O *lêdhv*. 255 O *wêdhv*. E: 257 *hedj* [h frequent]. 258 O [flagz: always used]. 260 O *lévi*. 261 C *see*, O *sévi*. 262 C *wee*, O *wévi*. 264 C *eel*, O *évil*. 265 C *street*, O *stret*. 268 O [(oldest) used]. 272 O *helm* [in one syllable, not *helum*]. 273 O *men*. 276 O *thêk*. 278 O *Wenti* [in a good sense for grown girls]. 280 O *leb'm*. 281 O *leqkth*. 282 O *streqkth*. 284 C *thresh*. 285 O *kriis*. 287 CO *biiz'm*. 288 O *læt*.

E'- 290 C *i*, O [h'im] more frequent]. 291 C *dhi*, O [not used]. 292 O *mi*. 293 C *wi*, O *wi*. 294 CO *fiid*. 296 C *bileev*, CO *billiv* [C both used]. 298 C *fiil*, O *fiild*. 299 O *grün*. 300 C *kéeip*, O *kiip*. 302 CO *miit*. 303 CO *swiit*. E': 305 C *ha'i*, O *ai*. 306 C *évit*. 307 C *na'i*, O *nai*. 308 CO *niid*. 309 O *spiid*. 310 C *iil*. — O *bræv* [and *briz* about Belton (7 ssw. Oakham) = briar]. 313 O *haak at*. 314 O *îed*. 315 CO *fiit*.

EA: 322 O *laaf*. 323 *fôet*. 324 O *et*. 325 O *waak*. 326 CO *ool*. 328 O *koold*. 331 O *soold*, *seld*. 332 C *teld*. 333 O *kaaf*. 334 C *Aaf*, O *aaf*. 335 O *ôel* [(Aales) always]. 336 *fôel*. 337 O *wôel*. 342 C *aam*. 343 C *waam*. 345 O *dên* [pres.] *dêst* [pret.]. 346 CO *gret*. EA'- 347 C *Jed*, O *ed*. 348 O *ai* [almost *A'i*]. 349 O *fiu*. — O *sriik* [shriek]. EA': 350 C *dhed*, CO *ded* [last commonest]. 351 CO *led*. 352 O *red*. 353 CO *bred*. 354 O *shuir*. 355 C *deth det* [mixed], O *diit* [old and common]. 357 O *dhóov*. 359 O *neebe*. 360 C *tiem*, O *tiim*. 361 C *biên*, O *biin*. 365 O *nîv*. 366 CO *gret*. 367 O *thret*. 368 O *deth*. 370 O *rôv*. 371 O *strôv*. EI- 372 O *ai*. 373 O *dhee*. 374 O *nee*. 375 O *reez*. 379 O *beet*. EI: 377 O *steek*. 378 O *wiik*.

EO- 385 O binii-th. 387 O núu. EO: 388 O milk. 390 O shud. 394 O inde. 396 CO wæk, O wêk. 397 O sôed. 399 O bráit. 402 C laan [used for teach]. 403 CO fæ. 404 CO staa [also to (staar ut piip'l)]. 406 C æath. 407 O faad'n. EO'- 409 CO bii. 411 C thréi, O thrii. 412 C shéi. 413 O dévil [jocular], dæv'l [angry], dævel [solemn]. 414 C flá'i, O flái. 415 O lái. 416 O dû. 417 O tjiu. 418 O briu. 420 O fôv. 421 O fôeti, faati. EO': 423 O thái. 424 O ruf [(ruuf) roof]. 425 O láit. 426 C fá't, fít [fought], O fáit. 427 CO bi. 428 C séi, O sii. 429 O tiind. 430 CO frend. 431 O biu. 432 fôet. 434 i bet mi ut kriket [he beat me at cricket]. 435 O juu [usual], juu [from old people], jæ'u [in contempt]. 436 C tru, O triu. 437 O triuth. EY- 438 C da'i, O dái. EY: 439 O trust.

I- 440 C wik. 442 C A'ivuri, O divi, S ivi. 444 C sta'il. 448 O dhiis iæ [always]. 450 O tiuzde. I: 452 C A'i. 455 C la'i, O lái. 457 O máit. 458 C ná'it, O náit. 459 C ra'it [never (re'it)], O ráit. 462 O sáit. 465 O sít. 466 C tja'ild, O tjaidd. 467 C wa'ild, O wáild. 472 O sriqk. 473 C bla'in, O blain [occ. (blá'in)]. 477 C fa'in, O fán [occ. fá'in]. 484 O dhis iæ [always so]. 485 O this'i [not with (f)]. I'- 490 C ba'i, O bái. 493 C dra'iv. 498 C ra'it. 499 O biit'l. I': 500 C la'ik. 503 C la'if, O láif. 505 C wa'if, O waif. 506 O [(oold umm) old woman, rare]. 508 C ma'il, O máil. 514 O háis. 517 O júu.

O- 520 O bæu. 522 CO æp'n. 523 CO oop, O hup [also]. 524 wæald. O: 526 C kof káf [both used], O káf. 527 CO baat [O children say (bóet) at times]. 528 O thaát. 529 CO braat. 531 C daate, O daate. 532 O kool. 536 O goold. 537 O moold. 538 O wuuld [in reading]. 539 C bool. 540 C oli. 542 O boolt. 545 C ap. 547 O hôed. 549 O ôed. 550 O wæad wêed [not (wæd)]. 552 O kôen, kaan. 553 O ôen. 554 kros. O'- 555 CO shuu. 557 C tuu, O [(en aal) much used]. 558 CO luuk. 559 CO mædhe. 562 C m'uum, O muun. 563 O mænde. 564 C s'uum, O suun [more frequently 'after a bit']. 565 O nooz. O': 569 CO buuk. 570 O tuuk. 571 O gud. 572 CO blud. 573 CO flud. 574 O bruud [generally 'a hatch']. 575 CO stud. 576 O wenzde, C wenzdi. 577 O bæ'u. 578 O pla'u. 579 O enaf, eniu [pl.]. 580 O tui. 581 O sôet. 582 O kuul. 583 O tuul. 584 O stuul. 586 CO duu. 587 O dan. 588 O [noon is always spoken of as 'dinner-time']. 589 C spi'uum. 590 O flôv. 592 O swôv. 594 O buut. 595 C fat, O fat. 596 O ruut. 597 C sat, O sat.

U- 599 O ebuuv. 600 O luv. 601 CO fa'ul. 602 O sæ'u. 603 O kum. 605 CO san. 606 C dûv, O dôv. 607 CO bute. U: 608 O hugli. 609 C fal, O ful. 610 O wul. 611 C baløk, O buløk. 612 O sum. 613 O drauk. 614 O e'und [?: (æ'u-)]. 615 O pæ'und [?: (æ'u-)]. 616 C græ'un. 619 C fæ'an, O fæ'und [?: (æ'u)]. 622 CO unde. 625 O tæq. 626 O ugge. 628 O næn [same as 122]. 629 CO sun. 631 O théerzde, thæazde. 632 C up, O hup. 633 CO kup. 634 C thruu, O thriu. 635 O wæath. 636 C fæde, O fæade. 637 O tusk. 638 O busk. 639 O dust. U'- 640 CO kæ'u [not (ke'u), which was repudiated by C, and so throughout]. 641 C æ'u, O æ'u [?:]. 643 O næ'u. 644 O dav. 646 O bæ'u. 647 O hæ'ul. 648 O æ'uv. 649 O thæ'uzend. 653 CO but. U': 654 C shra'ud. 655 O fa'ul. 656 O ruum [sitting-room called house, bedroom chamber]. 657 CO bræ'un. 658 CO da'un. 659 CO tæ'un. 660 O bæ'uv. 661 O sha'uv. 662 O huz [when emphatic at the end of a phrase]. 663 CO æ'us, O æ'uz'n [houses]. 665 O mæ'us. 666 O uzbend. 667 CO æ'ut. 670 O buudh [rarely used]. 671 C mæ'uth. 672 O sæ'u west [south-west].

Y- 673 O matj. 674 O dan [done used for did]. 676 C lig, O lái. 679 CO tjutj, C tjêetj [also]. 682 O liit'l. Y: 686 C ba'i, O bái. 689 C bild. 690 O káind. 691 O máind. 693 O sin. 696 O bêuth bæath. 697 O beri. 698 O mêuth mæuth [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 700 C was, O wæw wêw wæus [that is, tongue for (æ), lips for (u)]. 701 C fús [(fôg) first 'go' at marbles], O fæw fêw fêus. Y'- C ska'i, O skái. 706 O wái. Y: 709 O faiv. 711 C la'is [O uses dicks]. 712 C ma'is, O máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 718 O treed. 722 O dreem. 723 O dêvri. 724 O baald. 725 O seel.

728 O sham. 733 O skîv. 734 O daan. 740 O weev. 741 CO meez, O miiz. 742 C leezi. E. 746 O briidh. I. and Y. 753 O tit'l. 754 O pig ['swine' is not used]. 756 O srimp [no (shr-) used]. 758 O gēl. O. 761 O lood. 767 O na'iz. 769 O mooldiwaap [moldywarpp]. 772 O bænfædie [? burn-fire]. 778 O cfôud. 779 O ôuts [rare]. 781 C bôdhv. 782 C padhv. 787 O sâ'us. 790 CO gâ'and. — C tē drâ'and [to drown]. 791 CO bûi. U. 793 O ug. 794 O djug. 795 CO sruq [no (shr-) used]. 799 O skul. 802 O rum. 803 O djamp. 805 O kêudz. 806 CO fas. 807 C pas [(p)as] is purse]. 808 C pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. O heeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 CO plees. 812 C lees. 813 C bêek'n, O beek'n. 814 O mees'n. 816 O feed. 818 O eedj. 819 O reedj. 822 CO mee. 823 C bee. 824 CO tîev tîv [both used, the latter by old people]. 828 O eegi [old]. 829 O geen. 830 CO treen. 832 O mêv. 833 O pēv. 835 C reez'n, CO riiz'n [both used]. 836 C seez'n, CO siiz'n [both used]. 838 O triit. 840 CO tjeembe. 841 C tja'ns, O tjaans, tjaansh. 843 O braantj. 845 C eenshent. 846 O tjaandle. 847 C deendv. 848 tjeendj. 849 C streendv. 850 C da'ns. 851 O aant. 852 O hepen. 853 O baagin. 857 O kees. 858 O brees. 859 O tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 O teest. 862 CO seef. 863 O tjeef. 865 O folt. 866 CO pôv.

E.. 867 C tee, CO tii [C both used]. 868 CO djee. 869 O viil. 874 C reen. 875 O feent. 877 O hêv. 878 O saluri. 879 C fiimeel. 880 O egzaampl [or pattern]. 888 O sêutin. 890 C biest biizez [pl.], O biist. 891 O fiist. 892 O nevi. 894 C diseev, CO disiiv [C both used]. 895 O risiiv.

I.. and Y.. 898 O nâist. 899 O niis. 900 O pree. — C pa'int [pint]. 904 C va'ilet. — C wit'ls [victuals, about the only word in which (w) replaces (v)]. 910 O dja'ist. 911 O sisten. 912 O rôis.

O.. 913 O kootj. 914 O brootj. 915 O staf. 916 C anjen, O unjen. 917 O roog. 918 C feeb'l, O fiib'l. 919 O [(saav) salve used]. 920 C pa'int, O pa'int. 922 C bash'l, O bushel. 923* O ma'ist. 925 O va'is. 926 C spâil, O spâil. 927 O traqk. 928 O a'ans. 929 C ka'ukembe, O kiukembe. 930 O la'in. 931 O [(kundjere) conjurer, used]. 932 O ema'ant. 933 O frunt. 934 O ba'unti. 935 O kuntri. 938 O kôene. 940 CO koot. 941 O fuul. 942 C batje, O batje. 943 O tutj. 947 C bâil, O ba'il. 948 CO ba'ul [also used for to (ba'ul) bowl at cricket]. 950 O supv. 952 O koos. 953 CO kaz'n. 954 C kashen, O kashen. 955 O da'ut. 956 CO kive. 957 O implâi [old].

U.. 961 O grûijil. 964 O siujit. 965 C âil, O a'il. 966 O friut. 967 O sîut. 968 O a'istv. 969 O shûv. 970 O djust. 971 O fiut.

Notes. C no euphonic (r), (naa)iq, draa)it) gnawing, draw it. I am, I are in answer to a question, I (waa) for was, we goes, he do, he live, theirsens. Intonation rough thick clear drawing, sinking at end. O in place of either they say 'one on em, one or t'other.'

D 19 = EE. = East Eastern.

Boundaries. Those of Nf. and Sf.

Area. The whole of Nf. and Sf., commonly known jointly as East Anglia.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || systematic, ° in io.

Nf. * County, † Ashill, † Binham, † Brancaster, ° Burnham, † Buxton, ° Congham, † Diss, ° Ditchingham, † Downham Market, ° East Dereham, † Fakenham, † Gaywood, † Great Dunham, * Great Yarmouth, † Hardingham, † Heacham, † Hempton, ° Hemsby, † Holme, † Hunstanton, ° Ingham, * Kimberley, † King's Lynn, * Kirby Bedon, † Marham, * Mattishall, † Middleton, † Narborough, † North Elmham, † North Tuddenham, North Walsham, °*† Norwich, † Old Hun-

stanton, °Ovington, °Ringstead, †Snettisham, *†Stanhoe, †Stoke Ferry, †Stow, †Swaffham, †Terrington St. Clements, †Thetford, †Tivetshall, °Tuttington, †Walsingham, °Warham, †Watton, †Wells-next-Sea, †Wiggenhall St. Germans, °Witton, †Wolferton, †Wymondham.

Nf. °Boyton, °Bradwell, *Framlingham, †Great Bealings, °Great Finborough, °Hemingstone, *Orford, *Pakenham, *Southwold, °Stowmarket, °Ufford, °Yaxley.

Due attention has also been paid to R. Forby's *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, whose prefixed treatise on Nf. pr., with all its examples, was revised with the help of Rev. Philip Hoste (see p. 264), and to Moor's *Suffolk Words* (p. 286).

Character. Every one has heard of the Nf. 'drant,' or droning and drawling in speech, and the Sf. 'whine,' but they are neither of them points which can be properly brought under consideration here, because intonation has been systematically neglected, as being impossible to symbolise satisfactorily, even in the rare cases where it could be studied. The next salient point is the French (y), of which every one speaks. This sound, whatever it may be, certainly replaces O' in: shoe, too (and also the Ws. A' in *two*), school, bloom, moon, soon, brood, cool, tool, stool, to do, noon, spoon, moor, boot, root. When habit has shortened the long O', this (y) effect is not produced, as in: look, mother, Monday, book, took, good, blood, flood, stood, done, foot, soot. Even when the vowel remains long, it is occ. unchanged, as in nose, floor. Shortening does not destroy a similar effect in L., hence the origin of this so-called (y) is probably different in the two cases. It has in neither anything to do with the old Ws. Y=(y). It is, indeed, of recent origin in Nf.

The author of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 1440, says: "Comitatus Northfolchie [or as another MS. has it, 'comitatus tamen Orientalium Anglorum'] modum loquendi solum sum secutus, quem solum ab infancia didici, et solotenus plenius perfectiusque cognovi," but he writes: schoo, scole, blome, mone, sone, brode the same spelling for *brood* and *broad*), coolynge, tool, stool, doon inf. form of *do*, noone, spone, moore, hote, rote. It is evident, therefore, that he still pronounced long (oo) here as well as in the words where the vowel is now shortened, as he writes: loke (the same spelling for *look* and *lock*), moder (the same spelling for *mother* and *mawther*), booke (or boke, according to another MS.), goode, blode, fode, foot, soot. As oo was not used for (uu) till the xvth century, it is evident that 400 years ago the vowel in these words was (oo), and that even the change to (uu) had not then taken place.

Now I was very much struck by the fact that in the numerous words collected by TH. in Nf., not one case of the so-called French (y) occurred. He not only found the usual (muun, suun), but such forms as (môun, skôul), which remind us of the *Promptorium*. He, however, also found (æ'u) in (dæ'u, næ'un, mæ'uzik, see his cwl., p. 262, under O'. Now this seemed to me the key of the whole mystery. This (æ'u) is a very common glide, arising from beginning to say (uu) with the mouth too open and closing it as the speaker proceeds. It is also unstable; it has a tendency to iu, j'u, and to unpractised ears gives at times not a bad imitation of French (y). Then I reflected that all the authorities on whom I relied for the sound were educated people, and that TH. had been in direct communication with the uneducated, while he was, from his Midland antecedents, quite familiar with (æ'u). Also I remembered that the sound I myself heard in Nf. was certainly not (y), but

something much deeper, which I write (y_1). Again, this sound is apparently often fractured by beginning with the mouth too open, giving to my ear (iy_1), which, again, is readily confused with (iu). All dialect writers represent it by *ew* or long *u*, as *teu*, *shues*, too, shoes, and *sune*, *mune*, *skule*. In Sf. as well as Nf. I found this (y_1 , iy_1) from my authorities, educated natives, but in w.Sf. the vicar of Pakenham entirely repudiated it, saying it was a Norfolk pron. The exact analysis of this curious sound is still to be made.

When the drant and French (y) are passed over, there is very little left which distinguishes D 19 from D 18. The general characters of both are as follows:

The A- words are (ee , EE) in place of (e), and the ÆG, EG words are (EE), ($éé$), at least in ne.Nf.

The A' words have (oo) without the vanish, as (*boot*) boat.

Many of the E- words have (ee) as (*speek*) to my ear, others hear (e).

The long I' words are uncertain, ($éi$, $é'i$, $æ'i$, $ái$) being all found.

The long U' words also vary, as ($éu$, $é'u$, $æ'u$, $éu$). See this discussed in the notes to the Stanhoe cwl., p. 268, where Forby's remarks are particularly considered, p. 270.

The *r* is treated as throughout the E. div. The *h* is generally aspirated. The *v* in Nf. at least becomes regularly (w), while the (v) for *w* appears to be a modern refinement, the speaker knowing that many of his (w) should be (v), but not knowing which they are. This (w) for *v* has been given me also from Sf., where it is generally repudiated, but as it exists in Ke., Es., and Nf., Sf. could hardly escape having had it, though it may now be 'corrected.' The illustrations, cs., dt., cwl., with the notes, will tell the rest.

There are many peculiar words, of which (*maadh*) contracted to (*ma*), especially when applied to little girls, and with a euphonic *r* before a following vowel, and (*ba+r*) applied to men and boys, and rarely to women, are remarkable. The (*ma*), written *mor*, seems to me a form of *mother*, here often pronounced *mædh*, see p. 260, l. 35. The (*ba*) is usually written *bor*, and associated with *neighbour*. This is more than doubtful. There is no trace of (*ba*) in the *Promptorium*. It is amusingly said that 'together' used in addressing several people is the plural of (*ba*). 'Come to *mine*' for 'my house,' and 'he *live* there he do,' are, as we have seen, pp. 197, 222, 249, by no means peculiar to Nf., but are there very marked.

In this very large district there must be several varieties. We may assume two principal ones, Nf. and Sf. In Nf. we may take a ne. form and nw. form, and a s. or general form. It would, however, be difficult to draw lines of demarcation or to formulate the differences, except in the nw., where, thanks to TH.'s efforts, we know that U becomes transitional, from ($ə$) in the s. through (o) to (u) in the n. This is an entirely new discovery, not alluded to in any account of the dialect. Could it have escaped notice? Possibly. A woman of Middleton (4 se. King's Lynn) married a man of Narborough (9 se. K. L.). The woman called *enp* ($kæp$), the man (ku_p), and they had never noticed that they spoke differently, so that TH. had the greatest difficulty in making the woman recognise the distinction. The b. of the nw. variety is, therefore, the s. *sööm* line 2 as determined by TH.'s personal observations. The ne. variety may be presumed to extend to about Buxton (9 n. Norwich), and the s. variety to occupy the rest of the county.

In Sf. it seems necessary to distinguish two varieties, e. and w., which appear to be tolerably distinct. At least the w. form, as

illustrated by the Pakenham specimen, differs materially from the e. form as contained in the Framlingham and Orford specimens and the Southwold cwl.

The order in which these varieties will be treated and discussed is: Var. i., nw.Nf., as nearest related to the n. varieties of D 18; Var. ii., ne.Nf., of which I have the most complete account; Var. iii., s.Nf., where I first wrote dialect from dictation in 1868; Var. iv., e. Sf., of which I have three accounts; and Var. v., w.Sf., where I have only one example, but that is highly characteristic.

VAR. i. nw.NORFOLK FORM.

This was examined by TH. in 1882-3 from three centres, King's Lynn, Swaffham and Hunstanton. The dt. from Narborough, p. 263, gives the general character of the whole variety. As it seems unnecessary to distinguish the places in this limited variety, I have placed them in three groups, as marked by the letters L, S, H in the following cwl. At first, of course, each place had to be carefully distinguished, in order to ascertain if there were any differences.

nw.NORFOLK cwl.

formed from wn. by TH., in the neighbourhoods of King's Lynn, Swaffham, and Hunstanton.

H Hunstanton with Heacham, Holme, Old Hunstanton and Snettisham.

L King's Lynn with Marham, Middleton, Terrington St. Clements, Wiggenhall and Wolferton.

S Swaffham with Ashill, Downham Market, Great Dunham and Narborough.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 L *neem*. A'- 67 LS *gœn* [going]. 81 H *le'in*. 93 H *sná'u*. A': 104 LS *rood*. 115 HLS *oam* [Holme is called *colum*]. Æ- 138 HLS *faadhæ*. Æ: 161 LS *dee*, H *de'i*. Æ'- 185 L *riid*. 200 L *wiit*, S *weet*. Æ': 223 L *dhæ'v*. 224 L *we'v*. E- 233 S *spiik*. 251 S *meet*. E: 261 L *see*, S *se'i*. 262 L *wee*, HS *we'i*. E'- 299 S *gruin*. E: 314 S *iæd*. EA'- 347 L [between] *ed* *e'd*, S *e'd*. EA': 353 S *brød*. 366 LS *grët*. EO: 395 L [between] *joq* *juq*. 396 H *wæk*. 402 L *laan læn*. EO'- 419 L *jaa* [your]. EO': 437 L *trùth*. EY- 438 L *dái*, S [between] *dái* *da'i* *dá'i*. I'- 494 S [between] *táim* *ta'im*. I': 500 S *læ'ik*. O: 531 L *daate*, LS *daate*. O'- 555 LS *shuu*. 556 S *tæ'u*. 557 L *túu*. 559 S *mædhæ*. 560 LS *skuul*. 562 H *móum*, S *muun*. 564 H *suun*. 566 S *ædhæ* *u_dhæ*. 568 L *brædhæ* *brodhæ* *bru_dhæ*. O': — H [between] *grá u* *grá'u* [grow]. 586 HL *díu*. 587 S *dùn*. 588 H *næ'un*. U- 605 S *sù_n*. 606 LS *dôv*. 607 H *botv*. U: 612 L *sù_m*. — L *tæmb'l* *tomb'l* *tu_m'b'l*. 629 S *sæ_n*. 632 L *æp* *op* *u_p*. 633 L *kæp* *kop* *ku_p*, H *ku_p*, S *kæp* *ku_p*. U'- 643 S *næ'u*. U: 658 S *dæ'un*, H *de'un*. 659 L *tæ'un*. 663 LS *æ'us*.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 767 S [between] *næiz* *na'iz*. 790 L *gjæ'und*. U. — L *tæb* *tob* *tu_b*. 796 L *blæ'uu*. 803 L *djæmp* *djomp* *dju_m_p*. — L *tæ'un* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — S *pleez* [please]. E.. 869 H *wiil*. — S *preety* [preach]. 885 H *weri*. I.. and Y.. 901 S [between] *fæ'in* *fa'in*. O.. — L *pæmp* *pomp* *pu_m_p*. — L *mæt'n* *mot'n* *mu_t'n*. U.. — S *mæuzik*, LS *mæ'uzik* [music].

Notes to nw.Norfolk cwl.

The uncertainty in the use of (ə, o, u) was very great, as shewn in several cases in the cwl. These pron. came generally from different people at the same place. See the case of the woman from Middleton 4 se. King's Lynn, and her husband, a native of Narborough (6 se. Middleton, 9 se. King's Lynn), on p. 261, l. 11 from bottom. In the following dt. from Narborough only (a) and not (u) is used. From the same place TH. got the sentences (gji)mi v kəp' v, tii give me a cup of tea, (kət dhat tri də'm) cut that tree down, (ai)l flæ jə blə'iv) I'll flay you alive, (jə skə'undrel, ju:l kət em aal əp) you scoundrel, you'll cut them all up, (ja vər,men, ai)l kjil, jə) you vermin [ob-

serve v not w], I'll kill you, (ə'i want jə'u traps tə gò v də'iken) I want you chaps to go a diking or ditching.

For the use of (w) for (v), TH. was told the following at Holme (16 ne. King's Lynn), Nelson wez v wəri wəliənt mən, ai wə'u, i seild in v wesil kə'ld dhə Wikteri) Nelson was a very valiant man, I vow, he sailed in a vessel called the Victory.

The omission of the s in the 3rd pers. sg. of verbs was shewn by (mə'i shū fīt mē) my shoe fits me, (i liv əp [op] dhə he lives up there, (ə ekspekt it də'u I expect it does. The last word illustrates the treatment of O' as TH. heard it. It would be usually heard and treated as (dyi, dēy, diu).

NARBOROUGH (9 se. King's Lynn) dt.

pal. in 1883 by TH. from dict. of Robert Cater, 70, native, who had lived there 30 years, and then at Swaffham 30, and at Norwich 10, farm-labourer, retired.

1. sò ə'i sè, tɛgje'dhə, luk év, ju)si nə'u dhət)ə'i)m rə'it vɛə'ut dhat lit'l maaðhə kəmen frəm skuul jəndə.

2. shì z gòen də'un dhə rood dhəv trə'u dhə)red gjət ən dhə left and sə'id v)dhə)wə'i.

3. ə'i)l bi bləud, dhə lit'l maaðhə v)gan stre'it ep tɛ)dhə)rəq dūv [ə'us],

4. wəv shì)l vərə lə'ikli fə'ind dhat drəqk'n dəf fəlv v)wi)AAL KAAL ould :tom, i)z gjət'n lə'ik v)skjelit'n, tɛgje'dhə.

5. wi)AAL nòu | hīm vərə wəl.

6. wònt dhə ould tʃap suun tɪtʃ)er, fer)not tɛ)du)it eni mób, pūv maaðhə!

7. luk év ! it)s trə'u wət ə'i sè'd.

The following words omitted from the dt. were supplied afterwards: 1. (mèts) mates, (gɛl) girl. 3. (shə'uə) sure, (ənəf) enough; (tʃə'ild) child.

4. (tʃàns) chance, and for shr-, (shrɪmps shraəd shrimps shroud; (nəm, namə. 6. (thi)q). The (ə'i) seemed at times to tend to (á'i).

VAR. ii. ne.Nf. FORM.

For this I am principally indebted to the Rev. J. R. Philip Hoste, vicar of Farnham, Surrey, a native of Stanhoe (8 sw. Wells-next-Sea), from whose dictation I pal. the complete wl. in 1877, and the dt. in 1879, and with whom I went over all Forby's account of Norfolk pronunciation, which I have introduced in the cwl. Mr. Hoste was full of enthusiasm on the subject, and obligingly came up to London expressly on two occasions and worked with me many hours each time.

STANHOE (:stæ'ne) dt.

pal. 1879 by A.J.E. from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native.

1. so ái see'i, mee'ts, ja'u sii nu'u dhət ái'm r_ov'it vba'ut dha't līt'l maadhə kəmə'n fr_om dhu skíy₁l jəndə.

2. shiiz egoo'en de'an dhu r_oo'd dhée'v tpr_oy₁ dhu ɔed gɪet ən dhu lēft ha'nd se'id ev dhu we'i.

3. sy₁er enaf dhu maadhə hɛ gən stre'it əp tɐ dhu dūaer_o v dhu r_oq v'us,

4. wéev shi'l tjaans tɐ fa'nd dhæt dr_oqk₁n deɪf shr_ov'ld fəlv v dhu nēcim v :təməs.

5. wi aal na'u im wer_oi we'l.

6. woont dhu ould tɹæp sy₁n teetɹ er_o not tɐ dɹ₁'it ege'n, pūav thiq!

7. luk)v eent it trɹy₁?

Notes.

1. *coming*, but the *a-* reappears comes (ma'v) in calling. 6. *won't* in I see her a-coming (ái sii v_o (woont) becomes (oont) when not beginning a sentence.

STANHOE cwl.

pal. by A.J.E. 1877, from dict. of Rev. Philip Hoste, native, to which are added the words from Forby's account of the Norfolk pron. that Mr. Hoste acknowledged (* prefixed), or for which he gave with a different pronunciation (+ prefixed). I cannot always be certain of (ee ee) or (e e) or (æ, a'). On (əu, ə'u), see p. 268. All the (r) are really (r_o). The frequent "gradual glottid [ɹ]" seems to have been a personal peculiarity. I retain it, but it may be neglected. The (a₁) is a deeper *a*, see Introduction to Midland div. Forby's name is contracted to F, and Mr. Hoste's to H. There are also added:

B words from Burnham (4 ne.Stanhoe, 5 w.Wells-on-Sea), given me in writing by C. H. Everard, Esq., native, acquainted with the dialect 28 years, then at Eton Coll., only the differences from Mr. H. are noted.

W Rev. C. T. Digby, long rector of Warham (2 se.Wells-next-Sea), gave a long wl. mainly agreeing with this, a few differences are inserted.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bee'ik. 4 tee'ik. 5 mee'ik. 6 meed. 7 see'ik. — †kreed'l [cradle, F has (kriid'l)]. 8 *hev *hez [has; (hiav) W]. 9 bi heev [biheev W]. 10 haa [hə'izez) B, pl. only]. 12 saa [(saa'in) has no euphonic r]. 13 naa. 14 draaa. 16 daan. 17 laaa, laa+r [before a vowel]. 18 keek. 19 tee'il. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sheeem. 25 meen. 26 ween. 27 neev. 28 héev. — *staa [stare]. — *flaa [flare]. 31 leet. 32 beeth. 33 †rædhə [rædhe reedhe B]. 34 la'st. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 thee. A: 40 koom. — *swan [swan]. 41 *thieqk. 43 haend. 44 lend *lond [more gen. in Sf.]. — *səndi [sandy, more gen. in Sf.]. 47 *wa'nde. — *kɪn [can, unemphatic]. 51 mæn. 53 kien. 54 †wa'nt [(waent) F and W]. 55 eshez. 56 wesh *wæsh. 57 [(dæki) used for ass]. A: or O: 58 †fræm [(fræm) F]. 57 læm. 60 ləq. 61 vma'q [vma'q B]. 62 strəq. 63 throq [trəq W]. 64 rəq. 65 səq. 66 thəq.

A'- 67 góou. 69 nóou. 70 tóou. 71 wóou. 72 híyy₁. 73 sóou. 74 tiyy₁ [tíu B]. 75 str_ouu₁lk. 76 tuu₁d. 77 lóoued. 78 ə'u. 79 ə'um. 80 olədi. 81 leen. 83 moon. 84 móou. 85 sóou. 86 úets. 87 tlooz. 88 floodh. 89 booth. 90 blə'u. 91 mē'u. 92 nē'u. 93 snə'u. 94 króu. 95 thrə'u [trə'u W]. 96 sē'u. 97 sē'uld [soold B]. 98 nē'um. 99 thrə'um. 100 sóun. A': 101 ook. 102 æks. 104 rood. 105 rid W. 106 brood.

107 *huu*f. 108 *da'u*. 109 *la'u*. 110 **næt* [especially by the women]. 111 *v'at* [*'at* F]. 113 **hu*l. 114 **məl* [? if it is mole in this sense]. 115 *uu*m. 118 **bu*n. 119 *gu*n. 122 *nan*. 123 *nothin* [*na'ut* F]. 124 **sta*n [*stan* BW]. 125 *u*nli *wən* [only one, (and)le W]. 126 *oog*. 127 *hóoes*. 128 *dhooz*. 129 *gun*st. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 *hət*. 133 *root* [generally (rit) W]. 134 *üth* [not (wath)]. 135 *tlaath*.

Æ- 138 *faadhv*. — †*lædhv* [ladder, F. writes *lutther*, which may be a misprint for *latther*]. 140 *hee'il*. 141 †*nee'il* [*(nail)* F]. 142 [*dədmən*] used for *snail*. 143 *tee'il*. 145 *slee'in*. 146 *mee'in*. 147 *bree'in*. 148 [? (*faa+r*) F, see after 887]. 149 *bleez*. 150 *lest* [*leest* B]. 152 *waatv*. 153 *sætdi*. Æ: 155 *thetj* [*thæk* W]. — **staf* [*staff*]. 157 *reev'n*. — **gedhv* [*gather*]. 158 *aatv*. 160 *eg*. 161 *de'i* [*dee* W]. 163 *lee'i*. 164 *mee'i* [*(mii)* B, written *mē*]. 166 †*mee'id* [*(māid)* F]. 167 :*bænen* :*dibdil* [Burnham *Deepdale*]. 168 *taev* [*tale* B]. 169 *wen* **wæn*. — **wæsp* [*wasp*]. 170 *aavst*. — **baa* [*bare*]. 171 *baali*. 172 *graas*. 173 *wəz*. 174 *esh*. — **gla's*. 175 *faajst*. 178 *næt*. 179 *wət*. 181 *paath*.

Æ'- 182 *see*. — **blitj* [*bleach*]. 183 *tee'tj*. 184 *leed*. 185 *reed*. — **ridi* [*ready*]. — †*sprid* [*(spread)* F]. 186 *brædth* [*breth* W]. 187 *leev*. 188 *nee'i*. 189 †*wee'i* [*(wāi)* F, not known to H]. 190 *kee*. 191 *hū'l*. 192 *mee'n*. 193 *kleen*. 194 *eni*. 195 *meni* [*menv* W]. — **ærend* [*errand*]. 196 *wēev*. 197 *tje'e*z. 199 *bleet*. 200 *weet*. 201 *heeth'n* [*hæth'n* W]. 202 *heet*.

Æ': 203 *spee'tj*. 204 *dii'd*. 205 **trid*. 206 *red*. 207 *nid'l*. 208 **ivv*. 210 *klee'i*. 211 †*gte'e'i* [*(gree)* and (*grāi*) F, not known to H]. 213 **eedha* [*(aidhv)* F, not known to H]. 214 **needhv*. 215 *taat* [*(teetj)* used]. 216 *dii'l* **deel*. 217 **itj*. 218 *ship*. 219 *slip*. 222 *hēev* [*(hiiv)* written *heer* B]. 223 *dhēev*. 224 *wēev*. — **a'li* **ee*li [*early*]. 225 *flesh*. 226 *moost*. 227 *wet*. 228 *swet*. 229 *brath*. 230 *fæt*.

E- — †*tred* [*(triid)* F, *tread*]. 233 *speek*. 234 *need*. — **wædhv* **wædhv* [*weather*]. 235 *weev*. 236 *feevv*. 237 *ble'in* [usually called (*ke'ibz*)]. 238 *hedj* [*hidj* W]. 239 *se'il*. 241 *re'in*. 242 †*twee'in* [*(twāin)* F]. 243 *ple'i*. 246 *kvii*n [*queen*, but *quean* is not used]. 247 *ween*. 249 *wēev* [*wiiv* W]. 250 *swēev* [*swiiv* W]. 251 *meet*. 252 **kit'l*. 253 *næt'l*. — **fædhv* [*feather*]. 254 **lædhv* [F says often (*ladhv*) especially in Si]. 255 [*(wadha)* wether sheep, according to F, not known to H]. — [*(bate)* better F].

E: 257 *edj*. 258 *sedj*. 259 *wedj*. 260 *le'i*. 261 *se'i*. 262 *we'i* [*wee* W]. 264 *e'il*. 265 *streft*. — **fild* [*field*]. 267 **jild*. 268 *eldest*. — **sildem* [*seldom*]. 272 *elm*. 273 **min*. 274 *bentj*. 275 *stentj*. 276 *thiik*. 278 *wentj*. 280 *hev'n* [*veev'n* B]. 281 *heqkth*. 282 *stræqkth*. — **hin* [*hen*]. 283 *meri* B [written **merrer*, so final *y* always']. — †*mesh* [*marsh* F, (*maesh*) as I got from Enfield, Mi. p. 235]. 284 *thresh* [*here* (*thr-*) is used, not (*tr*), but (*trəsh*) W]. 285 *kriisez*. — **baast* [*burst*]. 287 *haere*. 287 *beesem* [*besom* not used, B]. — **sæt'l* [*settle*]. 288 *let*.

E'- 289 *jii*. 290 *hii*. 291 [*thou, thee* are not used]. 292 *mii*. 294 *fid*. 295 *bred*. 296 *bileev*. 297 **fale*. 298 *feel*. 299 *griin*. 300 *kîp*. 301 *hiiv* **hēev*. 302 *meet*. 303 *sweet*. 304 *bee* *t'l*.

E': 305 *he'i*. 306 *he'it* [*ha'ith* W]. 307 *ne'i*. 308 *need*. 309 *spee'd* *spiid*. 310 *heel*. 311 *tæn*. 312 *hēev*. 313 [*hearken* not used]. 314 *hiid*. 315 *fit*. 316 *nækst*.

EA- 317 *flee* [*flii* B written *flee*]. 319 *gaap*. 320 **kjee'v*. EA: 321 *saa*. 322 *laaf* [*(laa'f)* F]. 323 *fa'ut*. 324 *eet*. 325 *waak*. 326 †*a'uld*, [*occ.*] **a'ud*. 327 *bæ'uld*. 328 †*kæ'uld* **ka'ud*. 329 *fa'uld*. 331 †*sæ'uld* **sa'ud*. 332 *ta'uld* **ta'ud*. 333 **kaa'f*. 334 *aa'f*. 335 *aal*. 337 *waal*. — **béerd* [*beard*]. 340 *jaad*. 342 *aa[r]m*. 343 *waam* [*waam* B]. 345 **daa*. 346 *geet*. — **weks* [*wax*].

EA'- 347 **hid*. 348 *e'i*. — **aa+r* [*ear*]. 349 *fe'u* [F's third sound of *ou*, (*ivy*) B]. EA': 350 †*deed* [*(diid)* F]. 351 *leed*. 352 *red*. 353 *breed*. 354 *sheef* [*shoft* W]. 355 †*deft* [*(diif)* F]. 356 †*leef* [*(liif)* F]. 357 *thæ'u*. — **a'fe* [*heifer*]. 359 †*ne'ibv* [*neevv*, and (*nāibv*) F, not known to H, (*niabv*) W]. 360 *teem*. 361 **been*. 362 *slee*. 363 *tjeep*. 366 *grit*. 367 *trit*. 368 *deth*. 369 *slæ'u*. 370 *raa*. 371 *straa*.

EI- 373 dheē *dhee. 474 neē. 375 reēz. 376 beēt [ba'it W]. EI: 377 steek. 378 week. 381 sween. 382 *dhææ dhaa¹, *dhéev.

EO- 383 sev'n. 384 *hiv'n. 385 binee-th [binee'n W]. 386 *ja'uu. 387 n'iy. EO: 388 milk. 389 jook [jalk W]. 390 shad, *shad [occ.] — *selve [silver]. — †jaele [yellow, F' ja'le]. 394 jende. 396 wak [wak W]. 397 swad [B merely says "pronounce w"]. 398 staa. 399 brw'it. — baa'n [burn]. 400 *aaneſt. 401 jaan. 402 *laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 405 haathstun [not used without stow]. 406 *éerth †a'ith. 407 raad'n.

EO': 409 bee¹. 411 trii. 412 shii. — *bed [bid]. 413 divil. 414 flv'i. 415 le'i. — [frv'iz] freeze F, not known to H. 416 déev. 417 tja'u W. 418 bríyyi. 420 fa'u'v [fáu'e W]. 421 fóoti [fáu'ete W].

EO': 423 the'i. 424 raf *ra'u. 425 le'it. 426 fe'it. 427 bii. 428 see. 429 find. 430 *frind. 431 *béev. 432 fóoth. 433 *brist. 434 beet. 435 ja'u. 436 triyyi, triyyith. EY- 438 de'i [dó'i B]. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wik. 441 siv. 442 e'ivi [(a'iveri) always B]. 443 fre'ide. 444 ste'il. 446 ne'in [nó'in B]. — *jis [yes]. 448 dhiiz. 449 git. 450 tyyzdi. 451 se'u.

I: 452 v'i. 454 witj. 455 le'i. — *thaa'd [third]. — *baa'd [bird]. 457 me'it. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 460 weēt. 462 se'it. 464 witj. 465 siitj. 466 tje'ild. 467 we'ild. 468 tjildren. 471 timbe. 472 shriqk. 473 bla'ind [no d W]. 474 ra'ind. 475 wa'ind [not (wind)]. 476 ba'ind [no d W]. 477 fa'ind [no d W]. 478 gra'ind [no d W]. 481 figre. 484 dhis. 485 this¹. 486 jist [jest B]. 487 jestudee [jistudee B]. 488 *jit. — *set [sit]. — *daa't [dirt]. — *tit [teat].

I'- 490 be'i. 491 se'i. 493 dre'iv [pret. *(drav) drove, not the noun (droov)]. 494 te'im. 496 v'ivn. 497 vre'iz. 498 re'it. I': [B "all the i's = öy" (ö'i)]. 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 fe'iv. 504 ne'if. 505 we'if. 506 wa'men [wamen W]. 507 wimn. 508 me'ild. 509 we'il. 511 we'ind. 512 spe'ir. 513 we'iv. 514 v'is. 515 we'is. 516 wizdem.

O- 520 bôu. 521 fool. — *dra'p [drop]. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524 wald [wald B]. O: 526 kopf [kaaf B]. 527 baat [(ba'ut) F]. 528 thaat [(tha'ut) F]. 529 braat. 530 raat. 531 daate. 532 kool. 533 dal [dal B]. 534 huul. 536 ga'uld. 537 ma'uld. 538 wad *wad [occ.] 540 holi [in e.Nf. (hælv)]. 542 bohlit. 545 hap. 547 bóoed. 548 fóoed. 549 hóoed. 550 *wa'ld [wad W]. 551 staam. 552 kaan. 553 haan. — maanin [(maanin) morning F]. 554 kraas.

O'- [B says: "all u's pronounced in correct Engl. oo, Norfolkers pronounce ü," that is, O' = (yyi)]. 555 shyv. 556 te. 557 tvv. 558 luk. 559 ma'pde. 561 blyym. 562 *m'yyin. 563 mandi. 564 *s'yyin. 565 nooz. 566 adhe. O': 569 buk. 570 tak [(took) F]. 571 gud. — *had [hood]. 572 blad. 573 flad. 574 bryyid. 575 stud. 576 wenzdi. — *sa'it [soft]. — *raf [roof]. 577 ba'u. 578 pla'u. 579 vna' [sg.], vna'u [pl.], [(vna'u), and (vniu) F pl.]. 580 ta'u [rare], taf. 581 sóout [(sa'ut) F]. 582 kyyil. 583 t'yyil. 584 st'yyil. 585 *bryym [F. also has 'a harren brum' = (v ha'r'n bram), but it is not known to H]. 586 dyv. 587 dan. 588 n'yyin. 589 *sp'yyin, *spanful [spoonful]. 590 fíooe. 591 [(m'yyiv) F, H says not in use, F. also gives (móoe)]. 592 swóoed. — *gíyyis [goose]. 593 mæst. 594 byit. 595 *fat. 596 ryyit. 597 sat.

U- — *wæd [wood]. 599 vboov. 600 læv. 601 fe'ul. 602 se'u. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 duu'e. 607 batv.

U: 608 agli. 609 ful, *fal. — *pal [pull]. 610 *wal. 611 buk. 612 sam. 613 draqk. 614 he'und [heoune W, perhaps (he'un), and so for 615, 617, 621, 601, 602, etc., see p. 268]. 615 pe'und. 617 se'und. 618 we'und. 619 fe'und. 620 gre'und [gran W]. 621 we'und. 622 ande. 625 taq. 626 haqgur. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wan. 631 tha'zdi. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 triyyi [= 436]. — *kaa's *kaas *kæs [curse]. 635 wath. 636 *iade [but F' considers this as an alteration of farther]. 637 task [tashaz, pl.]. 638 bask. 639 dæst.

U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 643 ne'u. 645 de'u. 646 ba'u. 647 v'id. 648 a'uv. 649 the'uzend. 652 kud *kad [occ.]. 653 bat. U': 654 shra'ud. 655 fe'ul [= 601]. 656 ramm. 657 bre'un. 658 de'am. 659 te'un.

660 bæ'ue. 661 shæ'u'e. 662 æs. 663 v'us, v'usez. 664 lē'us. 665 mē'us. 666 hæzbund. 667 v'ut. 668 prē'ud. 669 ænkjy'ith. 670 byy'ith. 671 mē'uth. 672 sē'uth.

Y- 673 matj. 676 lē'i. 677 drē'i. 678 dīn [(dāle) dolour, used for *noise*]. 679 tja'tj. 680 bizi. Y: 683 mād'j W. 684 brīd'j. 685 rīd'j [rīnd'j W]. 686 bē'i. 687 flē'it. 688 bīd. — *kēl [kiln]. — *mēl [mill]. 690 kē'ind. 691 mē'ind. 693 sīn. 696 bāth [bæth W]. 697 bēri [bære W]. 698 māt'h. 699 rē'it. — *haanet [hornet]. 700 wās [also (waa's) F]. 701 fāst. — *shet [shut, F also gives (shīt)]. 703 *pēt. 704 wāksin [only applied to a woman, the animal is called by the labourers a (bitj fōks)]. Y'- 705 skē'i. 706 wē'i. 707 thattiin. 708 hē'i'e. Y': 709 fē'i'e. 711 lē'is. 712 mē'is [but I have (mīs) from s. and e.Nf.].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bæd. 714 læd. 715 pæd. 716 æd'l [to thrive as plants]. — *wæd'l [waddle]. 717 djeed. 718 treed. 719 tæd'pool. — *ræ't [raft]. 720 fæg. 722 drē'e'in. 723 dēeri. 724 baa'd. 725 seel. 727 djam. 728 shæm. 729 frēm. — *swæmp [swamp]. — *glæ'ns [glance]. 730 kante. 733 skīed [scared]. 734 daan. — *hæsh [harsh]. 735 smæsh. — *græ'sp [grasp]. — *draa'ft [draught]. — *saa'nte [saunter]. 739 maadhē. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 leezi.

E. — †instēd [(instī'd) F, instead]. 743 skreem. 744 meez'lz. 745 tjeet. 746 breedh. 747 †endī've [(endī've) F]. 748 ænfledjd [the negative *un-* is always (æn)]. — *tjēē [cheer]. — *hēē [to hear]. — *snēē [to sneer]. — *flēē [to flee]. 749 lēit. 750 bæg. — *māle [mellow]. — *alde [elder, tree]. 751 piēt.

I. and Y. 753 tīt'l. 755 filbēt. 756 shrimp. — *stent [stint]. 757 tē'ini. 758 gæl. 759 fīt.

O. 761 lood [luud W]. 762 ook'm. 763 room. 764 kōd'l. 767 nē'iz. 768 kook. — *skæuld [scold]. 769 mōl. — rōl [roll]. — [(skrōl) F, scroll]. 771 fōnd. 772 bōnfē'ie. 773 dīki [compare (djakī) 57]. 774 hōbi [the form used]. — *nīyy'z [noose]. 777 shōp. — *slā'p [slop]. 778 vfoōvd. 780 djos'l. 783 pooltri. 784 bā'uns. 786 dā'us. 787 sāus. 789 rē'u. 790 gā'und.

U. — *skwæb [squab]. — *pæd'n [a pudding]. 793 hæg. 794 dja'g. 795 shræg. — *pālī [a pulley]. 801 rām. 802 rām. — †band'l [(bænd'l) bundle F]. — †bantj [(bantj) bunch F]. — †pantj [(pantj) punch F]. 805 *[(kaa'dz) F, not known to H]. — *bōsh [bush]. — *pās [purse]. 806 fās. 807 †pus [(pās) F]. 808 pāt. — [(bati) butty, comrade.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 eeb'l. — *sēk [sack]. 810 fees. 811 plees. 812 lees. — *kætj [catch]. 814 meesene [sim. (myzī'shene) musician]. 815 fæks. 816 feed. 817 *rēdīsh. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 dilee'i. 822 mee'i. 823 bē'e'i. 824 tjēē *tjaa. 826 eeg'l. — [(dāin) deign F, unknown to H.] 827 eegv. 828 eegv [=827]. — †fēē'il [(fāil) F]. 829 †gēē'in [(gāin) F]. — *plēē'in [(plāin) F, plain]. 830 trē'e'in. — [(tjīn) chain F, is, H says, going out of use]. 832 mēē [F gives (maa+r) generally, but the (mēē+r) of Norwich, and Lynn]. 833 paa+r. — *plāze [pleasure]. — †faa'zent [pheasant, (fāzent) F]. — *plāzent [pleasant]. 835 reez'n. 836 seez'n. 837 lees [of birds, but (leesh) of hounds]. 838 trē'it. 839 beel. 840 tjambe. 841 tjaans. 842 plæqk. 843 braantj. 844 trēntj. — *paa'utj [H nasalises (aa')]. 845 anshunt. 847 dandje. 849 strandje. 850 *daa'ns. 851 *aa'nt [H nasalises (aa')]. — *djan'weri [January]. 852 eepen. — *maatjēnt [merchant]. 853 baagin. 854 barel. 855 kēret. — *skees [scarce]. 856 paat. 857 kees. 858 brees. — ka'sk [cask]. 859 tjees. 860 peest. 861 teest. — †naty'rel [natural, F (nee-)]. 863 tjeef. 864 kōz. 865 faat. 866 †pūē [(pōōv) F].

E.. 867 tee. 868 djeē'i. 869 wee'l [(wiil) written *weel* B]. 870 by'iti [biūti B]. — †glēēib [glebe (glē'ib) F]. 871 egrīi. 872 tjaif. — [(vām)

vein F, not known to H]. 875 fapht. 876 deenti. — [*'obái*) obey F, not known to H]. 877 éev. — †pee'in [(páin) F]. 878 suleri. — *trámbl [tremble, d'de, didder used]. 879 feemeel [not in use]. — *tampe [temper]. 880 egraa'mp'l. 881 sens. 882 prezi. 884 prentes. — †sal'ti [séant] F, search]. 887 tlaadij. — *waam'nt [vermin, F does not mention the initial *w* or final *nt*, see p. 263, col. 2, l. 1]. — *saam'nt [sermon]. — féev [a fair, (fiiv) W]. 888 saat'in. 889 see's. — *maze [measure]. 890 beest. 891 feest. — [(latə) letter, F]. 892 neve. — *fe'il [foil]. 893 flá'u.v. — [(kənsá'v) conceive F, not known to H]. 894 dsee'v. 895 rísee'v [risáit) receipt F, not known to H].

I.. and Y.. 897 dilé'it. 898 ne'is. 899 nee's. 900 pree. 901 fe'in. 902 me'in. 904 we'let. 905 re'ut. 906 we'ipe. 907 tre'is. 908 vdw'e's. 909 bree'z. 910 dpe'ist. 911 *sesten. — *strav [strove, a false pret. of *strive*, which should be *strived* or *striv*]. 912 re'is.

O.. 913 kóotj. 914 bróotj. — *se'il [soil]. 915 staf. 916 injen. 917 roog. 918 íeb'l. 919 e'ntinent. — dpe'an [join]. 920 *pe'nt. 921 akwée'nt. — *pe'iz'n [poison]. 922 *bashel. — [(léi'ze) leisure F, unknown to H]. 923 *me'ist. 924 tpe'is. 925 we'is. — [(drəl) drole F]. 926 *spe'il. — [(bam) bomb, F]. 927 traqk. 928 á'uns. 929 kə'ukembə. 930 le'in. 931 dpe'gle. 932 emə'unt. 933 *frant. 934 be'unti. 935 kantri. 936 *fant. 937 kək. 938 kaanə. 939 tlóoz. 940 koot. 941 *fíyyil. 942 batpe. 943 tati. 945 wə'u. 947 *be'dl. 948 be'ul [(tə be'ul v hy'ip) to howl a hoop]. — *nas *naas [nurse]. 952 kóous [coarse]. 953 kəz'n. 954 kash'n. 955 de'ut. — *prəv *prəf [prove proof]. — *mæv [move]. F has also occ. (miiv). 956 kive. 957 emple'i. 958 íree'i. 959 kenwee [(kenwá) F, not known to H].

U.. 960 kii [in e.Nf.]. 961 gryyil. 963 kwé'it. 964 syyet. 965 v'il. — *distre'i. [destroy]. 966 fríyyit. 967 syyit. 968 v'istə. 969 syyiv. 970 dpe'it. 971 flíyyit.

Mr. Everard (B) says intonation "thin, clear, rising in pitch at end," and that "the high key, the length of time they dwell on the accented syllable, are the most marked characteristics."

Notes made from interview with Rev. Philip Hoste, 15 Nov. 1877.

The aspirate is very fairly pronounced, but is occasionally put in the wrong place. Mr. Everard (B) says it is always rightly used.

cl-, *gl-* become (tl-, dl-).

(w) is always used for (v), but not conversely.

205. (Thr-) is frequent enough, as (thra-shəld), but (tr-) is regular in some words, as trii tr íp'en tr idz, three threepenny threads. 367. (li tr, t'nd m' be'dli, hí d'd, he threatened me badly, he did.

R is generally treated as in London, final and before consonants, and is at most (r_o) before vowels.

The diphthongs (a'i, a'u) seem to have several different forms. The (a'i) when standing for I' is (á) or (v'i), and the latter seems the regular form. I could not determine whether (á) was used by mistake or not. When standing for ÆG, EG, it was generally e'i, ee'i, as 141, 262, (nee'd, we'i), nail, way. The word *pay* was generally (pee), but when joined to a word gave (pe'i)mə, pay me; again, (fe'i v'ut dhe

həl), fay [or clean] out the holl [or hedge]. The (a'u) has the forms (v'u) and (á'u) as nearly as I could distinguish. The (v'u) seems regular for U', EOW, EA'W, and (á'u) regular for A'W, thus: (shi sæt oo-və dhi fe'ir v-se'u'in v pəkət-haquetpe, vñ dhi faa-dhe hii went v'ut tē sá'u dhi kóoun), she sat over the fire a-sewing a pocket-handkerchief, and the father he went out to sow the corn. The (á'u) is sometimes difficult to distinguish from (óu), thus to throw, to sow, when compared seem to give (thra'u, sóu). Generally (v'u) sounded like a faint 'éu', but at other times I found it difficult to distinguish (v'u, á'u), as in 645, 108, de'u, dá'u), dove, dough. Mr. Hoste, however, seemed to have no hesitation, and was consistent. See Forby's remarks, p. 270.

O' regularly generates (íy₁) or (yy₁), a deeper (y), sometimes begun with the mouth open. Mr. Shelly, a Nf. man, long resident in Plymouth, finds Nf. (y₁) resemble Dv. (y₁) p. 163, but in Dv. (íy₁) does not occur. I use identical symbols in Dv. and Nf. because I cannot

formulate the difference. The A' words *who two*, owing, perhaps, to the influence of *w* on the vowel, become (*hyy₁*, *tvy₁*) occ. (*tyy₁*). I noted (555 *shyy₁*, 557 *tyy₁*, 561 *blyy₁m*, 562 *nvy₁n*, 564 *svy₁n*, 574 *bryy₁d*, 582 *kvy₁l*, 583 *tvy₁l*, 584 *stvy₁l*, 586 *dyy₁*, 588 *nvy₁n*, 589 *spvy₁n*, 594 *bvy₁t*, 596 *ryy₁t*) shoe too bloom moon soon brood cool tool stool do noon spoon boot root. 585 *broom* was (*bryy₁m*) when alone or initial, as in (*bryy₁mstik₁*), but (*brām*) final, as (*héezbrām*) hair broom. If the vowel O' had become shortened or compounded with (gh), this effect was lost, as (558 *luk*, 559 *mādhū*, 563 *mandi*, 566 *adhū*, 570 *tuk*, 571 *gud*, 572 *blād*, 573 *flād*, 575 *stud*, 577 *ba'u*, 578 *plā'u*, 580 *tā'u*, 595 *fat*, 597 *sāt*) look mother Monday other took good blood flood stood bough plough tough foot soot, and (579 *enē'u on*em, *enāf*en)it) enough of them, enough of it.

The numerals (*wān ty₁* *trōi fā'v* *fē'iv sāk sūv'n* *EET nē'n* *tēn* *hēv'n* *twēlv* *thāt* *hādrəd*).

The following words and phrases were also noted.

(*nōr* *dl*, *bāt*, *leāstwāz*, *bēē'v*, *sāndrinēm* *paak*) Norwich, butty, leatways, beer, Sandringham park.

(*hi āld v stōn at em*) he hurled—pitched, chucked—a stone at them.

(*fēē't lit'l māadhv*) fete or pretty little girl.

(*lātē*, *nōv* *vāemba*, *disēmba*, *tēmpē*, *brād en tjeē'z*) letter, November, December, temper, bread and cheese.

(*v'u d*)*jv fiev tē dyy₁?*) how do you fare to do?

(*v réev fantiig*) a rare state of mind.

(*v fē'u brāath*) a few = some, broth.

(*rāi*, *v* *hāan* *o* *biic*, *tjūmbli*, *brēmbl'z*, *kmaa'dhū*, *wēēiz*) roof, a hand of barley, chimney, brambles, come hither, (go) ways; these last said to horses to order them to come to or go from the driver.

(*v tjatpmen*, *v* *lees v baadz*, *v* *leesh v hē'undz*) a churchman = a clergyman, a leash of birds, a leash of hounds.

Examination of Forby's Pronunciation.

In Forby (contracted to F.) it is said that "in the neighbourhood of Lynn all short *a* are *e* (E), as *a bed men*, a bad man." TH. observed none such there, but heard (a) in back, apples, understand, that, man.

The vowel marked (a¹) is described by F. as midway between (aa, ee), and "like the bleat of a very young lamb"; this would be rather (ææ) than (a¹), but I take the pronunciation of Mr. Hoste (contracted to H.). Using *b* for before and *a* after a number, it occurs in b157 staff, a174 glass, 333 calf, a719 raft, a729 glance, a735 grasp, 850 dance, a851 cask.

F. gives *snare spare* apparently as (*snēez spēer*). I neglected to obtain Mr. Hoste's pron. of them, but judging by care (*kjēē'v*), they would probably be (*snēē'v spēē'v*).

F. says the pron. of "pit kiln silver stint bid mill cistern sit," with (E) or perhaps (e) in place of (i), is not very general, and more in Sf. than in Nf.

F. pron. Nor-folk with (naa-), H. with (nōoe-), TH. heard (na'*r_o*-fik). After saying long *o* in *shrove*, *drove* = (α), F. adds, "It has the same sound in *hither* and *wither*," unintelligible unless *It* be a misprint for *I*.

F. states and H. agrees that negative *un-* is always (on-).

F. says that (shet) shut is universal in Sf. and Nf.

F.'s Italian *ai* in plain gain pain fail nail twain snail, where H. has (EE'i), is, H. thinks, due to F.'s deficient knowledge of Italian, and as for (bō'it) bait, H. has never heard of it. F.'s (aa) in may play pray stay, is H.'s (EE'i), and similarly in pay = (paa) in Sir T. Smith, and as was given me at Norwich, H. hears only (pEE'i). F. also says that (āi) is occ. found in deign, either, leisure, conceive, vein, weigh, neighbour, receipt, grey, convey, obey, but these S. habits are unknown to H. F. does not mention in what part of East Anglia they are found.

F.'s account of the pron. of *straw law* is unintelligible, but may mean the actual (straa laa) with, before a vowel, euphonic (r_o), which he seems to think is represented by the *w*. H. does not allow euphonic (r_o) unless there are separate words, thus (saa'iq), but (saa'it).

F. gives the (i'y₁) words as having long u (iu), which I assume to mean (i'y₁).

F. gives three sounds of *ou*, *ow* = U', which are difficult to understand by his description. H. knew only two (v'u, æ'u), but I also constantly heard (e'u, æ'u). F. says: "1. A broad twanging sound somewhat, but not exactly, as if it were written *au-w*." This should be (o'u), and probably means (æ'u), which H. used in (læ'u, dæ'u, mæ'u, æ'u, sæ'uld) low, dough, mow, owe, soul, which are some of F.'s examples; his *ought*, however, seemed to be (e'ut), which may be an error, as this was his sound of *out*. "2. The second considerably narrower, and may be attempted by endeavouring to sound the open *a* with *w* after it." This should give (âu). Of the examples he gives, 'shower, our' were (shæ'uv, æ'uv) according to H. Hence this would be the same as the last. His other examples are power sour devour scour, not given by H. "3. The third is narrower still, and may be described as about midway between the legitimate sound of *ou* and that of long *u*," that is perhaps between (a'u) and (iu), which might be very various, for the "legitimate sound of *ou*," whatever that be, is itself very various in the mouths of different speakers. His examples, cow sow (pig?) how proud, are given as (kæ'u sæ'u hæ'u præ'ud) by H., but plow (plough) is (plæ'u), and crowd does not occur in H.'s words. Hence the three are to H. 1 and 2 (æ'u), 3 (e'u) as given above. But this does not exhaust the question. At Mattishall I had uniformly (æ'u), at Kimberley (e'u), and at Kirby Bedon (æ'u), (æ'u) occurring in *you*. At Buxton (8½ n. Norwich) TH. got (næ'u, væ'ut), at Diss (15 e. Thetford) on the border of Sf., TH. had (kjæ'u, de'un) cow down, at Downham Market (10 s. King's Lynn) TH. chiefly records (æ'u) as at Mattishall, from Narborough TH. got (æ'u). At Old Hunstanton (14 nne. King's Lynn, and 9 nw. Stanhoe) TH. heard (de'un), and at Stanhoe itself he heard (de'un næ'u). Hence the sounds of (a'u) = U' must be considered variable, (æ'u e'u) may be meant for the same sound, (æ'u) is a variety of (æ'u), and (e'u) seems to be a variety of (e'u). But the information at my disposal is not sufficient to localise or classify these sounds, and F., whose observations extend over all East Anglia, rarely localises.

In the consonants F. and H. hear

(f) for *v* in vane, vetch, vat and [F. not H. in] vagary.

F. finds *ng* = (qg) medially apparently in bringing, flinging (briqgin, fliqgin), and finally before a vowel, as (fliqgiqg)æ'ut) flinging out; H. does not know it, and it has not been heard vv.

F. finds *l* dropped in old, cold, told, sold, hold, and H. also occasionally, *ol* becoming (æ'u).

F. and H. both find *thr*- invariably (tr-) as in throat, thread, threaten, through. See p. 268, note 205.

F. finds *v* and *w* "uniformly substituted for each other," H. only finds (*w*) uniformly for *v* initial. F. adds: "In general *w* for *v* is used by rude rustics, and *v* for *w* by those whose diction has been polished by town breeding." This means that (*w*) is the only hereditary sound, and (*v*) is a new one, and the latter once acquired, is through ignorance used in the wrong place. From Ke. to Nf. is the land of *Wce*.

F. then gives a number of words and corruptions that I have not been able to verify, but many still exist. I palaeotype his spellings as well as I can. (æshp eshp æshp) ash-heap, (makep) muck-heap, (nætes nætes) neat, or cattle, house, (dæfes dæ'vəs) dove-house, (wædes) woodhouse, (se'idəs) sideways, (:bra'id'l) Bridewell, (æles ælest) always, (wænm'l tjiiz) one meal cheese, (shaa'nt shæant), shan't, (kaa'nt kæant) can't, (oont woont) will not, (dint dent deent) did not, (shant) should not, (want) would not, (maa'nt mæant) may not, (waant) were not, (iint) is not, (eent) am not, (heent) has not, (ha'nt hænt) had not, (tæt) to it, (dæt) do it, (wæt) with it, (hæt) have it, (tebin) it has been. Final *-ive* (-a'iv) with stress, as *expens'ive* *abus'ive* *nat'ive*. Final *-able* (-ee·bel), as *lamentā·ble* *abominā·ble*. Final *-ly'* (-la'ī), as *continually'* *certainly'*. Final *-le* = *ul* (əl), as possible. These words not having been written phonetically, I can only conjecture the value of the illustrative syllables and cannot make a guess at the others.

Corruptions as given by F. mostly affect Romance words; only a few are given in the wl. when recognised by H. and are marked *. I do not attempt to phoneticise them.

1. *-d*, *-t* added, *attac-t*, *close-t*, *drown-d*, *epitaph-t*, *gallon-t*, **gown-d*, *margen-t*, *nice-t*, *paragraph-t*, *regi-*

men-t, scholar-d, *sermon-t, Simon-t, *soul-d, surgeon-t, talon-t, *vermin-t, *wine-d.

2. -er added, *mason-er, musician-er, physician-er, team-er.

3. s- prefixed, s-noose s-notch s-quench s-quink s-quit.

4. first syllable changed, the usual form prefixed: bay- bagonet, ca- compact, coat- coart-of-arm, in- discom-mode, di- disgest, de- dismish, im- eminent, mo- mislest, pro- perdigious, per- preverse, stark- starnaked, vavocation.

5. last syllable changed, the usual form subjoined: agash -gast, ballat -ad, becase -cause, bedisle -dizen, chaply -el, chimibly chimly -ney, clash -ss, conquest -course, delightsome -ful, drugster -gist, effidge -igy, fancical -ful, frustrate -ter, jaunders -ice, luxurious -riant, moral -del, notage -tice, otherguest -guise, portmantle -teau, quite -et, refuge -fuse sb., rheumatics -tism, successfully -ively, timor-some -rous, topsitivity -turvy.

6. superfluous letters inserted, italicised: bacheldor, bing, cavalry, commonality, confiscate, destolate, dilantory, disposial, duberous -bious, enormous, flagitious, frairy, furbelow -lough, industerous -trious, mander = manner, partender, properietor, ruiuate, solentary = solitary, spreckled, stupenduous, stuprify, sudges = suds, tremendous.

7. letters omitted, inserted in parenthesis: (to)bacca -o, chai(se), christ(i)an, cur(i)osity, cur(i)ous, debili(t)ate, fic(t)i(tious, ingen(i)ous, necessi(t)ate, ruffi(a)n, ted(i)ous [probably (tūjus)], ve(he)ment, (uni)versal, volum(in)ous.

8. Latin corruptions, correct in italics: arcyfarsy *vice versâ*, cavy *peccavi*, cersarary *certiorari*, crissy *crisis*, davy *affidavit*, diddimus *dedimus*, hizzy-prizy *nisi prius*, hoxy-croxy *oxyeroceum*, hoizon *horizon*, nulus bolus *nolens volens*, non-plush nonplunge *non plus*, primmery *primminery preminire*.

9. Unclassed. F.'s phonetic spelling, which I cannot always decipher, prefixed, usual form added in italics: acquese *acquiesce*, artiflexy *apoplexy*, bewiddle *bewilder*, blather *bladder*, brefkes *breakfast*, cartract *cataract*, coalesce (in two syllables) *coalesce*, crowner *crounier coroner*, cutriments *accoutrements*, farisee *fairy*, farrage *fairing*, fidgy *effigy*, fishorate *officiate*, gashful *gashly ghastly*, hobble *hovel*, howsomedever *howsoever*,

hume *hymn*, inquisition *inquiry*, intos-sicate *intosticate intoxicate*, intrust *interest*, jocotious *jocose*, juggler's vein *jugular vein*, liceners *license*, miscom-fortune *misfortune*, miscomhap *mishap*, narrow-wriggle *earwig*, neckthorn *nectarine*, newelty *neweltry novelty*, nottomy *anatomy*, numpost *imposthume*, obligate *oblige*, odious *odorous*, obstropulous *obstreperous*, oudacious *audacious*, palarâtock *paralytic*, permiscuous *promiscuous*, plumpendicular *perpendicular*, porpus *pauper*, portingal *portugal*, pumgenet *pomegranate*, quivye *equivocate*, rale *real*, semblitude *similitude*, sinnable *syllable*, sinni-fy (-fire) singa-fy (-fire) singma-fy (-fire) *signify*, scrummage *skirmish*, speciously *especially*, spettacle *spectacle*, surficate *snufficate suffocate*, tater tate *potatote*, timinate *intimidate*, trinkle trittle *trickle*, turpentine walk *serpentine walk*, vimment *vomit*, viper's dance *St. Vitus's dance*, imbombinable *abominable*, upper hand *apprehend*, upperlet *epaulet*, wagabone *vagabond*, who-what- when- somedever, *who- what-when- soever*.

It is evident that all these forms 1 to 8 are not distinctive of any dialect. They were, at least originally, mere mishearings and misrenderings of unfamiliar words quite out of the speaker's range, and though they may have been handed down from parent to child, they are not the property of any one locality, but are more or less common property. Having been collected, however, probably from actual hearing, by F. and his informants, they are worth repeating, to shew the extraordinary way in which words can be disfigured and twisted when unfamiliar.

F. adds something about Nf. grammar. Some of the things may be noted.

the, omitted before familiar objects after prepositions; walk into house, go up chamber, put the apples into basket, turn the dog into yard, come out of barn. H. says this is going out of use.

substantive pl. in -en, housen, closen, cheesen, only.

adj. in -en, hornen spoons, tinnen pots, glassen bottles, eldern berries, Eastern Sunday.

superlatives: lessest, worstest, littlest, as old as old, bone-dry, gall-bitter, slug-slow, frog-cold, dog-tired.

pronouns: the woman what came; let us go, shall us go, my missis and me is going, Mr. S. he came, his

family they are all out, them are the women I meant, I saw them boys, give me them there books.

be in indic. rare except in here he be, used in subj.

war for was.

Nf. folks say (1) sell solded, tell telled, catch catched, teach teached, seek seeked, work worked; (2) snow snew snown, mow mew mown, row rew rown, sow sew sown, hoe hew [which H. has heard] hown; (3) rise ris, ride rid, rive riv, stride strid, smite

smit, drive driv (never *drove*, sometimes *druv*); (4) bid bod, give gov, sit sot, swim swum; (5) giv gav gov, gin gan gon [H. hears: giv giv gin], ming mung [to knead bread, ags. *mengen*], ding dung [to throw or hurl], weave weft, save seft, wave weft [H. does not know the last three], and come, bid, see, run, are used as pres. pret. and pp.; steal, staul [H. (*stul*)], shriek shruck; (6) taking taken not distinguished; kilt = killed, spilt = spilled, spilt = spoiled.

Nf. Notes and Sentences by TH.

TH. having visited Stanhoe in 1883, a few of his observations are added.

Stanhoe was called (:sta'ne). The general use of (ə, æ) for U: was confirmed with variants between (dək, dok) duck, between (gən, gæn) gun and (du, mpl'n) dumpling. TH. heard (snōu) not (snæ'u).

Instead of (y₁, íy₁) in this district

also TH. heard (uu, œ'u, íu) as (djuun dʒœ'uun) June, (:ræ'us'l) Rushall, (bɪ'uti) beauty, (ɪs it dæ'u) yes it does, not (dɪyy). He also heard (plæ's) for (plees) place, (pœk) pork, and from a woman of 89, (kæm ju êv, mæ') come you here, maw'; (pleez) please; (æ'i kjetjt sæ'it ən ím), I caught sight of him.

NE.NF., NORTH WALSHAM (14 nnw.Norwich).

Test written by R. S. Baker, Esq., J.P., who had lived there all his life, pal. by A.J.E. from Mr. Baker's own orthography and notes, bearing in mind vv. information. The (r) = (r_o).

1. soo ə'i SEE, təgɪ'dhæ, ʒə'u sii ne'u dhæt ə'i ɛm rə'it vbe'ut dhæt lit'l gæl (maɹ'dhæ) kæm'in fræm dhæ skyy'l jɪndɛ.

2. shii iz vgoɔ'in de'un dhæ rood dhéev tré'u dhæ red geet ən dhæ left hænd sə'id v)dhæ wái.

3. shyyr enæf dhæ tʃə'ild hev gaan stráit ep ty₁ dhæ dóoer v)dhæ rəq hæ'us,

4. wéev shii'l tʃæns (hæp) ty₁ fə'ind dhæt draɹk'n diif shrɪv'ld fælv v)dhæ neem v :təməs.

5. wi aal noo him wɛr'i wɛl.

6. oont dhi ool tʃæp syɪn laan hæ næt ty₁ dyy₁ it (dæ)t vɛɪn, póov thɪq !

7. luk, eent it tryɪ₁ ?

Notes to North Walsham dt.

1. I am, you are, he is the man, here he be, I aæn't, 'tāant.—*now* (ne'u) ow like owl, lips nearly closed, lower teeth thrust forward. This description being incomplete, (E'u) was taken from elsewhere.

2. *hand*. "The habit is to pro-

nounce the aspirate correctly in all cases." But "h is never sounded after w."—"W never becomes V, but V always becomes W. We cannot see any difference between the letter W and the letter WE," = V.—*enough* (vnaɹf) with sg., (vne'u) with pl. nouns.

VAR. iii. s.NORFOLK FORM.

MATTISHALL, KIMBERLEY AND EAST DEREHAM CS.

This version was originally written by Miss Buckle, a native of Mattishall (:mæts'l) (12 w.Norwich), acquainted with the dialect from childhood, and pal. by A.J.E. from her vv. explanations Oct. 1877. As I pal. in 1873 a vv. version of the same from Kimberley (10 wsw.Norwich and 5 s.Mattishall) by George Ashby, who, however, had been 33 years away from his county, then gardener to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, and had obtained a careful version in his own orthography, with elaborate explanations by Mr. G. A. Carthew, 60 years acquainted with the dialect as spoken at East Dereham (:dêrəm) (15 w-by-n.Norwich and 4 nw.Mattishall), and a version by Miss C. M. Day, of Kirby Bedon (3 se.Norwich), supplemented by long explanations and a vv. wl. given elsewhere, I take Mattishall as a centre, and give the variants of the other versions, when the difference is marked, in subsequent notes, in which K. means Kimberley, D. East Dereham, and B. Kirby Bedon. I have no guarantee that the pron. was purely local, but it must closely resemble all s.Ni. The (r) was not particularly observed, but was probably (r_o).

0. wái :dʒən æ)noo d's'uts.

1. wæl, naa'be, ʒə'u en hii ma booth laaf et dhis niúuz e máin. hɪ'ɹ₁ kʲíéev ? dhæ's naadhe héev ne dhíiv.

2. fə'u mɪn dái bikəz dh aa laaft æt, wi noo, dóent wi ? wæt shud meek'em ? teent we'ri lá'klí, is t ?

3. hæ'ussemde'və dhiiz a dhe fæks e dhe kjees, soo [so, so] dʒist hæ'ud ʒa nóiz, frɪnd [ba], ən be kwáit tɪl ái hæ'dæn. lis'n.

4. ái)m saartín ái hii'd əm see—sem ə dhəm fəks dhət wənt trɪy₁ dhə həl [həl] thiɹ frəm dhe fəst dhɪmsɛ'lvz—dhær'ái dɪd.

5. dhæ'dhe ʒəq'ges sən hɪzse'lf, e grət bóoi e náin, nood'iz faadhez wóis et wəns, dhoo t'wəz so kwéev en skwee'kín, en)ó'ul trəst 'hɪm tɛ spɛk dhe trɪy₁th ɛ'nɪ dee, aa, ə'i wud.

6. en dh'ool wu'mən hase'lf wul tɛl ɛ'nɪ ən)ʒe dhət laaf nə'u, en tɛl ʒe street əf, tɪy₁, ərə'ut matɹ bə'de i)ʒə'l oo'nli aask ha, oo' oont shi ?

7. liistwái'z shi tə'ud it 'mii wɛn ái aast ha, tɪy₁ e trii táimz oo've, shi dɪd, en 'shii ə'w't'nt tɛ bi rəq ən sɪtɹ e páint ɛz dhɪs, wɔr'e ʒə'u thiɹk ?

8. wæl, əz ə'i weer əsee'in, 'shii)d tɛl ʒə'u hə'u wéev e wɛn shi fənd dhe dræq'ín beest dhæ'shi kaal har)æz'bən.

9. shi swóov she sii hɪm wi'ar)ooon áiz, lee'in stretɹt et ful læqkth e'dhe grə'und, in hɪz gɪy'd sən'di kuut, tɪus bə'i dhe daar'e dhe ó'us, də'un i)dhə kaa'nɛr e)ʒən léevn.

10. hi wəz blaar'ín awaa', sez shii, fɔr aal dhe wæ'uld lə'ik e sɪk tɹáild ɔr'e lit'l gæl (maadher) in)e tempe.

11. en dhær'æp'nd, ɛz shii en ha daater)i)laa kam trɪy₁ dhə bæc-ʒaad frəm hæq'ín ə'ut dhe wɛt tlooʒ tə drái ən ə wəsh'in dee,

12. wáil dhe kɪt'l wɛz báil'ín fa tii, wɛn fáin bráit sɛm'e aaten'ɹ₁n oo'nli e wiik əgoo' kɪm neks thæ'zdee.

13. en dɪy₁ ʒe noo ? ə'i nə've laand ɛn'i móov ne dhɪs e dhæ)biznɪs æp tɪy₁ tɛ-dee, ɛz shɪy₁ɛr ɛz mə'i neemz :dʒən :shɛp'əd, en ə'i dóent wənt tɪy₁ ái'dhe (aa'dhe), dhéev (dhíiv) nə'u !

14. ən soo ái m goo'en huum [ham] tɛ hæ'mu sɛp'e. gɪy'd náit, en dóent bi se kwik tɛ kroo oo'vɛr e bədi egɪ'n, wɛn hi taak ə dhɪs, dhæt e tædhe.

15. t)iz v week fíy₁l dhæt gəsíp wi' d'ut reezn. en dhæ's mə'i laas wæd. g'íy₁d báí.

Notes to Mattishall cs.

0. *why* (wái), this diphthong (ái) was not always steadily pronounced and at times sounded (ə'í), but I got (ái) from K. and B.—*has*, (æ) or (a') (it was difficult to say which Miss B. said) short and run on to the next word for *have* used for *has*. This abbreviation, which occurs frequently here, was not given me elsewhere. B. insists on (hæ) with h.—*doubts* (də'uts), this diphthong (ə'u) was given me as (e'u) at Kimberley, and (E'u), or more frequently (æ'u), at Kirby Bedon. I think this (æ'u) or (ææ'u) is what was meant by the sound written (nāew) for *know* at East Dereham.

1. *well* (wæl), in others (wel).—*neighbour* (naabə), so also D., but K. gave only (bóob) or (ba), B. had (njaabə) and (baa).—*may*, B. (mái).—*both* (buth) B.—*who* (híy₁), as far as I could make out the fracture arose from commencing with the mouth open and then closing, it was therefore (íy) or (íy₁), but the first element was indistinct, and so I have marked it only (íy₁). From D., *who do through noon fool* were reported to “resemble French *eu* or long *u*,” but the information was on paper only. At B. I heard (byyts, shəz, tə tjy, styl, stjypɪd) for *boots, shoes, two, stool, stupid*. From K. I heard (huu) simply.—*cares* (kjícév), at K. (kjéev), at D. apparently (kaa), written *car*, but the writer employed *ar* for (aa), at B. (kéeez) with the (z) at the end, but Miss B. said they never used that form if they could avoid it.

2. *few* (fə'u) was (fə'u) apparently at K. Possibly the difference was only in my perception.—*because* (bikaaz, vkaaz) B.—*know* (noo) B.—*don't we* (dóent wi) was written *dōnt ūs* (doont əs) at D. This very Southern (əs) is certainly doubtful. I don't get it elsewhere in Nf. and Sf. But Forby talks of ‘shall us go.’—*make them* (meek)em), whether (meek) or (meek), must be considered doubtful. At K. the speaker insisted on (dhem).—*very* (we'ri), the short *e* was, I think, generally rather (ɛ) than (e). The (w) for (v) is the rule among peasants, says Miss B., and both D. and K. give (wə'is) in par. 5. Miss B. says (wɛdʒ vɪ hæt) is the *verge* or brim of a hat.

3. *your* (ja) for unaccented *your*, was insisted on here and at K., and similarly (ha) for *her*.

4. *heard* (húed) D., but (haad) K., (héevd) B. The initial (h) is insisted on by most Nf. people, but often vanishes.—*say* (see), from K. (séei), but my D. informant insisted on (saa), as also on (maa) for *may*, and made *day* into (dáai). In xvith century we had (saa) regularly, at present there seems to be much confusion, and the received (see, see'j, séei) are approached; also (se'i) at Stanhoe.—*folks* (fúks), so also at K., from D. I got *fo'ks*, which may or may not mean the same thing.—*through* (tríy₁), but (thre'u) D., (tre'u) K., (tra'u) B. It would seem as if (trə'u trə'u) were older forms and (tríy₁ thríy₁) more recent.—*whole* (hul, hæl), both were given, (hul) B.; (hul) as a remnant of (húel), the regular S. change from A', is perhaps the older form, and (hæl), which may come from (hool hol), or be merely the regular change of (u) into (æ), may be more recent.—*safe enough* was allowed to stand at the end of this paragraph by others, but Miss B. said the phrase was not used as an affirmative, and that *enough* was not said.—*that I* (dhær'ái), and afterwards, par. 7, (wər)ɛ = *what do*. This *r* seems to be a mere euphonic insertion, the *t* or *td* being omitted, so (ger)up = *get up* in Leeds, D 24, where more examples will be quoted. In Nf. and Sf. this omission of the final *t* is frequent in (dhæ)s for (dhæt)s, with which compare par. 0 (æ)noo, par. 3 (hæ)dan, and par. 5 (dhæ)dhə. The insertion of euphonic *r*, as in (saar)in = *sawing*, is almost universal in E. div. Compare also (əɹə'u't) = *athout* = *without* in par. 6.

5. *youngest* (jæq'ges) comes from D. in the form (jæq'gərest), my authority saying that “Nf. people are fond of indulging in ultra-superlatives,” but probably they are seldom heard.—*truth* (tríy₁th) distinctly so pronounced, but K. seemed to give (trəúth), possibly meant for (trə'uth), (*truth*) D. looks like a modernism for (*truuth*), the vowel being shortened to save it from falling into (íy₁).—*day* (dee) distinctly, (déi) K., (dái) D. and B., probably stages of variation from (daa)—*aye* (aa),

K. (JES), D. (ˈdhæt), Miss B. says *aye* is not used.

6. *will* (wul) K. (wɛʊl) ? D. (ʔl).—*of you* (ɔn)jə), so at D., but K. (ɔf jəʊ), a syllabic form.—*off* (ɔf), K. (ɔʔ), D. (ɔn).—*body* (bɔːde) or (bAAːde), but D. and K. (bɔdhə).—*ask* (aask), K. (æks), D. (ækst).—*without* (ɔrəʊt) = *athout*, with (dh) omitted and euphonic *r* inserted. K. and D. give *without* simply.—*won't* (oont), so the others. At the beginning of a sentence (*woont*) would be used.

7. *told* (təʊd), so D., but (toold) K., evidently modern.—*she did* (shi did), the original had *did she*, but all agree in the other order, Miss B. stating that “dialect does not allow the nominative to be placed after the verb.”—*three* (tri), all agree in *tr-* for *thr-* initial.—*point* (páint), so D. B., but (pɔʔnt) K., modern form.—*what do you* (wɔr)jə jəu), but D. K. B. have (wɔt dɪy₁ jəʊ).

8. *she would* (ˈshii)d), so D., but (shi wɛʊld) K.—*found* (fɔnd), D. *feound*, which may = (fɛʊnd) K.—*drunken* (drɔːkɪn) looks like an error for (drɔkʔn), as in the others, as if confused with (driqkɪn).—*her husband* (har)æzˌbən), the *r* is quite euphonic, owing to the omission of *h* in *husband*, which is as common as *my good man*.

9. *saw* (sii), common, (siid) D. = *see'd*.—*with her own* (wiː,ar)óoun), the *r* is euphonic, the syllabic division being (wi-a-róoun).—*lying* (leeːin), *laying* is always used for *lying*; so the others.—*ground* (grɛʊnd), (grɛʊnd) K. B., *greound* D., probably the same, as my informant could not analyse the diphthongs on paper better than *eu-w*.—*close* (tlus), of course (tl-) for (kl-) was not acknowledged, but was heard; the vowel agrees with D. B., but K. has (kloos).—*door* (daar) = *door*, the *r*

is euphonic, D. and K. give (dóov+r).—*lane* (léen). I noted that the (*ee*) was very light, more like (*ii*), but this was probably accidental, for K. has (leen), which is more analogous. D. gives *loke*, a common East Anglian word for a lane without a thoroughfare.

10. *whining* (blaarˌin). “Calves, sheep, asses, and children are all said to blare.” *Moor*. D. gives *winnien* from Forby's “*Whinney*, to snivel and whimper like a child.” K. has (páinˌin), B. has (wáinˌin, pensin, páinˌin).—*away* (awaaː), this is a remnant of the old (waa) = *way*, K. (ɛweeː).—*world* (wɛʊld), (wɔld) D., (wæld) K. B.—*child* (mAAːdhɛ+r), the regular Nf. and Sf. word for girl, the (dh) is weakly pronounced and often quite lost.

11. *that* (dhær), euphonic *r*.—*happened* (æpˌnd), (hæpˌnd) K., (hæpt) D.—*daughter* (daaːtər), euphonic *r*, so D. B., but (dAAːtər) K.—*came* (kam), (kəm) D. K., which is most common, (kæmd) B.—*clothes* (tlooːz), the (tl-) not acknowledged.

12. *tea* (tii), so K., but (tee) D. B.—*come* (kim), but (kəm) D. K. B., which is more regular.—*thursday* (thæːzdee), the final syllable distinct (*ee*), not (*i*), but K. and D. have (thaaːzdi).

14. *home* (huum, hām), *home*, probably the correct form is (hum) B. for A', modernised to (hām) D., (hoom) K. is quite modern. From Stanhoe, p. 265, No. 115, comes (uuˌm).—*have my* (hæ)mɛ), these words are omitted in E. D. and K.

15. *good bye* (gíyˌd báɪ) said only when parting for a long time. E. D. has (gu)báɪ), which is more regular.

‘I are to go’ is common. The Nf. *drant* (draant) is rough, thick, glib and quick, yet drawling, and the pitch does not rise at the end of a sentence.

KIRBY BEDON, NORFOLK.

Words pal. in 1868 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Cecilia M. Day, daughter of Rev. Edward Day, then rector of Kirby Bedon (3 se. Norwich), where she had resided from childhood, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with the peasants.

K is added to words given by Mr. Keith, of Norwich.

L is added to a few words from Miss Day's sister, Mrs. Luscombe.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 miák [ʔ]. A'- 74 tɔ [(tjy₁) K]. 92 noo. A': 102 aks. 111 ʔat. 115 hɔm [hom] K]. 117 wɛn. 124 stɔn. Æ- — staaː [stairs]. Æ: 101 daaː. 173 waa waant [was not]. Æ': 208 æv. 213 eedhɛ K. 214

needhə K. E- 232 briik. — píie [a pear]. — bíie [to bear]. 251 meet.
 E: 263 wáíi. 265 street. — twálv [twelve]. 270 belez. 273 mìn. 280
 læv'n. 281 leqkth. — trəsh'l [threshold]. E'- 301 héeə. E': 312 héeə
 [I have heard (iie)]. 316 nækst. EA: 324 eet. — aan [earn]. EA'-
 347 heed. — éeə [the ear]. EA': 353 breed. 359 neebə njeba njaabe.
 361 been. EO- 383 sæv'n. 387 n'iy₁ L. EO: — ba'nən [burning].
 402 laan. EO'- 411 trii. 416 déə. 420 fa'uv. EO': 431 béə. I-
 446 n'ín. I: 452 ái [I have heard (óí, áí, á'í)]. — líid líd [lid].
 — báð [bird, (bæd) K]. — wíndə [window]. — físh físh [fish]. — s'íks
 [six]. I'- — thátí [thirty]. I': — díik dík [dyke]. 502 fa'iv. —
 háai [hay]. O- 524 wáid. — trət [throat]. Ó: — trə'u [trough,
 same as *through* 634]. 527 bæ'ut. — bərə [borrow] bərərin [borrowing]. —
 sərə [sorrow]. O'- 555 shəz [shoes, probably (shy₁z) was said]. O': 577
 bæ'u. 584 styyl. 592 swóə. 594 byyt. 595 fat. 597 sat. U- 603
 kə)ba L [come, bo']. U: 615 pə'und L. 618 wə'und [or 621]. 621 wə'und
 [or 618]. 634 trə'u [same as *trough* after 524]. U'- 640 kə'u. Y- 679
 tjátj. Y'- 707 thát'n thát'n [(thot'n) K]. — driip drip [drip].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — snéest [snast, burnt wick or snuff of candle]. — tjeete téerte tjéerte.
 739 maadhə L. E. — málə [mellow]. — indjín [engine]. — klævə
 [clever]. O. — doog [ʔ (dɔ'g) dog]. 791 bwə'i [has heard (bái)]. U. —
 onlēs [unless]. — ta'nep [turnip]. — bəsh [bush]. 808 pət. — krətj
 [crutch].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 824 tjiie. — kléeə [clear]. — pleez L [please]. 840 tjambe tjaambe.
 848 tjanj. — randj [range], ɛrandj [arrange]. — pjeepə péeepə pjéeepə.
 — tɔs'l [tassel]. — sælwee'shen [salvation]. 862 sɪaf [ʔ]. E.. 869 weel.
 870 bætifel [beautiful]. — enváies [envious]. 885 weri. — saavent saavis
 [servant service]. 890 beest L. — weks [vex]. I.. and Y.. — wíniger
 [vinegar]. 910 dja'ist. O.. — dja'in [join]. 920 pa'int. 923 mǎ'ist.
 929 kə'ukembə. 938 kaanə. 947 bæ'il. — deen [dean]. U.. — traant
 [truant]. — stjypid [stupid].

Euphonic (r), (ɛ'i saar)im in dhə draarín rəm) I saw him in the drawing room.
 un- negative always (ən-).

EXAMPLES FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NORWICH.

mostly pal. by AJE. from oral and written communication of various informants,
 1868.

I. Dict. of Dr. Lomb.

- (ə'i see, ba, dyɪ₁ ɟɪ₁ sii dhat dhə meev'ish ə-næp'in dhat dhə
 dɔdmen ɔn v stɔn?), I say, bor, do you see that there thrush
 a-napping that there snail on a stone?
- A. (doo)n's'n həlín !), don't stand hurling or throwing!
 B. (hyɪ₁z v'həlín?), who is a-hurling?
 A. (ɟə'u wəz v'həlín), you was a-hurling.
 B. (ə'i waa)nt v'həlín), I was-not a-hurling.
 A. (tel ɟəu ɟə wəz, fɔ ɟə'u hit/me in dhə ə'i wídh)v gyyɪ₁z-
 beri), tell you, you was, for you hit me in the eye with
 a gooseberry.
- (waa)t)v ɟə goo'in tɛ)dhə faa, ba, wídh dhəm)dhə ship?), what-
 are you going to the fair, bor, with them-there sheep?

4. *dhv ship iz plæn·jæn, wen it féev ty₁ bii káind)v dæz i*), the sheep is "plaignant"=unwell, when it fares to be kind of dizzy.

II. From Mrs. Luscombe.

5. (*əi wAant*)*ʒv, hi ka'nt dæ't*), I warrant you, he can't do it.
 6. (*duu*)*t raa'n, bA?* *Jes, it dyy₁*), do it rain, bo'? Yes, it do.

III. Dictated by a middle-aged passenger in the omnibus going from Norwich to Cromer on an expedition during the British Association, 27 Aug. 1868, a dialogue which he said he had overheard between two farmers at a pot-house, when he was a boy.

7. A. (*wái doont-ʒv paa*)*mi dhat*)*dhv tyy₁ pE'und ʒv'oo*)*mi fe dhem*)*dhv tyy₁ ship?*), why don't you pay me that two pound you owe me for them-there two sheep?
 B. (*əi doo*)*nt oo ʒA'u noo tyy₁ pE'und*), I don't owe you no two pound.
 A. (*ʒA'u dyy₁*), you do. [Pause, A. goes on smoking.]
 B. (*əi*)*d nok dhat*)*dhv pE'ip E'ut*)*v ʒv'e mE'uth, if A'i dAaə*), I'd knock that there pipe out of your mouth, if I dare.
 A. (*aa!* *ʒA'u*)*v daak enəf, :h'indri, bA, ʒA'u*)*v bla'k enəf. ʒA'u wud, 'ee ʒA'u dAaə, bət ʒA'u daa's*)*'nt*), Ah! you're dark enough, Andrew, bo', you're black enough. You would *if* you dare, but you dursen't. [Brings down his fist on to the table, which he upsets, spills the liquor and breaks the glasses.]
 B. (*dhæ, bA, ʒA'u*)*v dæ'n*)*it nE'u, ee*)*nt-ʒv?* *ʒE'u*)*l ha'v tə*)*paa fə*)*dhat nE'u, bA!*), There, bo', you've done-it now, have-not-you? You'll have to-pay for-that now, bo'. [A fierce altercation ensued, during which the listener decamped.]

IV. Communicated by Rev. T. Burningham, formerly Rector of Charlwood (6 s.Reigate, Sr.), conjecturally pal. by AJE.

8. (*əi káind*)*v shæk so*), I kind-of shook so.
 9. (*lAa, mAa, doo*)*s'n blee·ren v*)*dha't*)*nv*), lawk, girl, don't stand bellowing of that-way.
 10. (*wæl, əi wv fæ'skE'f*)*ʒiiv laas fa'sgen tyy₁zdi, we'da tə*)*ʒiiv bi hə'i*)*n v loo*)*n*), well, I was four-score year last Paschal Tuesday, whether this-year be high-'un or low-'un, i.e. leap year or not.

V. Street cries heard repeatedly at Norwich by AJE. in 1868.

11. (*név₁ bloo*)*təz iiv, fáin blo*)*təz, ʒaa'meth bló*)*təz iiv!*), new bloaters here, fine bloaters, Yarmouth bloaters here! [Observe three different pron. of 'bloaters' from three different men]. (*mívelk! mə'velk fóin!*), milk, milk fine.

VI. Notes and Sentences from TH., m. and s.Norwich.

12. *Buxton* (8 n.Norwich). (wel, :bíl, ba'v, ar)jə gó'ven hoom), well, Bill, bo', are)you going home?
13. *Diss* (19 ssw.Norwich). (maadhər_o)z mɔst v dhəwæd), mawther)is most of the word, the word most generally used.—(nó də'ík nər jít v dreen), no dyke nor even a drain, at Diss.—(àr jə kəmən dhís waa?), are you coming this way?—(mó'it v kjep v hoom), might have kept a home. [The man from whom this was taken was a native of Diss, where he lived 24 years and then lived at March, Cb., 45 years, and he seems to have lost much of his dialect. I doubt, therefore, his furnishing true Diss speech.]
14. *Norwich*. *h* not aspirated in the city of N.
15. *Wymondham* (9 wsw.Norwich). TH. finds that a majority of U- words have (ə), but older men use (*u*_o) and a small number use (o). Of course (*u u u*_o) are the older forms, and gradually lead to (o), and thence to (æ ə). This seems the direction of change, but we cannot consider the sporadic (*u*_o) of any value against Mattishall and Kimberley, knowing nothing about it. Compare (nuun næ'un), leading to (nyy₁n niyy₁n).

GT. YARMOUTH, s.Nf. AND n.Sf.

dt. written by Rev. Dr. Raven, then of the School House, Gt. Yarmouth, since 1885 Rector of Fressingfield (8 n.Framlingham), Sf., pal. by AJE. in 1879 partly from vv. directions.

1. suu æ'i sái, bAAZ, jə sii ne'u æ'i)m ræ'it vbe'ut dhæt)dhə līt'l gæl ɛkəmən frəm dhə skyy₁l [skíul] hīnde.

2. shii)z ego'in de'un dhə ruud dhév tre'u dhə ríd géet ɔn dhə left hænd sæ'id v dhə wái.

3. shyy₁r enæf dhə tʃæ'ild)z gAAN stráit ɔp tɛ dhə dAAR v dhə rɔq he'us,

4. wév shi)l tʃians tɛ fæ'ind dhæt)dhə dræqk'n def shriv'ld felər v dhə neem v :tɔmɛs.

5. wi úuəl noo)im verə wel.

6. oont dh)æ'uld tʃap sɪyy₁n teetʃ [laan] har nɔt tɛ dɪyy₁ ít vgi'n, póov thiq.

7. luk, eent ít triyy₁?

Note.—The 'aristocracy' in Yarmouth say (óov flóovz) our flowers. (ba) is used for women as well as men.

The manner of speech seems much the same as over ne. and m.Nf.

S. NORFOLK cwl.

collected from TH.'s observations in 1881-2-3. wn. at

B Buxton.	Nt North Taddenham	T Thetford.
D Diss.	(4 nw. Norwich).	W Wymondham.
E East Dereham.	N Norwich.	

TH.'s (r) not before a vowel is at most (r_o).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 T nê m, W nê'im. A: 56 D wash. A'- [T (âi), letter A]. 74 DT tî'uu. 91 D moor'en [mowing]. A': 102 D aks. 104 W rood. 115 D òm, NtW oom. 125 D oonli. — D röp [rope]. Æ- 138 D faadhv. 152 B wa'ter. Æ: 161 D dee, Nt de'i. Æ'- 187 D leev. 193 D kliin. 197 D tpiiz. 200 Nt wit, T wiit. Æ': — D miil [a meal]. 223 T dhêv. 224 T wêv. E- 233 T spiik. 241 D reen. 251 Nt meet. 252 B kjit'l. 254 D ladhv. E: 261 Nt se'i. 262 D waa, Nt we'i, T wâ'i. 263 D ewee'. — D filz [fields]. — B hin [hen]. E'- 299 DT griin. 301 E hêv+r, Nt â+r. E': 305 D hái. 314 D êvrd, Nt aad. EA: 326 D ôud. EA'- 347 BW hed, D êd. EA': — D iu [year]. 366 TW grêit. EO: — B ban [burn]. 402 B laan, T læn. EO'- 419 B júer, N jaa. EO': 428 B sū. 431 Dnt biêr. 435 N ja'u. 437 D truuth, T trê'uth. EY- 438 D dâi, Nt dâ'i, T [between] dâi da'i. I- 446 T na'in. I: 452 B æ'i. 458 D nê'it. 459 B ra'it. I'- [T (A'i), letter I]. 494 D tæ'imz, T [between] ta'im taim. — D riip'n [reaping]. I': 500 B læ'ik. O: 531 D daater, F doote [nearly (aa) with pursed lips], Nt daate [and in some villages] daate. — B hœs. O'- 555 D shuuz, T shæ'u, W shæ'ù [decidedly]. 557 B tù. 559 D mædhv. 560 D skuul. 562 Nt muun. TW muun. 566 D vna'dhv [another], E vna'dhv [one person]. 568 Nt brodhv. O': 579 D vna'f. 587 DT dæ'n. 588 NtT nuun, W næ'un nūun. U- 603 D kœm. 605 T sœ'n. 606 NtW dôv. 607 D bœ'ter, W bote. U: 612 ET sœ'm, Nt sœm, Nt sœ m. 616 D grê'und. 629 T sœn. 633 E kœp kœp kop [occ.] kuop. 636 N fæder. U'- 640 D kjæ'u. 641 B æ'u. 643 B næ'u. 648 D [unemphatic] wœr. 650 B [between] vba'ut, vba'ut. U': 663 D e'uss, T œ'us, W hœ'us. Y- 673 B matj, T ma'tj. 679 N tjetj.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 D dreen. I. and Y. 758 D gjalz. U. 803 E djaomp djoomp djompp [occ.] djuomp. — T tî'uun [tune], W tæ'un.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 D pleesez. — B pe'i [pay]. — Nt. plá'inli. 862 D seef. E.. 867 B tii. 869 N wiil. — D fetjez [vetches]. — N wente+r [venture]. I.. and Y.. 901 D fæ'in. O.. 935 D kœntri. 950 D sœper, Nt. soper. U.. — W dlæ'ù [glue]. — D weet'n [waiting]. — W. mæ'uzik. 970 D djæs.

VAR. iv. c. SUFFOLK FORM.

FRAMLINGHAM (18 n. Woodbridge) cs.

written by Mr. Jas. B. Grant, native of Kettleborough (2 ssw. Framlingham), and a frequent visitor at Woodbridge, when a boy, and long resident at Stowmarket (14 nw. Woodbridge), pal. Dec. 1881 by AJE. from his dictation.

0. wái :djan hiint gœt nœ de'uts.

1. wœl, naabv, jæ'u vn hii ma bœth laaf œt dhœs hiiu ný'iz v máin. hý'í, kéev? dhæ)s nædhv hiiu nœ dhéev.

2. fíy₁ mín dáí koz dhée) v laaft et, wii noo, dóoent wi? wot shed meek) 'm? tiint wer*i* láik-lí, iz it?

3. hē'usc'və, dhiiz íier v dhu faks, su djes hood jə nóiz, ba'v, en bi kwáit tíl áí v dən. les'n.

4. v)m saa'tin áí híied 'm séev, səm v dhem faks et went thrə'u dhu hul djob from dhu fast dhese'lvz, dhæt v did, s'iy₁ v enə'u!

5. dhut dhu jaggist sən hizself v gréut báí v náien, n'iy₁z faadhez vóis dhéev en dhen, dhoo tē'wəz su kwíer en skwíeken en a,d trəst, 'm tē spék dhu tr'iy₁th, eni déei, dhæt a wud.

6. en dh)ood wumən ase'lf 'l tel en*i* ən-jə et láavf ne'u, en tel jə rait áf, t'iy₁, vdhē'ut matj bōdhu, ef jō)el o'ní a'sk, v, oont shi?

7. liistweez shi tood mi wen áí aast)v t'iy₁ v thríi taimiz u'va, en shii ə'ut'nt tē bi rəq ən s'ij v póint ez dhís híier, ə'ut shi, wot d)jə'u thiik?

8. wel, ez áí wəz v)see'en shii)d tel)jə hē'u, wéev en wen shi fē'un) d dhu drəqk'n biist shi kaal v həzbənd.

9. shi swóov shi s'ij)m vdh er oon áiz v)lee'en stretjt ful leqkth on dhu grē'un) d in iz sən-di kluz klus bi dhu dúuer v dhu e'us dē'un əgín dha kaaner v dhu léevn hīndə.

10. hii wəz v wáinen ewéev, sez shii, fər aal dhu wáuld láik v s'ik tjáild er v līt'l gæl v freten.

11. en dhæt dhéev hāp'nd djes ez shii en v daa'terínlaa kəm thrə'u dhu bækjaad aate dhee)d hāq e'ut dhu wət kluz wən wəshen déev,

12. wáil dhu kīt'l wəz v báil'en fə tii wən fáin sām'er aateníy₁n o'ní v wiik egu' kəm thaazdi.

13. en dii jə nōu? áí n'ivə híied no múuer v dhæt biznis tíl tē dee, ez s'iy₁er ez máí neem)z :dʒən :shəpəd, en áí doont wənt nədhu, dhéev ne'u!

14. en sōu v)m v goov en ham tē səpə. gud náit en dúent jə'u bi sə ríd'i tē droo u'v'er v tjaep egín wen i taak v dhís, dhæt v tadh'v.

15. h'i)z v wiik f'iy₁l dhut préet vdhē'ut riiz'n; en dhæ)s máí laast wəd. gu)bái.

Notes on the Framlingham cs.

0. *has not* (hiint) for have not, they use the plural form in the singular, and never omit (h).—*doubts* (dē'uts), the sound was decidedly not (dóuts, dǽ'uts), but whether the first element of the diphthong was quite (ē) I could not feel certain. Mr. Grant has been many years in London, and this may have affected his utterance of the sound. But the approach to (ē'u) is noticeable in respect to Southwold.

1. *you* (jə'u) was clear, and quite different from (jē'u).—*news* (n'iy₁z), this was the nearest representation I could give of the diphthong: it was certainly not (niuz).—*that is*, (dhæ's). The æ) throughout is rather uncertain, as there was a suspicion of London influence.

2. *know* (noo), I did not always hear (noo), but sometimes (noo), sometimes (nō'u).—*it is not* (tiint).—wer*i*, this use of (w) for (v) is very general, but not used in every case; *viólet* is (wáilet). I could not be certain whether Mr. G. intended (e) or (ē) throughout.

3. *bor* (ba') and (ba''), (baa'), according to circumstances often sinks to (ba) when spoken rapidly.—*I have done* (ái v dən), properly I are done, (ái dən it) is often used for I did it.

4. *that* (et), relative.—*enough enow* (enaf, enə'u) are sometimes distinguished for singular and plural nouns.

5. *son* is not distinguished from *sun*.—*boy* (bái), or nearly (bói) at times.—*it* (tə), this form of *it* is curious, and is recognised by Forby.—*day* (déei)

very distinctly here, but it may have been an error, as Mr. G. would not allow that “y was sounded in *day*.” (déev) seems more usual, see last word of par. 11.

6. *you will* (jo)el) was meant to be a shortened form of (jæ’u’l), produced by absence of emphasis.

7. *three* (thrii) not (trii), as it is generally in Nf. and at Southwold.—*over* (uv’a) over, Mr. G. perhaps said (ov), but he insisted on (a) not (ø).—*point* (póint), like (vois) and not (páint), which is reserved for *pint*.

8. *found* (fe’un(d)), Mr. G. insisted upon a suspicion of a (d), without any recoil, and just touched; that is, the nasality of the (n) was momentarily lost.—*husband* (haz’bend), this word is in common use.

9. *clothes close* (kluuz klus), observe the distinction of vowel length. Mr. G. sometimes made it (klooz klos), but I believe the first to be most correct. I have used (kluuz) in par. 11 as a

compromise.—*yon* (hin) is also used for *yon*, *yonder* (hinde), is generally an adverb, and then we have (ø dhæ læn hinde).

10. *world* (wáeld) or (wærlð, warlð), the word was rather uncertain, perhaps (waald), at Southwold (wáld).—*girl* (gærl) is more common than (maadhæ) now, but the latter word is still used, and old farmers apply it to grown girls of five-and-twenty.

12. *boiling* (báil-en), and so (spáil áis-tø áint-ment), but not (páint) for *point*.—*Thursday* (thaa’zdi), the acknowledged sound for *er*, *ur* in Sf. seems to be (aa), hence perhaps (waald) in par. 10 as there suggested would be more correct.

13. *do* (dii) is an abbreviated way of saying (díy, jø) when asking questions.—*know* (nó’u) is the best representation of what I heard, but I think it is not quite right; see (noo), par. 2.—*name* (neem) not (náaim) as I got from Pakenham.

SOUTHWOLD, and 12 m. round (on the coast 12 ssw.Lowestoft) cwl.

pal. 1877 by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss C. M. Mallet, teacher at Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, who had known the dialect all her life.

Words preceded by H were obtained by T.H. in 1876 from an old native of Great Bealings (6 ne. Ipswich), then living in London.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bêek. 4 têek. 5 mêek. 6 mêed. 7 sêek. 8 ev. 9 bæjeev. 10 haa’v. 12 saa. 14 draa [‘draarən, drawing, H (‘draa’erz)]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 kêek. 19 têel. 20 lêem. 21 nêem. 22 têem. 23 sêem. 24 shêem. 26 wêem. 27 nêev. 28 êv. 31 lêet. 32 biidh. 33 rædhæ. 34 laast. 35 aal. 36 thôu. 37 tlaa. A: 39 kām. 40 kam. 41 tha’qk. 43 a’nd. 44 la’nd. 46 ka’nd’l. 47 wa’ndæ. 48 sæq. 50 tæqz. 51 ma’n. 52 wa’n. 54 wænt. 55 a’shez. 56 wesh [H (wæsh)]. 57 aas.

A: or O: 58 frām. 59 la’m. 60 lœq. 61 vmaq. 62 strœq. 63 trœq. 64 rœq. 65 seq. A’: 67 guu. 69 nuu. 70 tuu. 71 wuu. 72 wyy₁. 73 suu. 74 tyy₁. 75 struk. 76 tuud. 77 laad. 78 ôun. 79 ôun. 80 olude. 81 lêen. 83 mæn. 84 móov. 85 sóov. 86 uts. 87 tlooz. 89 bath. 90 blou. 91 mou. 92 nou. 93 snou. 94 krôu. 95. træ’u [(æl) hurl more used]. 96 sou. 97 sœld. A’: 101 uk. 102 ast. 104 rud. 105 rud [(rid) gen.]. 106 braad. 107 luf. 108 dôu. 109 lôu. 110 not. 111 a’ut. 112 éel. 113 hul. 115 um. 116 yy₁. 118 bæn. 121 gaan. 122 næn. 123 nothen. 124 stæn. 125 unli. 126 ôov. 127 aa’v. 129 gust. 130 but. 132 øt. 133 rut. 134 uth. 135 tlaath.

Æ- 138 faadhe. 139 drœei. 140 éeil. 141 néeil. 142 snéeil. 143 téeil. 144 vgi’n. 145 sléein. 146 méein [=the sea, not used for very]. 147 brœein. 148 fœr [?: meant for “a fair,” after 887]. 149 blœvz. 150 leeest. 152 watæ. 153 sa’dæde. Æ: 155 thætj. 157 rêev’n. 158 aatæ. 160 éeig. 161 déeei. 163 léei. 164 méei. 165 sed. 166 méeid. 167 dêel. 168 talæ. 169 wen. 170 a’vest. 171 baali. 173 wæz [(éi waant) he was not]. 174 a’sh. 175 faast. 178 na’t. 179 wot. 181 pa’th. Æ’- 182 sæc. 183 tœetj. 184 liid. 185 rêed. 186 bræðth bræthth. 187 lêev. 188

néei. 189 wéei. 190 kêv. 191 iil. 192 mêen. 193 klêen. 194 eni. 195 meni. 197 tîez. 199 blêut. 200 wêut. 201 êudh'n. 202 eet. E': 203 spêuti. 204 dêud. 205 trîd. 206 rîed. 207 nêud'l. 210 kleei. 211 gr.eei. 213 âadhv. 215 teetit. 216 dêul. 217 êuti. 218 shêep. 219 slêep. 221 fêv. 222 êv. 223 dhêv. 224 wêv [H wîer]. 225 flêesh. 226 mæst. 227 wæt. 228 swæt. 229 bræth. 220 fält.

E- 232 brêek. 233 spêek. 234 nêud. 235 wêev. 236 fêevv. 237 tîlblêein. 238 éeidj [=257]. 239 séeil. 241 rîein. 243 pléei. 246 kâéen [queen]. 247 wêen. — pêv [a pear]. 248 mêv. 249 wêv. 250 swêv. 251 mêut. 252 kî'l. 253 næt'l. 254 ladhv. 255 wadhv. E: 257 éeidj. 259 wædj. 261 séei. — leeg [leg]. 262 wéei. 264 eêil. 265 street. 267 jild. 268 ældes. 270 bælusiz [a pair of bellows], bæli [belly]. 272 ælum. 273 mîn. 274 bantj. 276 thîqk. 277 drintj. 278 wantj [a term of reproach]. 280 hev'n [hev'nziz] beer and cake at 11]. 281 læqkth. 282 stræqkth. 283 mæri. 284 træsh. 285 kriis. 286 ærv. 288 læt. E'- 290 éi. 292 méi. 294 fêud. 295 bred. 296 bulêev. 298 fêul. 299 grêen. 300 kêep. 302 mêut. 303 swêet. 304 bêt'l [mallet]. E': 305 ai. 306 éeith. 307 nâi. 308 nêud [=knead in sound]. 308 spêud [=spade in sound]. 310 êvl. 311 tæen. 312 êv. 314 êud. 315 fêut. 316 næks.

EA- 317 flii. 319 gêep. EA: 321 sii [pres. tense gen. used for past]. 322 laaf. 323 fæ'ut. 324 áijet. 325 wAAk. 326 ood. 327 boold. 330 ood. 331 sood. 332 tood. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 AAL. 336 faAL. 337 waAL. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 waAM. 345 dêv [jæ'u dæ'snt] you dare not]. 346 gêut. EA'- 347 hid [town], hêud [country]. 348 ái. 349 fvy₁ [or f'v₁, perhaps there is a slight movement of the tongue, possibly (fæ'u)]. EÁ: 350 dêud. 351 læd. 352 ræd. 353 brêud. 354 shêef. 355 dæf. 356 lêef. 357 dhoo. 359 nêuvv. 360 têem. 361 bêen. 362 sléei. 363 tîeep. 365 nêv. 366 grêut. 367 trêet. 368 dæth. 369 slôu. 370 róov. 371 strAA.

EI- 372 ee, éei. 373 dhéei. 374 néei [rare]. 375 reez. 376 bêt. EI: 377 stêek. 378 wêek.

EO- 383 sæv'n. 384 æv'n. 385 ændæneeth [underneath]. 386 jæ'u. 387 nuu. EO: 388 milk. 389 jalk. 390 shud. 394 indv. 396 waak. 397 sóud. 398 staa. 399 bráit. 400 aænest. 401 jaan. 402 laan. 403 faa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 faad'n. EO'- 409 béei. 411 trîi. 412 shéi. 413 dæv'l. 414 flái. 415 lái. 416 dêv. 417 tjoo'u. 418 bræ'u. 420 faa [wæn tyy₁ trii faa=1, 2, 3, 4, H f'ôer]. 421 faati. EO': 423 thái. 424 raf. 425 láit. 426 fâit. 427 béei. 428 séei. 429 find [an angry name for a mischievous teasing child]. 430 frind. 431 bêt [but (v baal v biê, a barrel of beer)]. 432 faath. 433 brist. 434 bêt. 435 jæ'u. 436 træ'u [Miss M. had marked this and the next as having French u, but this was what she dictated]. 437 trooth. EY- 438 dâi. EY: 439 træst.

I- 441 siv. 442 áiveri. 443 fráidi. 444 stáil [v fílstái] a field style]. 446 nâin. 450 tuuzdi. 451 soo. I: 452 ái. 457 nâit. 458 nâit. 459 r.âit [r. gen. before vowels]. 460 weeit. 462 sâit. 466 tîáild. 467 wæild. 468 tîlden. 471 tímbe. 472 shrîqk. 473 bláind. 474 r.în [of cheese, apple peel (A'p'il pil)]. 475 wind. 476 báind. 477 fâind. 478 gráind. 481 fæge. 484 dhîs. 485 thîs'l [children (fîs'l)]. 486 jist. 487 jistudi. — sêks [six]. I'- 490 H bái. 491 sâi. 493 dr.âiv [dr.îv, dr.æv]. 494 fâim. 496 áijen. 498 r.âit. I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fâiv. 504 nâif. 505 wâif [not much used, gen. (iz mîsis) his missis]. 506 wâmen [but (ool d)wmen]. 507 wâmen. 508 mâil. 509 wâil. 511 wâin. 512 spâiv. 513 wâiv. 514 áis. 515 wâiz. 516 wizdem. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóou. 521 fvy₁ [=fool in sound, inclined to (f'v₁l)]. 522 up'n. 523 up. 524 wald. O: 526 kAAef. 527 boot. 528 thoot. 529 broot. 530 root. 531 daate. 532 kóov'l [H. (kuul)]. 533 dal. 536 góovld. 538 wud. 539 bæ'ul. 540 [holly is only called a (krizemv bash) Christmas bush]. 542 boot. 545 op. 547 baad. 548 faad. 550 waad. 551 staAM. 552 kaAN. 553 aAN. 553 os [horse]. 554 kr. AAes. O'- 555 shyy₁. 556 tv. 557 tyy₁. 558 luk. 559 mædhv. 561 blæ'ym [camomile blows (blóonz, used for blossoms)]. 562 myy₁n. 563 mandi. 564 syy₁n. 565 nuuz. 566 adhv.

O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gud. 572 blād. 573 flād. 574 brud. 575 stud. 576 wānusdi. 577 bā'u. 578 plā'u. 579 vna'i [sg.], vna'u [pl.]. 580 taf. 581 sōt. 582 kyy'l. 583 tyy'l. 584 styy'l. 585 brayim. 586 dyv. 587 dan. 588 nyyin. 589 spyyin. 590, flōov. 591 maa. 592 swōov. 593 mast. 594 byyt. 595 fat. 596 ryyt. 597 sēt. 598 suth.

U- 599 ebav. 600 lav. 601 fā'ul. 602 sā'u. 603 kam. 605 san. 606 daa'u. 607 bāte. U: 608 aqli. 609 ial. 610 wul. 611 bālek. 612 sam. 613 dr̥aqk. 614 a'm. 615 pā'an [H. pāund] 616 grā'und. 617 sā'und. 618 wā'und. 619 iā'um. 620 grā'und. 621 wā'und. 622 onde. 625 tōq. 626 aqve. 628 nan. 629 san. 630 wān. 631 thazdi. 632 ap. 633 kap. 634 trā'u. 635 wath. 636 iade. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 dast. U'- 640 kā'u [H. (kāu)]. 641 a'u. 643 nā'u. 645 dav. 646 bā'u. 647 a'ul. 648 a'uv. 649 thā'uzend. 652 kud. 653 bat. U': 654 sr̥a'ud [in both senses]. 656 r̥'ayim [r̥'awum]. 657 br̥a'uen. 658 dā'uen. 659 tā'uen. 660 baa. 661 shaa. 662 as. 663 a'us, [pl.] a'uzen. 664 lā'us. 665 mā'us. 666 azben [my man, my old man, my husband, have all been heard; the last is refined]. 667 a'ut. 668 prā'ud [gen. (stak ap)]. 669 ankuth. 670 bāth [not in sg., but (byy, dhz) in plural]. 671 mā'uth. 672 sē'uth [sēath êst] south-east, (sadhēn bāi sēu) southern by south?].

Y- 673 matj [H. matj]. 674 [dan] used for did. 676 lai. 677 dr̥ai. 678 din. 679 t̥atj t̥atj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 br̥idj. 686 bāi [H. bai]. 687 flait ev badz [flight of birds]. 689 bald. 690 kāind. 661 māind. 693 sin. 696 bāth. 697 bær̥i. 698 math. 699 weelr̥ait [wheelwright]. 700 wās. 701 fast. — H. t̥ist [chest]. 703 pit. 704 waksen. Y'- 705 skai. 706 wai. 707 thattiin. Y: 709 iāiv. 711 liis. 712 miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bād. 715 pād. 716 aed'l [adj. bad, only]. 717 djêvd. 718 trêvd. 720 feeg. 722 dr̥eēin. 723 dêur̥i. 724 baal. 725 sêel. 727 djæm. 728 shæm. 729 fr̥eem. 733 skêv. 734 daan. 735 smæsh. 737 mêet. 738 pr̥êt. 739 maadhē maa. 740 wêv. 741 mēzv. 742 lēvzi.

E. 743 skr̥êv. 744 mēzv'lz. 745 t̥jêt. 746 br̥êvdh. 747 endæ'v. 748 onfædj [all un- become (on)]. 750 beeg. — māl̥v [mellow]. 751 paat.

I. and Y. 753 tāt'l. 754 peeg. 755 f̥ilbet. 756 sr̥imp. 757 tāini. 758 gæl. 759 f̥it.

O. 761 lud. 762 ukem. 763 r̥uum. 764 kōd'l. 767 nāiz. 768 kuk [same as cook]. 769 muul, muul-ilz [molehills]. 771 fōnd. 772 bōnfāiv. 773 [diki, used for donkey]. 774 puuni. 775 buubi. 777 shap. 778 v̥fāa'd. 779 aats. 780 d̥jōs'l. 781 baadhē. 783 pootr̥i. 785 landj. 789 rā'u. 790 grā'und.

U. 792 skwōb'l. 793 æg. 794 [gōtj] used for jug. 795 srig. 799 skæl. 800 skæl. 801 r̥am. 802 r̥am. 803 djamp. 805 kēdz. 806 fās. 807 pus. 808 pat [used as a subst. for an old-fashioned labourer, a putt].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 êb'l. 810 fêvs. 811 plêvs. 812 lêvs. 813 bêek'n. 814 mēusen. 815 fæks. 816 fêvd. 817 redish. 818 êudj. 819 rêudj. 822 mēei. 823 bēei. 824 t̥jêv. 825 wêef [(wips en str̥evz) occ. for waifs and strays]. 826 eeg'l. 827 eegv. 828 eegv. 829 gōvin. 830 tr̥eēin. 832 mēv. 833 pēv [H. p̥eer]. 834 v̥ puu shēe [a post chaise, (en as en shēe) a horse and chaise]. 835 rēvzen. 836 sēvzen. — H. wēs'l. 838 tr̥êt. 839 bēet. 840 t̥eembv. 841 t̥jaans. 842 pl̥eqk. 843 br̥aantj. 844 tr̥aantj. 845 ênshent. 846 t̥jaandv. 847 deendj. 848 t̥jēndj. 849 str̥aandj. 851 aant aent. 852 ēpen. 853 baagin. 854 baal. 855 kaat. 856 paat. 857 kēvs. 858 br̥ēvs. 859 t̥jēvs. 860 pēvest. 861 tēvest. 862 sēef. 863 t̥jēef. 864 kōz. 865 folt. 866 paa.

E.. 867 tēv. 868 djēei. 869 wēel. 870 byy,ti [byyy₁-) used, sounded very like (buu-)]. 871 egr̥ēei. 872 t̥jēef. 874 rōen. 875 fēent. 876 dēēinti. 877 êv. 878 s̥aer̥i. 879 f̥i-mēel. 880 egzaa'mp'l. 881 s̥aens. 884 pr̥ēntis.

885 H. veri. 887 tlaadji. 888 saatin. 889 sêes. 890 bêest [pl. not known].
891 fêust. 892 nævi. 893 flaa'v. 894 disêev. 895 risêev.

I.. and Y.. 897 dilái't. 898 náis. 899 nêes. 900 prêei. 901 fáin.
902 máin. 904 wó'let. 905 rái'et. 906 wáipe. 908 edwá'is. 909 brêez.
811 sisten. 912 ráis.

O.. 913 kutj. 914 brutj. 915 staf. 916 ənjen. 917 rug. 918 fêbb'l
[=fable]. 919 áintment. 920 páint. 921 ekwe'nt. 922 bash'l. 923*
máist. 924 tjáis. 925 wáis. 926 spául. 927 træk. 928 æ'uns. 929 ká'u-
kembæ. 930 láin. 931 djægle. 932 ɐma'unt. 933 frant. 934 bæ'unti.
935 kantri. 936 fənt. 937 kək. 938 kaanæ. 939 klus. 943 kət. 941
fyy'l. 942 butjæ. 943 tatj. 944 elæ'u. 945 wæ'u. 946 mɔ'il. 947 báil.
948 bæ'ul. 950 sæp. 951 kəp'l. 953 kæz'n. 954 kæsh'n. 955 dæ'ut.
956 kive. 957 implái'. 959 kewe'e'ens [conveyance].

U.. 960 kii. 961 gruu'el. 963 skwot. 965 áil. 966 frɔyy't. 967
syy't. 968 áistæ. 969 shúue. 970 djest. 971 flyy't.

Notes and Examples to the Southwold cwl. by Miss Mallet.

1. (mælv pêvz), mellow pears, always used for ripe pears.
2. (gyy₁zbrez, raasbrez), gooseberries, raspberries.
3. (v gêel frøm dhe sæth êest), a gale from the south-east.
4. (jæu dæ's'nt, éi wæant), you dare not, he was not.
5. (aa JEU agaa'n tɛ tʃætj tɛdéei?), are you a-going to church to-day?
6. (wyy₁)z dhæt? dhe nêeshenel skyy₁l têtetjæ), who's that? The National School teacher.
7. (shéi)z dripen wæt !), she's dripping wet=drenched.
8. (list, wul)jæ), listen, will you.
9. (ái)m ɛgaa'n ɐma'keten tɛnái't wi mái óud mæn), I'm a-going a-marketing to-night with my old man=husband.
10. (hæ jæ'u sɪn mái jæk)en? héi)v bɪn ɛ-plee'ɪn ɛn truunten is maanɛn), have you seen my young one=child? He has been a-playing and truant-ing this morning.
11. (mái mædhæ kæp méi t)um tɛ næs dhe bɛɛbi), my mother kept me at-home to nurse the baby.
12. (pæt dhis kɪle ɪn dhe weshæs), put this cooler (=washtub) in the wash-house.
13. (gɪt dhe big báile tɛ pæt dhe syy₁p ɪn), get the big boiler to put the soup in.
14. (éi æld ɛ stʊn ɛgɪn dhe baaz ɛn mæaz), he hurled [=threw] a stone against the bo's and mo's. Bo' is used for either sex, chiefly male, and for any age, together is its plural in addressing people. Mo', a contraction for *mauther*, is used especially for a young girl.
15. (ái)m ɛ goo'in ʊm), I'm a-going home.
16. (wæs)ɛn æt), worse than that.
17. (ɛ tripeni trɪd, doont trɛd oʊv dhe trɔsh'l), a threepenny thread, don't tread over the threshold).
18. (wul jæ'u pæ)me fæ dhɛm tyy₁ shéup?), will you pay me for them [=those] two sheep?
19. (teent noo foot ɛ máin), it)ain't no fault of mine.
20. (æt ɪz leeg), hurt his leg.

Usages. I am, we you they are, I beant [*not* I be], he is, I he we they was, he do [common], he live there, I am a-going, theirsells, he didn't ought [never, he hadn't ought].

Intonation. Suffolk people drawl very much, and their voice rises in pitch towards the end of their sentences. [This is the Sf. whine.]

Notes on Southwold from Miss Mallet.

1. At (:wə:ləwig) Walberswick (1 s.Southwold) "they speak frightfully." (:ees'n :brAAd) Easton Broad [piece of water] is 1 n.Southwold.

2. *v* is distinctly (w).

3. (tjəm) chum is used rather than mate at work.

4. (a'uzən) houses is used, but Miss M. had not heard *place-n*.

5. There is no reverted (r), but the *r* entirely disappears after (aa, AA) when a consonant follows, and at most becomes (v) after other vowels and before consonants; before vowels it is the imperfect untrilled (r_o) and then very light indeed.

6. A hale old man (see p. 281, No. 112) is a (kədj) kedge.

7. The negative *un-* is always (ən-).

8. (v mə'uthful) is a mouth which is full, [a mə'ut'l] is a mouthful.

9. Initial *thr-* *shr-* are always (tr_o sr_o) respectively.

10. In *broom* [br_oyy₁m] there is said to be a little action of the throat which makes it more like (br_ouum, br_oum); perhaps it is the (r_o).

11. *cow* (kē'u) has never been heard from a Sf. man, but has been noticed in Nf. people.

12. *shoe* (shyy₁), *do* (dyy₁), the sound is deeper than the French (y), and is certainly not (iu', with which it is confused, (giv mī ty₁, ty₁) give me two, too.

ORFORD (6 ssw.Aldborough) near the coast, with SUDBOURNE (2 n.Orford) and neighbourhood, dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. C. Davis, the son of a native, and frequent visitor, at interviews in 1879 and 1881. The (r) is (r_o).

1. soo ái SEE, ood fəleʒ, ʒe sii ne'u dhet ái)m ráit vbe'ut dha't lít'l gja'l [maAdhe] kəməŋ frəm dhe skuul hende.

2. shii)z gu'en de'un dhe rud dhEE'v thrīy₁ dhe red géet v)dhe left ha'n sáid dhe wee.

3. shY₁'er enəf dhe tjá'ld)z gum ráit [street] əp tɛ dhe dAA'v v)dhe rəq he'us,

4. wee'v shi)l ha'p'n ɔn dha't drəqk'n dəf shriv'ld fəle v)dhe neem v :təməs, [hi) lɛv dhEE'v, hi dʒy₁].

5. wi AAl noo ɛm weɾi wel.

6. oont (dh)ood tjə'p sən laan hɛ nɔt tɛ dʒy₁ ɛt ɛgi'n, púuv thiq !

7. luk, ii)nt it try₁.

Notes on Orford dt.

1. *I*, either (ái) or (ái) here and elsewhere.—*now* (ne'u), decidedly not (nə'u).—*I'm*, use of *I* be not recalled.—*right*, the initial (r) or (r_o) very lightly touched, throughout.—*that* (dhaet) at the first and (dha't) at the second interview, when all the (æ) were made (a').—*school*, originally dictated (skíy₁l), but afterwards altered to

(skuul) and stated to be an exceptional word.—*yonder* (he'nde), this is a somewhat unusual form. The (h) preserved, though at Southwold it was uniformly omitted.

2. *three*, (tr-) for (thr-) not admitted here or elsewhere, (thrid) not (trid) for *thread*.—*gate*, the fracture (év) very short.—*way* (wee) very broad and with

no vanish in (v, i), but in ÆG words as *tail* (tæ'ail), (i) was admitted.

3. *gone* (gim), also used for gave, given; A' regularly becomes (u), as (*rad*, *stan*, *rap*, *ham*), road, stone, rope, home.—*door*, (dAA'e) without euphonic (r), though a vowel follows, similarly (draa'en) drawing, not (draaren).

4. *he live(s) there, he do(es)*, this was introduced to illustrate the use of the plural verb with the singular noun.

5. *very well*, right well (rá'it wæl) is more usual.

6. *learn*, not *teach*, in Sunday Schools the children say (tiitpe).—*do* (dīy₁), at the first interview (duu), but at the second (dīy₁), at the same time (skīy₁l) was made (skuul), the pret. of to sow seed, to mow grass, was also given as (syy₁, mīy₁); and in (īy₁) the sound was certainly diphthongal, the (ī) very short and the (y₁) deeper than French (y).

e.SUFFOLK cwl.

Some of Moor's "Suffolk Words" collected from specimens given in the Glossary so called, and conjecturally pal. by AJE., the original spelling being prefixed in italics. Only such words as have an altered spelling are selected, and the pron. is conjectured from vv. specimens. But Moor is on the whole very phonetic in his orthography, especially in often not writing the *r* when not pronounced.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 *heent* hiint [has not]. — *star* staa [to stare]. 33 *rutha* rædhæ. 36 *thow* thóou [·rh. mow'] *thow* thyy₁ [pret.]. A: *hanspeke* ha'nspiik [hand-spike]. A'- 72 *hew* hyy₁, *howes* hæ'uz [whose]. 82 *noonce* nuns [in the phrase *for the noonce*=*for then once*]. 90 *blew* blyy₁ [pret.]. 91 *mew* myy₁ [pret.]. 93 *snew* snyy₁ [pret.]. 94 *crew* kryy₁ [pret.].

Æ- 144 *agim* egi'n. Æ: — *heft* heft [haft]. 158 *aatanne* aatenvy'n [afternoon]. 163 *lah* laa. Æ': — *midda* midæ [meadow]. 205 *thrid* thrid. 208 *irra* iever ive+r. 209 *nirra* nive. 218 *ship* ship.

E- — *heery* hiivi [heavy]. — *brumbe* bræmb'l [bramble]. — *butta* batæ [better]. E: — *neb* næb [nib]. 261 *sah* saa. — *red* ræd [to rid]. 262 *wah* waa. — *shell* shil [shell]. 273 *min* min. — *ind* ind [end]. — *hin* hin [hen]. — *pin* pin [pen]. 284 *throsk* thræsk [to thrash in the sense of to drub]. — *neest* niist [nest]. E'- 297 *fulla* fæle. E': — *bliss* blis [bless].

EA: 328 *cowd* kæ'ud. 330 *howd* hæ'ud. — *bard* baad [beard]. — *ex æks* [axe]. EA'- 347 *hid* hid. EA': — *lick* lik [leek]. 354 *shoof* shuuf. — *tares* tæz [tears, sb.]. EI- 372 *aah* aa. EO- 384 *hivvin* hivin. 386 *yow* jæ'u. EO: 397 *swād* swa'd. — *bawm* baam [barm, yeast]. — *brunn* bræn [burn]. EO'- — *frize* fræiz [freeze]. — *shute* shyi't [shoot]. EO': — *hild* hild [held]. 428 *sin* sin [seen=saw or have seen]. 435 *ya yah yar* jaa [your, 'rh. a in far'].

I- — *ēes* iies [yes, "long and drawly"]. I: — *bahd* baad [bird]. — *led* læd [lid]. 465 *sich* siti. — *feller* fæle [filler, or thiller, that is, shaft-horse]. 469 *twool* t'wul [it will]. 488 *yit* jit. — *set* sæt [sit]. I'- — *thahty* thaati [thirty]. I': 507 *wimmin* wimin. — *whitster* wītste [whitesmith].

O- — *show* shau [to shovel, 'rh. now, a shovel is *showl* (shæ'ul)]. — *ifore* ifaa [afore]. O: 532 *daata* daate. 536 *gowl* gæ'ud. — *cowl* kæ'ut [colt]. 544 *thin* dhin. O'- 555 *shue* shyi₁ [this sound written *ew* never occurs before final *d*, *f*, *k*, *m*, *p*; but is sometimes found before *l*, *n*, *s*, *t*, but not in *wool*, *full*, *bud*, *foot*, *loan*, *moan*, *root*, *love*]. 557 *teu* tyi₁. 559 *mooda* mude [mother]. 560 *skule* skyi₁l. 562 *mune* myi₁n. — *moonth* manth [month]. 564 *sune* syi₁n. 565 *nuse* nyi₁z. — *smuthe* smyi₁th [smooth]. O': — *ruff* raf [roof]. 582 *cule* kyi₁l. 583 *tule* tyi₁l. 584 *stule* styi₁l. 585 *brum* bræm [see Forby's *harren brum*, p. 266, No. 585]. 586 *dew* dyi₁. 588 *nune* nyi₁n. — *guse* gyi₁s [goose].

U- — *spahs* spaaz [spurs]. U: — *sheowder* shæ'udæ [shoulder]. 634 *threw* thryi₁. U'- 645 *dow* dæ'u.

Y- 674 *ded* dæd. — *heeve* hiiv [hive]. — *boondle* bund'l [bundle]. — *is*

is [hiss, "short and sharp"]. Y: 684 *bredge* bredʒ. 685 *redge* redʒ. — *fell* fɛl [fill]. — *kell* kɛl [kill]. — *mell* mɛl [mill, but] *mulla* mʌlə [miller]. — *then* then [thin]. — *hahnet* haanet [hornet]. — *brussels* brɛs'lz [bristles]. — *shet* shɛt [shut]. 703 *pet* pɛt. Y: — *deeve* diiv [dive]. — *dreep* driip [drip]. 711 *leeve* liis. 712 *meece* miis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 *led* lɛd. — *kiddier* kidyər *kidjer* kidʒə *kidre* kidʒə [cadger]. 722 *dreen* driin. — *busk* bɜsk [to bask]. — *sprawl* spráwls [sprawls]. — *graze* griiz [graze]. I. and Y. — *stelt* stɛlt [stilt]. — *stent* stɛnt [stint, or allotted day's work]. — *glent* glɛnt [glint]. — *sturrup* sturɛp [stirrup]. — *shiver* shɪvə [a shiver, or slice]. O. 769 *mawl* maal. — *snooze* snu:z [snooze]. — *tartah* taatə [totter]. 791 *haw* baɪ [but in the Sf. sense of any man]. — *frawn* fraan [frozen, but this is from the proper pp. *frozen*]. — *bake* baik [bulk]. — *boonch* buntʃ [bunch]. — *poonch* puntʃ [punch]. — *reesty* riisti [rusty, applied to bacon].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 820 *gah* gaɪ [applied to coloured pictures in a book]. — *pah* paɪ [to pay]. 828 *agah* aɪgə. — *cheen* tʃi:n [a chain]. — *saas* saɪs [sauce, said to rh. brass]. — *keve* kiiv [cave]. E.. — *pill* pil [peel]. 874 *reens* riinz [reins]. — *hahnsay* haanse [heronshaw]. — *conceite* kɔnsáit [conceit]. I. and Y.. — *hume* hy:m [a hymn]. O.. — *aint* aaint áint [anoint, to drub]. 926 *spile* spáil. — *cranga* kránʒə [coroner]. — *pahpus* paapəs [purpose]. 941 *fule* fy:ɪl. — *jahney* dʒa:ni [journey, or day's work]. — *meeve* miiv [to move]. 956 *kirra* kɪvə. U.. 965 *oyl* áil. — *stry* strái [destroyed], *stryance* strá:ens [liability to be destroyed]. — *consumd* kɛnsɪmd [consumed]. — *ponish* ponɪʃ [punish]. — *mosick* moosik [music, pron. quite uncertain].

VAR. V. W. SUFFOLK FORM.

PAKENHAM CS.

originally written by Rev. C. W. Jones, native and vicar of Pakenham 15 ene. Bury St. Edmunds since 1861, and revised from his dict. 24 Oct. 1873, and again 19 Oct. 1886. Some of the points in which this pron. differs from that of e. Sf. are mentioned pp. 288, 289.

0. wái :dʒən hànɪt ɡət nə de'uts.

1. wel, ba, ʒə'u en hii me booth en ʒə là'f et dhis níuz v mán. hii kéee? dhaet beent nædhe hii v ne dhéev.

2. fíu fooks dáí thríu bín là'ft a't, wi no dhaet, doont əs, tegi'dhe? wət shud meek'em? láikli bii et?

3. he'useme've, dhis iz dhe trúeth v'dhe dʒəb, soo ʒə'u dʒest ha'ud ʒə náiz, tegi'dhe, en bi skwæ't tel ái)v dæn.

4. ái)m saa'tin v híied'em sæ'—səm v dhem fooks wət ɡən thríu dhe hól dʒəb frəm dhe fæst dhese'lvz—dhaet v ded, síue ene'u.

5. dhaet dhe ʒarqes sən izse'lf, v grít bóí v náin ʒər á'ud, nood iz fà'dhez taq et wanst, dhoo dhaet wər dhaet kíuərəs, en skriiki, en ái'd træt hii tɛ speek dhe trúeth ení dáí, dhaet v wud.

6. en dhe á'ud ʌmmən huse'lf el tel ení ɔn ʒə vɜz là'f ne'u, en tel ʒə ráit ewæ', she wul tíu, v'dhe'ut no norec'shun, ef ʒə'u, l oní aks'v, sii ef she doont.

7. líiswáiz she tá'ud mi dhaet tíu v thríi táimz ɔv, she ded, en shii doont á'ut tɛ be rəq ev sítʃ v páint vɜz dhis híe, díu she ne'u?

8. wel, ez *ái* wor *esæ'in*, shii)d tel *re* he'u wéev en wen shé *fe'um* dhat *dræqk'n* beest she *ka'l* v *mæ'n*.

9. she swaa she sii *hín* ov er oon *áiz*, lee'in stretjt *e'ut* *ful* lenth v dhe *gre'um* in ez *gud* sændi *koot*, kloos *egin* dhe *daar* v dhe *he'us*, *de'um* v dhe *kaaner* v *hín* *lái*n.

10. Hii wer v *wáin*in *ewææ*, she *sææ*, *se*)shii:, fur aal dhe *wald* *laik* v *sik* *tjáild* er v *lid'l* *maar* *ev*)v *fret*.

11. en dhat *hæp'n* ez shii en v *da'utela'u* *kəm* *thriú* dhe *bak* *jaad* *from* *hæqin* *e'ut* dhe *wet* *klooz* *ev* v *wa'shín* *dái*,

12. *táim* dhe *kít'l* wer v *báilín* *fe* *tee*, wen *bráit* *fáin* *sæmər* *átenən* *oni* v *wiik* *egw* *kəm* *neks* *thæzdi*.

13. en *ái* oont tel *noo* *laíz*, v *nive* *laant* *ne* *maa* *ne* *dhís* v *dhæt* *dhéev* *djəb* *te* *dhís* *húe* *dái*, *súer* ez *mái* *náimz* :djən :shie'ped, en v doont *wont* *tíu* *nædhe*, *dhéev* *ne'u* !

14. en *soo* *ái*)m *egw'in* *hoom* *te* *gít* *mæ* *səpa*. *gud* *náit*, *təgi'dhe*, en doont *ja'u* *bii* *se* *kwik* *te* *kroo* *əv*er v *tjap* *egin*, wen i *taak* v *dhís* v *dhat* v *tædhe*.

15. dhat)s v *week* *fúl*, *wət* *preet* *vdhe'ut* *reez'n*. en dhat)s *mái* *las* *wəd*. *féev* dhe *wel*.

Notes on the Pakenham cs.

On my remarking to Mr. Jones that this specimen was very different from the e. of Sf., he wrote, "I should have been quite ashamed of myself if you had not found a marked difference between my pronunciation and that of Framlingham, Southwold and Orford, supposing these latter to have been well reproduced to you." Whence it appears that Mr. Jones himself recognised a great difference between the w. and e. of Sf., and he continually, also, drew attention to the difference between w.Sf. and Nf. As here presented, the absence of (y₁) and the presence of (iu) in its place, and the use of 'together,' resembles Cb. The use of (lái nái m) lane name is like Hu. or Es. The use of (dái) day looks S., but may have been similarly derived to the other two. Still, the use of *be* and *don't us* are also S.

On the other hand, (sææ, ewææ) for (saa, ewaa) belong to (paa), got from s.Nf. and also in old times to Li., and see *Moor*, p. 286, Nos. 261, 372, and p. 287, No. 820 and next word. But (ewái) was also used.

I' was regularly (*ái*), which Mr. Jones wrote *oy*, but careful examination seemed to shew that it had not reached that point, which, however, I have to admit in D 16, 18. The sounds are certainly difficult to distinguish. On the other hand, (*ái*) was used for *boil*, *point* (*báil*, *páint*), being decidedly different.

U' was (*éu*) regularly, but (*á'u*) was used in *you told* (*ja'u* *tá'ud*), this is a common distinction. In (*da'utela'u*) daughter-in-law, the first (*á'u*) is usual enough, the (*la'u*) for *law* looks like a variation of (*la'u*), but Mr. Jones was very particular about it.

The following are the principal differences between w. and e.Sf.
P Pakenham, F Framlingham, S Southwold, O Orford.

A *hasnot*. P *hànt*, F *hiint*.
law. P *la'u*, FS *laa*.
name. P *náim*, F *næm*, S *nêem*.
washing. P *waashín*, F *woshen*, S *weshen*.
A' *both*. P *booth*, FS *buth* [Stan-
hoe and Mattishall], *booth*.
who. P *húu*, F *híyy₁*, S *wyy₁*.
two. P *tíu*, F *tíyy₁*, S *tyy₁*.
ought. PFS *á'ut*.

home. P *hoom*, F *hum*, S *um*.
whole. P *hol*, FS *hul*.
lane. P *lái*n, FS *lén*.
Æ *day*. P *dái*, F *déei*, S *déeei*.
E *say*. P *sææ*, F *séeæ*, S *séei*, O *see*.
away. P *ewææ* *ewái*, F *ewéæ*, S *ewéei*, O *ewee*.
speak. P *speek*, FS *spêek*.
length. P *leuth*, F *leqkth*, S *laeqkth*.

EA *old.* P ɹ'ud, FS ood.
hold. P hɹ'ud, FS ood.
told. P tɹ'ud, FS tood.
EA' *few.* P fɪu, F fɪy, S fɪy₁ fɔ'y₁.
EO *yon, yonder.* P hɪn, F hɪnde, S
ɪnde.
EO' *she.* P shii, F shi, S shéi, O shi.
you. PFS ʒɹ'u.
truth. P trɹiath, F trɹiy₁th, S
tróoeth, [Stanhoe] trɹiyy₁th.
I' *woman.* P ɹmen, FS wɹmen.
O *folks.* P fooks, F fɹks.
world. PS wald, F wáeld.
over. P ɔvɹ, F ɹvɹ.
O' *too.* P tíu, FS tíy₁.
swore. P swaa'v, F swóov, S
swóov.

noon. P nun, F níy₁n, S ny₁n.
U *through.* P thríu, F thrá'u, S
trɹ'u, O thríy₁.
door. P dAA'v, F dúuv.
tongue. P tɹq, S tɔq.
Thursday. P thɹzdi, F thaazdi,
S thɹzdi.
A .. *reason.* P reez'n, F riiz'n, S
rèezen.
E .. *tea.* P tee, F tii, S tév.
beast. P beest, F biist, S bêest.
O .. *coat.* P koot, FS kɹt.
close. P kloos, FS klus.
fool. P fuul, F fíy₁l, S fyy₁l.
doubt. PF de'ut, S dɹ'ut.
U .. *sure.* P síuv, F síy₁v, S shúuv,
O shy'íɹ.

IV.

THE MIDLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 20 to D 29 as shewn on the map.

Boundaries. On the s. first the n. *sum* line 1 from its w. commencement on the Dee to Watling St., Np., and then going ne.-wards by the w. b. of Np. and round Rt. to the b. of Ch. which pursue to the sea. On the n. the n. *theeth* line 5. On e. and w. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ch. Db. Le. Li. Nt. St., the n. of Wo. and most of Wa., s. and m. La., the ne. of Sh., all detached or English Fl., a small part of main or Welsh Fl., and of Dn.

Sections. Dialectally this area falls into two distinct and apparently unrelated sections, an Eastern comprising Li. D 20, and a Western comprising all the rest. The several districts of the Western Section have a strong family resemblance, but they nevertheless fall into three tolerably distinct groups, the Northern, Mid and Southern. The Northern comprises s. and m.La., s.Yo., and n.Db.; the Mid contains Ch. and n.St., s.Db. and Nt.; and the Southern contains s.St., English Fl., and a small part of Welsh Fl. and Dn., ne.Sh., n.Wo., most of Wa. and Le. Nt. was more related to the other Mid M. districts forty years ago than it now is.

Districts and Groups. As will be seen by the map and key, the M. div. is separated into ten districts, D 20 to D 29, all provided with geographical names. These districts form four groups. 1. The BM. or Border Midland comprises D 20 only. 2. The NM. or Northern Midland comprises D 21 to D 24. 3. The MM. or Mid Midland contains D 25 to D 27. 4. The SM. or Southern Midland contains D 28 and D 29. Particulars of each district are given below.

Character. The M. div. not being homogeneous, we cannot look for any one pervading character. It is best defined by negatives. It is decidedly different from its neighbours, the W, S, E, on the s., and the N on the n. The basis of the language spoken was not the Wessex, but the speech of various tribes scattered over a large country, and most probably differing considerably in different parts. The following are some of the most important points to which attention should be directed.

VOWEL FORMS (*u*, *u*₁, *u*₀. æ'u. ɪi, a'i).

(*u*, *u*₁, *u*₀). At the present day one of the characters which first strikes a Southerner in Midland speech is the total absence of (ə, ɐ) for *u* in *up*, called (əp) in educated London, and (ɐp) in the provinces, and in these regions represented by *u* in *full*, or nearly so. A similar representation of this vowel frequently occurs s. of the M. div., between the transverse lines 1 and 2. In that region, however, the sound of (ə, ɐ) is still more or less heard. Again, for the greater

part of the N. div., s. of the transverse line 8, there is a similar total absence of (ə, ɛ). Hence the mere absence of this sound is not enough to characterise the M. div. In fact, we are rather concerned with accounting for the *presence* of (ə, ɛ) anywhere than for its absence somewhere. There can be no doubt that short U was originally some variety of short (u) universally in English Britain, how then did it become (ə, ɛ)? Are there any existing recognised intermediate sounds between (ə, u)?

In the M. div. as here defined we must distinguish at least 3 forms representing short U and its congeners. First (u) as in *full*, which is not (u), the short sound of *oo* in *fool*: compare French *forte poule* (ful, pul) with Eng. *fool pool, full pull* (fuul puul, ful pul). The sounds (ful, pul) are even difficult for an Englishman to produce, and a Frenchman finds equal difficulty with (tal, pul). The difference between the two consists in what Mr. Melville Bell calls 'widening,' the 'physical cause' of which he finds in the 'retraction of the soft palate and expansion of the pharynx' (Visible Speech, 1867, p. 71). On the other hand, Dr. Sweet says 'in forming narrow sounds' [such as (u)] 'there is a feeling of tenseness in that part of the tongue where the sound is formed, the surface of the tongue being made more convex than in its natural *wide* shape, in which it is relaxed and flattened,' and he does 'not believe that the shape of the pharynx, the approximation of the palatal arches, etc., have any distinctive effect in producing distinct vowel sounds' (Handbook of Phonetics, 1877, p. 9). That there is a distinction between the two vowels of each of the pairs i i, e e, ɛ ɛ, o o, u u is undoubted. The first of each pair is called by Mr. M. Bell 'primary' and by Dr. Sweet 'narrow,' and the second is called by both 'wide,' but whether the distinction is of the same nature in each pair, and in what it really consists, has not been at present satisfactorily ascertained. It is sufficient for our present purpose that such a state exists.

There is also a state of *higher* and *lower*, generally supposed to result from bringing the highest part of the tongue nearer to, or further from, the palate. This we mark by ¹ and ₁, as (i¹), which approaches (i), and (u₁), which approaches (o), and indeed is hardly separable from (o¹) or an (o) approaching (u). We thus obtain the form (u₁) as a very low or deep form of (u).

Lastly, there is the different effect of 'rounding,' as Mr. M. Bell calls it, that is, of the greater or less closure of the lips. Mr. M. B. distinguished only 3 degrees of rounding, those for (A, o, u), but there are of course any number of such roundings, and especially we may endeavour to speak vowels with other than their usual roundings. Thus (u) has the lips drawn closely together. Let them be more opened. The result is written (u_o), where (o), the inverted mark of degrees (°), is not meant to be the letter (o), but merely a sign that (u) is uttered 'with more open lips.' From numerous observations on himself and others, TH. thinks that the position of the tongue is halfway between those for (o) and (u), and the position of the lips that for (o) but slightly flatter. Whatever it be precisely, the effect of this wider opening of the lips is to alter the value of (u) considerably. In fact, (u_o) is a very unstable transitional form, which, according to the consonants with which it is connected, simulates (ɛ, o, u). To TH. the sound is native, and he has kindly allowed me to study it from his lips on several occasions for many hours. At different times the resemblance of (u_o) to one or other of these sounds seemed to vary, and on the very last examination his (u_o) sounded to me very much like German ö in können, Böttcher, that is, closely resembling but by no means identical with (o). I seemed never able to hit the sound to TH.'s satisfaction, but I succeeded best when bearing this sound of (α) in my mind, and giving it more of an (u) flavour. I got TH. to say (u_op, u_op, ap) and so on for many words, and the distinction of one vowel from the other was complete. Then I got JGG. to observe this uttered vowel carefully in my absence, and he considered it as "a higher and rounded form" of (ɛ). According to Mr. M. Bell, (o) is the natural rounded form of (ɛ), hence the amount of rounding used by JGG. must have been different. He says, indeed, that in his imitation of the sound he does not round more than for (A, o), which is very little. He places it second in the series of sounds (not positions) which he wrote [ɛ, u_o, o¹, u₁, u], shewing his views of the passage from (ɛ) to (u), and of the natural transitional character of this remarkable vowel. TH.

recognised in actual speech while travelling over the region between the transverse lines 1 and 2 many intermediate forms between (α , u_o), so that, allowing for the natural difficulty arising from the sound being native to his own organs, and hence likely to be recognised when not precisely used, there was continually some hesitation as to whether a sound heard was (α) or (u_o), and there was so much difficulty of separating (u_o , u), that notwithstanding that he made several journeys for the purpose, he was unable to determine any boundary between them.

In order to print my book it was of course necessary to come to some practical conclusion respecting the use of (u_o , u , u_1). Those who have not an opportunity of carefully studying the sounds from native speakers and hearing them in general use, may be contented to use (u) as received (u) in full in all cases. I write (u_1) in D 20, and (u) in D 24, and also in Ru. D 18. In the rest of the M. div., and in the intermediate zone between the transverse lines 1 and 2, I write (u_c), as this is the usage of TH., to whom I am mainly indebted for information. But it cannot be supposed that in such an extensive region this peculiar transitional sound (u_c) remains absolutely the same as TH. uses, and hence, of course, hears it, or that it is formed always by the same precise action of the organs of speech that he employs. I mean then merely to imply by the use of (u_c) that through this region generally the sound is transitional between (α) and (u), and is sufficiently like the sound used by TH. to be accepted by him as the same. TH., as stated above, heard many other transitional sounds, and is under the impression, founded upon his observations, that there is a mixed region within which both (u , u_o) are heard, bounded on the n. by a line from about Gainsborough, Li., to about Ulverstone, La., and that northward of this line (u_o) and its congeners disappear and (u) remains. This will be further considered in D 24 and D 31. The use of (α , α , u_o , u) does not separate dialect districts, as we have already found (p. 16).

This delimitation of (u_o , u , u_1) would require long special study to settle, and must be accepted as simply the nearest approximation to the truth that my present materials allow me to make.

($\alpha'u$). As (u_o) appears to be a variant of (u), caused by *keeping* the mouth too wide open, so ($\alpha'u$) is a variant of (uu) caused by *beginning* it with the mouth too wide open, and gradually but rapidly closing it down to the position for (u). I met with a similar action in Ledbury ($\alpha'ou$), p. 73, note to par. 9, and it is very common among rec. speakers in such words as *oh! no!* ($\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha o$, $n\alpha\alpha\alpha o$). While uttering (uu), open the mouth suddenly quite wide, the result is a sound something like (α) or (α), which I therefore write (α). If we take various smaller openings, the sound approaches (u_o). Now begin with (α), tongue as for (u), and rapidly close the lips to (u). An intermediate gliding sound is heard connecting the two extremes, represented as usual by ($'$), so that ($\alpha'u$) represents the whole phenomenon. When I studied this sound from TH.'s lips some years ago, I repeatedly observed that his lips distinctly did not touch one another in any spot at the beginning of his utterance. In later observations I found that he began with a partial rounding. He himself writes ($\alpha'u$), believing that the tongue is a little more advanced than for (u_c), and the vowel is wide, while the opening of the lips is that for (o) and the lips are slightly flatter. But, except on pp. 322-329, I retain my old symbol with which I had written all the examples, and which is based on what I consider the complete phenomenon. It must be remembered that the initial (α) is very short, and the final (u) often long, as ($\alpha'uu$), but as this varies from time to time according to circumstances, no notice is taken of it in writing. The ordinary dialect speaker generally considers that he says (uu). The result of JGG.'s examination of TH.'s pron. of ($\alpha'u$), his ($\alpha'u$), was that it sounded like ($\alpha'u$), "that is, a low form of the French *e* in 'que je me repente' [Volney's example], accented and sliding through (u) to (u) pure," and he does not consider that the initial vowel was (u_c). The first element is, however, not always low, it is sometimes quite high, depending upon the extent to which the mouth is opened at first.

Although not entirely peculiar to the M. div. ($\alpha'u$) is a very distinctive phenomenon. It is extremely unstable, varying to (iu , iy , yy , $\alpha\alpha$) or thereabouts on the one hand and ($\alpha'u$) on the other. It attacks principally O'-words, which must have been first reduced to (uu), but it does not at present attack original U'-words, which will be considered presently. Hence it must be a comparatively

recent phenomenon in England. In France some such intermediary possibly changed Latin *ā* into French *u*, that is, (uu) into (yy). The change into (iu) *iy* occurs in D 19, into (ə) in the L. div., into (yy) in D 10, 11, into (a'u) in D 26. It is kept pure in D 21, 22, 25. It does not seem to affect D 24 or the N. div. I have not observed it in D 20. Sporadically instances of it occur in D 6, 7, and even with careless speakers in rec. speech. This is an example of *inchoant* diphthongs, arising from altering the *commencement* of some long vowel, of which the conclusion is retained. Such diphthongs are a fertile source of change, and their actually observed occurrence solves many riddles in the alteration of words.

(ī, a'ī). Another inchoant diphthong is (ī), the first step in the change of (ii) to (a'ī). This sound (ī) is difficult to appreciate at first hearing, and is liable to be taken for (ii) or (i). The speaker usually considers it as (ii). When once set in motion the subsequent changes are rapid, as (īī, īī, ēī, ēī, ē'ī), all actually in use. This is the utmost extent to which E' is affected after becoming (ii), and hence, as in the case of the change of O' into (a'u), I consider it to be recent. This theory of the generation of (ē'ī) from E' through (īī) does not exclude the generation of (ēī) from (ee) by terminal addition, as seems to have occurred elsewhere very recently in (e'e'j), sometimes appreciated as (ēī). See especially D 16, 17 (pp. 196, 218, 226). But the initial change must have affected original I' long before, so that at present this appears already in the stage of (ē'ī) and passes on to (a'ī, ā'ī, āī), and thence to (āī, A'ī), all of which occur, while (ā'ī, āī) vary as (a'ī, a'ī), common forms in the S. div., with various other forms of the same kind as (æ'ī, ē'ī, æ'ī).

When, however, the forms of (a'ī) have once been reached, the dialectal changes are not over. The final (ī) may be degraded to *e* as (āe), and then the (e) altogether omitted, so that (aa, aa, AA) result as an alteration of (ii), an almost incredible but completely established fact.

(a'u). The change of U' to (a'u) through (ū'u) will be considered in the N. div., although it seems to occur in the M. and even E. div. as (ūu). We may, however, consider in the M. div. that we begin with (āu), as in D 23. This falls into (āā āā āu), and on arriving at (āu), another transformation is ready. As in the E. div. (Jém) became (lēm), so here (āu) becomes (āī). This remarkable form of U' is dominant in D 25. But it goes no further, it does not become (ai, A'ī), which would clash with the representation of I'. Another change of (āu) arises from the omission of (e), so that U' is represented by (aa). This is strongly marked in D 24. Hence both I' and U' tend to become (aa) in the same div., but not usually in the same district. It would seem that confusion could no further go than that I' and U' should both be confounded as (aa), which, however, does not represent A', for this original sound becomes (ūg, ōg, uu, oo). But, in fact, the changes are not ended. In (āu) the (a) becomes thinned to (ā'), and (ā'ū, a'e, ē'ū, ēū) and even (ūg) result as may be found in D 22 and w.D 24. In at least some of these forms (e) becomes lost, and (aa', aae, ee) result. These are the forms most prevalent in D 22. The (aae) is the proper representative of the La. spelling *eaw*, invented, I believe, by Mr. Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), in whose region, however, at present they do not say (aae), but (a'u), another variety of (āu). The U' = (aae) and I' = (aa) are compatible and are used together in part of D 22.

These are the principal vowel changes in the M. div. and they are interesting for their preservation of forms which explain the transition from the old to the new value of the letters.

CONSONANT FORMS (r, h).

(r.) The letter *r*, when not before a vowel, is entirely vocalised in D 20 as there explained, in the other districts it is asserted to have consonantal value, yet from several informants I got *corf* as the phonetic form of *calf* meaning 'KAAT', which shews that they at least did not hear an *r*. Mr. Darlington, D 25, a native of s.Ch., acknowledged that Ch. *r*, when not before a vowel, had very little power, and was more felt by speaker than listener. TH. says he has paid particular attention to educated pronunciation, and has, during observations, continued for many years, recorded special points from more than 400 public speakers, and

is thus enabled "to say confidently that the Midland *r* before a vowel is the standard English *r*, and likewise that *r* before a consonant and *r* final are generally the same as when before a vowel in n.Db. Ch. La. and St." Consequently he writes (*r*) in every case. Although entirely disagreeing with him in this opinion, so far as standard English *r* is concerned, I have necessarily been unable to take any other course but to follow his example with this explanation. In discussions, however, I shall use (*r*) both before and after a vowel to indicate TH.'s sound, considering the printed (*r*) as (*r*) with the left-hand top corner removed (*r*) so as to be imperfect, and I write *r* with a stroke over it, *r̄*. This new symbol I call the Midland *r*, without pretending to define, because I have not ascertained, the exact mode of its generation. The "imperfection" of (*r̄*) is in respect to the "perfection" of the Italian *r*, the true value of (*r*). Certainly when not before a vowel the use of (*r*), without some explanation, is grossly misleading, to any one who reads phonetic writing according to its professed rules, or say to a Scotchman or Italian. The *r* in such cases is very much like a coarse (*v*), and even in Yo. Cu. We. and Du. it is hardly perceptibly consonantal—at least to my ears.

I thought it best to take JGG.'s opinion on the *r* used by TH. He says: "his *r* is to my ear an inner buzzed *r*=(*r̄*), identical with the *r* I have heard wherever I have been in Ch. St. Db. or La." After mentioning two persons, whom he knows well, that use it, JGG. proceeds to say: "The place on my series is between the Wl. *r* and the n.We. or Swaledale *r*, and also my own *r* before a vowel. I should say it is exactly intermediate between these two." JGG. concludes by saying that he hears TH. "pronounce the *same* in initial, medial, and final positions, with a few exceptions." TH. says that as he is a native of Db., and has resided 42 years in La., he is "in a much better position to say what is the analysis or formation of the Midland *r* than any one who is not a native, and who has not resided in the district or whose visits have been only occasional." But it is well known that it is extremely difficult to shake off one's original habits of speech, and that without great practice in acquiring facility in using new sounds, the ear is apt to be misled. Owing to this initial "personal equation," the same sound will be appreciated differently by different observers who have studied the subject. Thus TH. and AJE. differ materially as to "the standard English *r*."

Generally *r* causes great difficulty to the phonetist. Mr. Melville Bell defines it as made by "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gums." This entirely eliminates the conception of trilling, and he therefore has a separate mark corresponding to my (*z*), called "vibrator" and "trill" and defined as "vibration of the organ symbolised." (See the discussion in Part IV. pp. 1341-4, especially p. 1344, 9g.) For myself I consider vibration or trilling, or as I now prefer to call it *flapping* (caused by the passage of air over a loose flexible body, as linen flaps on a clothes-line or a flag flaps on its staff), the essence of all *r* sounds. This flapping may be produced by many organs, and the statement of the organs specifies the kind of flap. This is precisely the converse of Mr. Melville Bell's and Dr. Sweet's views. In England where no vowel follows, the flap is usually replaced by an obstructive position of the tongue which does not flap, but yet is not hard and rigid. Of course the non-flappable is somewhat different from the flappable position. When flatus only is driven through such a passage with non-flapping tongue, we have simply a hiss, one of the very numerous tribe of (*s*); when voice passes, we have a sound approaching in various ways to (*ə*, *v*, *œ*) or even (*z*). These replacers of (*r*) are usually symbolised by (*ṛ*, *ṝ*), etc., shewing what form of (*r*) is replaced, and for convenience the (*z*) is usually omitted after the replacement has been explained. In England we must distinguish at least Italian (*r*), Scotch (*r̄*), Irish (*r̄*) [written (*r*) in Part IV. p. 1232], the Southern (*ṛ*), Midland (*r̄*), Northumbrian (*r*, *rw*), different from the hard metallic Parisian and guttural North German uvular (*r*, *r̄*). All of these may be flapped or unflapped, and flated or voiced, and among the unflapped forms, produced by keeping the tongue or uvula in approximately the same position as if it were intended to flap but stiffened so that it cannot do so, are the Southern (*ṝ*) degenerating to the Eastern (*r̄̄*), for both of which the tip of the tongue is raised, and the Midland (*r̄*). This list is very far from

exhaustive. There is probably a Northern unflapped (r^0), a strongly flapped and a "soft" Spanish r , of which the latter may be the same as the Northern unflapped (r^0), an alveolar and dental r (r , r), an American r , various French and German r , besides the Polish rz (zrh) and the oriental mixtures of (r^1 , r^2), the defective lip r , the North German glottal (r) and its Arabic form (g) with (krh , grh) and the corresponding Dutch g and Greek γ , and others. Many of these have still to be analysed, and the mode of production of the un-flapped replacers of flapped r presents problems of extreme difficulty.

This difficulty is seriously increased by the habits of reading, where the one symbol r is naturally associated in the speaker's mind with the sounds, or various sounds which he from local habit assigns to it, and hence as naturally hears from all others. In my *Pronunciation for Singers*, pp. 136-8, I distinguish 26 cases which require consideration in received English speech. They are here given in a condensed form, illustrated merely by examples, which the reader may exercise himself in distinguishing, and determine if possible what is the value of his own r in each case.

1. word journey furnish spurn. 2. myrrh guerdon. 3. recurring spurring purring blurring slurring demurring. 4. preferring conferring referring erring deterring. 5. near beer here we're pier. 6. eery era weary peeress. 7. care pair air prayer there their bear mare mayor. 8. canary fairy therein bearing. 9. boar o'er door floor borne torn sore corps pour towards. 10. glory soaring pouring. 11. poor moor tour sure lure allure. 12. poorer surer assuring tourist. 13. cure pure endure immature your ewer. 14. fury purer enduring immuring. 15. hard clerk heart guard. 16. starry tarry (adj. not vb.). 17. wax ward swarm extraordinary George order born. 18. warring abhorring. 19. fire lyre quire choir chorister hire. 20. wiry wery fiery. 21. hour power ourselves ours flour flower. 22. dowry flowery showery. 23. paper circuitous answer martyr altar alter grammar particular (last syllable) peculiar spectator tailor razor orator. 24. azure fissure measure nature feature stature figure. 25. barbarian particular (first syllable) partake marquee. 26. ornate ordain organic orthography orthoepy.

(h) The aspirate is altogether neglected in the M. div. The speaker has no sensation of omitting it, any more than a received speaker thinks (notwithstanding the orthography) that he is omitting h in his pron. of *hour*, *honest*, *honour*, it. In the last word indeed few of even received speakers are aware that an h has been omitted. This omission of (h) is also the case in Antwerp, Flanders, Belgium, Brabant, see Part IV. p. 1421 *d'*. Of course *wh* is called (w), though this is a different case, which is phonetically (not historically) similar to the use of (z) for (s) initial. This absence of aspiration penetrates to well-educated classes, and may be even heard from the pulpit. In Le. the aspirate is, however, occ. wrongly inserted.

CONSTRUCTIONAL FORMS [*the*. -*en*. *I am*].

[*the*]. The definite article *the* has four forms, (dhe dh th t '), in the NM and MM groups, D 21 to D 27, but they are differently employed in different districts, and in the SM group D 28 and D 29 only (dhe) seems to be used. The rule is that (dh) is heard before vowels, and (th) before consonants, while "suspended t " or (t ') occurs by assimilation, and (dhe) is employed only in particular cases. Both (th , t ') are common in D 21 and D 22. In D 24 (t ') is almost solely employed, except on the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. *The* is sometimes assimilated to other letters, as ($\text{frem}'s$ $\text{skæ}'u$) from the school. This power of assimilation is interesting as still existent in dialectal speech. Numerous examples occur in the subsequent illustrations.

[-*en*]. The chief constructional peculiarity is the verbal plural in -*en* (*wi noon*, *jo noon*, *dhi noon*), *we know-en*, *you know-en*, *they know-en*. This is universal in D 21, D 22, D 25, D 26. In D 23 the people think that it is not used, but it still exists in a few contracted forms as (*an* *jo?* *du_{en}* *jo?*) *have-n you?* *do-en you?* In D 24 it is only found at the borders of D 22 on the w. and D 26 on the s. In D 27 it seems to be practically lost, but there is evidence that it did exist some years ago. In D 28 it is plentiful. In D 29 it chiefly exists

in contracted forms, and more in the w. than the e., but even in Le. there are traces of it.

[*I am*]. The verb substantive is *I am*, which separates the M. from the N. div. where for the most part *I is* is heard. *I be* is seldom used, and most frequently in the negative *I ben't*, and is confined to SM., which borders the S. div. *I are* seems to be unemployed.

PECULIAR WORDS [*hoo*, *shoo*].

[*hoo*, *shoo*]. In vocabulary, the use of *hoo* pronoun, variously called (*uu*, *æ'u*, *ɹ'u*, *iu*), the Ws. *heó*, *she*, is prevalent in D 21, 22, 25, 26, although it is superseded, in several constructions, by what at least is assumed to be *her* (*ær*, *er*), both for nom. and acc. But in D 24 appears the form *shoo* (*shuu*, *shó*, *shu*), which, like *she*, is usually referred to Ws. *seó*. I am inclined, however, to believe that *shoo* is also a form of *heó*, through some such form as *gjhoo*. In the other districts *she* or rather *her* are in general use. For girl, *wench* is most usual, without any offensive suggestion.

NEGATIVE CHARACTER.

There is therefore no one particular character, phonetic, constructional or vocabularian, by which the whole M. div. (even excluding D 20) can be separated from adjoining regions. But there are very numerous even merely phonetic characters by which any district can be separated from non-Mid. divisions, as will appear from the following details. The M. div. is therefore, as already stated, rather negatively than positively characterised. It has not the S. W. E. or N. characters. But it has generally the vowel (*u*_o) and occ. (*u*, *u*₁) for U and wonderfully varied forms of U', I', with occ. peculiar O' (*æ'u*) and extensive, but not universal, use of the verbal pl. in *-en*. Collectively these form very distinctive characters. The striking uses of (ii) for A-, ÆG, EG and (éi *E'i*) for E', E'G are too much confined to portions of D 25, D 26, D 28, D 29, to be relied upon as a general M. character.

D 20 = BM = Border Midland.

Boundaries, those of the co. of Li.

Area, the co. of Li.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * means vy. per AJE., † per TH, || in systematic, ° in io. *Li*. ° Aisthorpe, ° Alford, ° Axholme Isle of, ° Barnoldby-le-Beck, † Barrowby, ° Beccingham, * Billingborough, ° Blyton, ° Bracebridge, * Brigg, ° Brocklesby, ° Caistor, ° Coningsby, ° Crowle, * Epworth, ° Faldingworth, ° Fillingham, ° Friskney, ° Fulstow, ° Gainsborough, * Grantham, ° Great Coates, ° Great Grimsby, * Halton-Holegate, ° Haxey, ° Healing, ° Horbling, ° Horncastle, ° Keelby, ° Killingholme, ° Kingerby, ° Laceby, † Lincoln, ° † || Louth, ° North Hykeham, ° North Kelsey, ° Saxby, ° Scartho, * Scotter, ° Scunthorpe, ° Skellingthorpe, † Sleaford, ° Snitterby, * Somerby, ° † Spilsby, ° Springthorpe, ° Stallingborough, † Stamford, ° Thorseway, ° Thornton, ° Ulceby, ° Usselby, ° Waltham, * Winterton.

Character. There is a certain degree of homogeneity of sp. throughout Li., which renders it difficult to subdivide the district, but we may roughly distinguish three varieties: Var. i. s.Li. Form, prevailing to just a little n. of Sleaford (11 ne. Grantham), and Boston, and perhaps as far n. as Friskney (3 sw. Wainfleet). Var. ii. m. Li. Form, prevailing over the whole county from the last-

named places to the s. *hoose* line 6, which cuts off the n. of Li. Var. iii. n.Li. Form is very clearly marked by the use of (uu) in U' words, n. of the s. *hoose* line 6.

Li. more closely resembles the E. div. than the M., although it is quite distinct from the E., as it is from the adjoining Nt. and Yo. The great and peculiar character of the whole district is the marvellous quantity of fractured vowels. There are plenty of fractured vowels in Yo., but, as will be seen under Var. iii., they are of a different nature from the Li. fractures.

The latter are regarded by the natives merely as 'drawls,' and several, in writing to me, indicated this drawl by an added *r*. Thus Mr. Bogg (:boog) then of Louth, writing in Glossie, and meaning that *air eer our* should sound as in *pair peer roar* (pêr pîr rôv), not (raa'v), in ordinary received speech, without the shadow of a trill (for trilled *r* is unknown in Li., except, perhaps, before a vowel, and then it is very light), writes consistently throughout his translation of Lord Tennyson's Northern Farmer New Style *awair sair pairnz bairnz airdher toodair sairnts tairk mairks kwairker laird mair-be maird tairl nair mairz bwaik sairn fairdher laizi* for Lord Tennyson's awaây saây may's paains braains eäther todaây saäints taäk mäikes quaäker laaid mäide taail naäy [= makes] brëäk saäme feyther laäzi. Certainly this expresses the sound perfectly to a Li. man or a Londoner, though it renders the *look* of the words unintelligible. Mr. Bogg has also *weerk speerk beern seerd weernt deerd breerd reerzen eerd steerlz meerlz leerst seer theer meernz leerr* for Lord Tennyson's weeäk speäk beän [been] seeä'd [see'd for saw] weänt [won't] deäd brëäd reäson eäd [head] steäls meäls leäst see thee means [the fracture unmarked in these three words] leäve. Also *woar boarth goar doarnt thoart noart oart noarn koarts noar noarshenz* for Lord Tennyson's woä [cry to stop a horse] boäth goä doänt thowt nowt owt [fracture not marked in these three words, and not usual] noän coäts noä noätions.

These words carefully pronounced will give an excellent notion of the peculiar Li. fracture. Compare aware away, dare day, bairns pains,—seed sear'd, reed reared,—oh! oar, moan mourn [avoiding London (maan)], coat court [avoiding London (kaat)]. Londoners have quite lost and vocalised the *r*, so have Li. people, but the vocal (v) glides closely on to the preceding vowel. Thus in London brewer poor (bruu v pûv) do not rhyme, and idea near (â'idii v nîv) also should not rhyme, though they often do; in 'the prayer of a prayer' (dhu preejer ev v prêv), the two words 'prayer' have different sounds as well as meanings, the (r) due to the following vowel may be disregarded, but observe the vowel change (ee ê), and the absence of a glide in the first and its presence in the second. In the S. and E. div. we have had numerous examples of (êv), as in (lêvm) lame, without the disappearance of an (r), but not of the other fractures except through such a disappearance; in Li., however, there is a constant tendency to this development after every vowel. The fractures elsewhere seem to have arisen from initial alterations of the vowels, but in Li. from mere additions, more comparable to the 'vanishes' of the south, and exactly equivalent to its 'numerous diphthongs.'

It is a singular thing that the vowel on to which this murmur is tagged is, as a rule, the same as in received speech, and may be 'widened' as for the murmur diphthongs, thus (wiik) becomes (wîek) or (wîek), (stiil, stiel) or (stîel), and so on. And it is no doubt to this cause that the Li. conception that the vowels are merely drawled is due. The Li. speech is slow and drawly, but here we have not the mere drawling of a vowel, we have the real addition of another vowel on to which the first glides, and part of the length of the first vowel seems to be absorbed into the glide in the process.

This peculiar fracture, and the vocalisation of *r* into (v) or its omission after (aa aa), are the main characteristics of this district. The U, as explained on p. 292, is taken to be (u₁). The *h* is uncertain; as a rule it is disregarded unless the speaker is excited,

and then often wrongly inserted. Particulars are given below, as I have been able to illustrate the dialect very fully.

VAR. i. SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

FRISKNEY (3 sw. Wainfleet) spec.

Examples written by Rev. H. J. Cheales, vicar, and conjecturally pal. by AJE. from the informant's indications, who describes the intonation thus: "The utterance is loud, full, and coarse, with strong hard emphasis. The voice rises in pitch towards the end of each period. It is also slow, a broad heavy drawl with an unpleasant nasal twang (specially in the *ow* sounds [ʔ nâu], in the case of women it amounts to a whine). In exception to the slow nasal drawl, in the words in *ass*, as *lass glass*, the *a* is short and sharp, as in our *mass* [la¹s dia¹s]. Long vowels and diphthongs and compound vowels always drawled, the former generally and the latter always resolved into two vowels." This is illustrated by the following words, those marked * being considered as exceptions:

A- 5 mêek, 33 *rêedhæ. A'- 67 gôv, 104 rôed. Æ- 138 *fêedhæ. 152 *watæ [almost (wætə)]. Æ: 166 mêel, 175 *fæst. Æ': 218 *shîp. E': 312 iæ+r. EA: 338 kaa'el. EI- 373 dhæev. EO': 428 sîv sîen. Î: 452 AA'i. U: 614 hâuend. E.. 895 risiev.

1. (hood jaa nóiz, i jaad me), hold your noise, he called me; *yah*, in place of *you*, as a sign of contempt.
2. (hîz gət'n thru¹f), he has got through=he is dead.
3. (mîu, snîu, géen, bak end), mowed, snowed, near, autumn.
4. (wæt dhæ plêen du¹st dhæ mîen?), what the devil do you mean?
5. (wat'l déezz, remb'l, hu¹g), weekdays, move, carry.
6. (it tiemd en sáild v rêen, it's strêendj mu¹ki hóuri wedhæ), it emptied and sieved of rain [the rain came down as if poured out or run through a sieve], its strange mucky dirty weather.
7. (ʔæn)z v strêendj emêezin piet béen v jaan), yon=that is a strange amazing pert bairn of yours.
8. (ói nòbt akst im tæ tak dhis ier ood praankæs dóun dhi smúet), I nought-but=only asked him to take this here old donkey down the lane [narrow covered alley],
9. (en i nîpt u¹p en staatid v ledherin dh)ood hæs en méed im hu¹k'l on ebu¹v v bit, en ru¹n striet u¹p dhæ ra'mpe), and he jumped up and began beating the old ass, and made him jog on above a bit, and run straight up on the high road; *nîp* is a word very variously used, but (nîpe) nipper is a little boy that runs errands; (hu¹k) huck is the hip-bone; *rampæ* is the *rampart*, always used for turnpike-road in Li.
10. (a méed súe i)d a tompoo'kt dhæ lit'l lad óer iz íed), I made sure he'd have capsised the little lad over his head.
11. (i)z v wak'n lit'l tʔap, ói'l up'ood i'l téek noo payment), he's a wide-awake little chap, I'll uphold he-l take no harm or damage, common expression.
12. (ói ku¹m, túene fróide or sêthæde), I come either Friday or Saturday, Peacock writes *toner*, the one or the other.
13. (ói thiqk noot tu)it), I think nothing of it.
14. (did jær ad'l oot?), did you earn ought?
15. (shî)z v wa'qk'l lit'l wentj), she is a wankly little wench.

BILLINGBOROUGH EXAMPLES.

Words and sentences by Mr. T. Blason, resident surgeon, native, pal. by AJE.
from his dictation.

1. Alphabetical names of A, E, I, O, U (*êv ii ôi oo iu*).
2. Counting (*won tuu thrii fûv fo'iv siks sev'n êet nôin ten lev'n twelv that'i footi uinded*).
3. (*du₁z dhe sêem lêem man bêek dhe bred en kêeks et dhe ood plêes jî't? i duu*), does the same lame man bake the bread and cakes at the old place yet? he do, occ., but only in answers; more frequently (*i du₁z*).
4. (*wot's iz nèem? ôi dûnt noo*), what's his name? I don't know.
5. (*ôî sêe, ba, wîez dhe mu₁dhe? jânde*), I say, bo', where's the mother? yonder. The word *bo'* is occasionally used by very old people, and was actually heard.
6. (*iz fêedhe dhie? noo—jîis*), is father there? no—yes.
7. (*wî'tj wêe aa dhe go'in te dêe? ôi ka'ut sêe, ôi ênt—bêunt—shûe*), which way are they going to-day? I can't say, I am-not—be-not—sure. The use of *I be not* is uncommon, but exists.
8. (*dhie₁z e grît snáil in dhe pa'd, aa'je fróit'nd [frît]? ôi aa*), there's a great snail in the path, are you frightened? I are. (*snáil*) is invariable, but this does not occur in any other ÆG-words. *I are* is rare, and used only in emphatic answers.
9. (*goo en bóî e thripni thrîd*), go and buy a threepenny thread.
10. (*uu siiz dhiez griin triez?*), who sees these green trees? Here (*griin*) is used, but in 'the trees are green' (*griën*) would be said.
11. (*i braat hãm dhe buuts i baat on iz fût*), he brought home the boots he bought on his feet.
12. (*wîet ûets baali en bienz*), wheat oats barley and beans.
13. (*doont stand alîn stanz et mói wîndez*), don't stand hurling stones at my window, exactly the same use as at Nf. (p. 276, I, 2), but (*don't stand*) distinct and not reduced to (*doonstên*).

SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE CWL.

The unmarked words are chiefly from Mr. Blason for Billingborough, corrected vv. in 1886, but some are from Horbling 15 e. Grantham by Henry Smith, Esq., and Friskney 3 sw. Wainfleet by Rev. H. J. Cheales, which are grouped as being practically identical.

L indicates the late Dr. R. G. Latham's Folkingham (9 e. Grantham), his native place, given in his *English Language*, 5th ed. p. 391, and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

H gives some wn. by TH. at Barrowby (2 w. Grantham).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 3 *bêek*. 4 *tek*, L *tek*. 5 *mek*. 7 *sêek*. 8 *hev*. 9 *bihêev*. 10 *hoo*.
11 *maa*. 12 *saa* [with euphonic (r)]. 13 *naa*. 14 *draa*. 16 *daan*. 17 *laa*.
18 *kêek*. 19 *têel*. 20 *lêem*. 21 *nêem*. 22 *têem*. 23 *sêem*. 24 *shêem*.

25 mêen. 26 wêen. 27 nêev. 28 hêe. 31 lêet. 32 bêedh. 33 reedhe
rêedhe. 34 la'st. 25 AAL. 36 thoo. 37 klAA.

A: 39 ku₁m kem. 40 kúem. 41 tha'qk. 43 ha'nd. 46 ka'nd'l. 47
wa'ndv. 50 ta₁qz. 51 ma'n. 52 wa'n. 54 wa'nt. 55 a'shez. 56 wesh.
57 a's.

A: or O: 58 [accented] fru₁m, [unaccented] frem threm them. 59 la'm.
60 loq. 61 emu₁q, L emu₁nt. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. 66
thoq [it sounded to me most like (o), not (o), but it may have been (æ) as in other
cases].

A'- 67 goo. 69 noo. 70 too. 71 woo. 72 uu. 73 soo. 74 tuu. 75
strûek. 76 túed. 78 oo. 79 ôen. 80 ha'ludî. 81 léen. 13 múen. 84
múe+r. 85 súe+r. 86 úets. 87 klúez [Mr. B. insisted on kl]. H tlúez.
88 klúedh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96
soo. 97 sùel. 98 nûen. 99 throon thrûen. 100 sûen.

A': 101 ûek. 102 a'sk. 104 rûed, H rûed. 105 rûed. 106 brood. 107
laf. 108 doo. 109 loo. 112 hêel. 113 hæl [h] always pronounced in this
word]. 114 [both this and the animal are called] mûel. 115 ham. H ûem.
118 bûen. 121 ga'n. 122 nu₁n. 123 nu₁thi₁qk. 124 stûen. 125 úenli.
126 úe+r. 127 ûas. 129 gúest. 130 búet. 131 gúet. 132 ot. 133 rúet.
134 úeth. 135 tlaath.

Æ- 138 fêedhe. — ledhe [ladder, same as leather]. 139 dree. 140 hêel.
141 nêel. 142 snâil [commonest], snêel. 143 téel. 144 egen. 145 sléen.
146 méen. 147 bréen. 148 fêe. 149 bléez. 150 lîest. 151 let. 152
wa'te, H wa'te+r. 153 sa'tedi.

Æ: 155 thetj. 157 réev'n. 158 aate. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 méev.
165 sed, L sed. 166 mêed. 167 de'el. 168 ta'le. 169 wen. 170 hævest.
171 baali. 172 gtes. 173 waar [an r] was felt and was most like [r]. 174
esh. 175 fa'st. 178 na't. 179 wat. 180 ba'th. 181 pa'th paid.

Æ'- 182 sii. 183 tîetj. 184 lîed. 185 rîed. 187 lîev. 188 nee. 189
wee. 190 kii. 191 hîel. 192 mîen. 193 tlîen, HL tlîen. 194 enî. 195
menî. 196 waa [as in dhu waa dhîe, they were there]. 197 tîez. 199 blîet.
200 wîet. 201 hîedh'n. 202 hîet. 203 spîetj. 205 thîed thîed. 206 red.
207 niid'l. 210 tlêe. 211 grêe. 212 wee. 213 eedhe êedhe. 215 toot.
216 dêel. 217 îetj. 218 shîep. 219 slîep. 222 hêe+r. 223 dhîe+r.
226 múest. 227 wet. 228 swet. 230 fa't.

E- 232 brêek. 233 spîek. 234 nîed. 235 wîev. 236 fîeve. 237 bléen.
238 hedj. 239 sêel. 240 léen. 241 rœen, L rœen. 242 twœen. 246 kwien.
247 wîen. 248 mêe. 249 wîe+r. 250 swîe+r. 251 mîet. 252 ket'l.
253 net'l. 254 ledhe. 255 wadhe.

E: 257 edj. 258 sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lêe. 261 sêe. 262 wêe. 264
êel. 265 strêet. 267 jîeld [the j] distinct]. 270, i. belus, ii. belî. 272 elem.
273 men. 274 bensh. 275 stensh. 276 thi₁qk. 277 drens. 278 wensh.
280 lev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 merî. 284 thresh. 285 kres.
286 ha're. 287 biz'm. 288 let.

E'- 290 hii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fîed. 295 bred. 296
belîev. 298 fîel. 299 grîen, L grîen. 300 kiip. 301 hîe+r. 303 swîet.
304 bîet'l [the insect also so called].

E': 305 hoi. 306 âit. 307 noi [noi en duu nich and do, a common reply,
meaning 'I should think so, rather,' that is, very much, completely]. 308 nîed.
309 spîed. 310 hîel. 311 ten. 312 hîe. 314 hîed, L hîed. 315 nîit. 316
nekst.

EA- 317 flee. 319 gêep. 320 kaa+r.

EA: 321 saa. 322 laf. 323 foot fit. 324 êet. 325 waak. 326 ood.
327 bûeld. 328 kood. 329 food. 331 sood seld. 332 teld. 333 kaaf
[exactly like cough; a doctor asking a man if he had a cough, was answered yes,
a fine one to sell; (ku₁f) is Li. for cough, see 526]. 334 êep. 335 aal. 336
faal. 337 waal. 340 jaad. 342 aam. 343 waam. — L lêepin [leaping].
345 daa+r [and you 'das'nt, daad'nt durst not]. 346 gêet, H gêet.

EA'- 347 hed hîed. 348 âi [this and I are pronounced very like the
(English) Greek oi, only broader]; this ought to make it [â'i]. 349 fîu.

EA: 350 diêd ded. 351 led. 352 red. 353 bred. 354 shîef. 355 diêf

def. 356 luf. 357 dhuf. 359 náiv+r. 360 tiem. 361 bien. 362 shee. 363 tjep. 365 nve+r. 366 grêet grit. 367 thrit. 368 deth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 373 dhe. 374 nee. 375 réz. 376 bév. EI: 377 sték. 378 wék. 379 éel [same as 140, used only in Bible reading]. 381 swén swén. 382 dhiv+r.

EO- 383 sev'n. 384 hev'n. 385 beníeth [but (u₁ndenien) underneath]. 386 soo. 387 nîu [very distinct (î)].

EO: 388 mîk. 389 jek. 390 shu₁d shu₁ld. 393 be₁nd. 395 L ju₁q. 396 wak. 397 swæd swæd. 398 staa. 399 bróit. 402 laan. 403 fæ. 404 staa. 405 aath. 406 íeth, L íeth. 407 faad'n. 408 nú.

EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. 414 flái. 415 láí. 416 dîe+r. 417 tjiu. 418 briu. 420 fûv+r. 421 foti.

EO': 423 thái. 424 ru₁f [or (rauf) between, (raf, ru₁f)]. 425 láit. 426 fáit. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fiend. 430 frënd. 431 bîv+r. 432 foth. 433 brest. 434 bîst. 435 H jaa [(jæ) unemphatic; when used in anger, the (aa) is much prolonged, with a significant intonation]. 436 triu. 437 triuth.

EY- 438 do'i [between (æ'i, o'i), but most like (ó'i)]. EY: 439 tru₁st.

I- 440 wék. 441 siv. 442 óivi. 443 fróidi. 444 stóil. 446 nóin. 448 dhiez. 449 git. 450 tîuzdi [see 387]. 451 soo.

I: 452 di. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 móit. 458 nóit. 459 réit. 462 sóit [see 438]. 465 sîj. 466 tîóld. 467 wóld. 468 tîlden. 471 timbe. 472 sriqk. 473 bláind. 474 ráind. 475 wóind. 476 bóind. 477 fóind. 478 groind. 479 wóind. 484 dhis. 485 dhis'l. 486 iest [no initial (j)]. 488 jit.

I'- 490 bóí. 491 sóí. 493 dróiv. 494 tóim. 495 wóin. 496 óien. 497 eróiz, L eróiz. 498 róit.

I': 500 lóik, L lóik. 501 wóid. 502 fóiv. 503 lóif. 504 nóif. 505 wóif. 506 wu₁men. 507 wimín. 508 móil. 509 wóil. 510 L móin móin. 513 wóiv+r. 514 óis. 515 wóiz. 516 wizdem. 517 jiu.

O- 519 L øv. 520 boo. 521 fûel. 522 op'n [p(æp'n)], H op'n. 523 hûep. 524 wald.

O: 526 kof ku₁f [see 333]. 527 baat. 528 thaat thoot. 529 braat. 531 daatv, L daatv. 532 kûel. 533 du₁l. 534 hûel. 536 gûeld. 537 ma'uld. 538 wu₁d. 539 bûel. 542 boot. 547 bûed. 549 hæad. 550 wæd. 551 staam. 554 haan. — hæs [horse, not (ææs)]. 554 kræs. — foks [fox, (hiidhæ) male, see No. 704].

O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 558 luuuk. — L fodhæd [fothered]. 559 mu₁dhe. 562 mûen. 563 mu₁ndi. 564 sûen. 565 nûez. 566 u₁dhe.

O': 569 buuk. 570 tu₁k [never (tuuk)]. 571 gu₁d. 572 blu₁d. 573 flud. 574 brûed. 576 wed'nzdi. 577 be'u. 578 ple'u. 579 nu₁i. 580 tu₁i. 582 kûel. 584 stûel. 585 brûem. 586 duu. 587 du₁n. 588 nûen. 589 spûen. 590 flûe. 591 mûe. 593 mu₁st mu₁t. 594 buut. 596 ruut. 597 su₁t. 598 sûeth.

U- 599 ebu₁v. 600 lu₁v, L luuv. 601 fe'ul. 602 se'u. 603 ku₁m kuum, L ku₁min. 605 sù₁n [see 629, the difference not quite certain]. 606 dûe+r. 607 bu₁te.

U: 608 u₁gli. 609 fu₁l. 610 wu₁l. 611 bu₁lek. 612 su₁m. 613 dru₁qk. 614 e'und. 615 pe'und. 616 gre'und. 617 se'und. 618 we'und. 619 fe'und. 620 gre'und. 622 u₁nde. 625 tu₁q. 626 hu₁qge. 628 nu₁n. 629 su₁n [see 605]. 630 wu₁n. 631 thasdi. 632 u₁p, L u₁p. 633 ku₁p. — L u₁pen [up-]. 634 thræf. 635 wu₁th. 636 fu₁dhe fu₁de. 639 du₁st.

U'- 640 ke'u. 641 he'u. 642 dhe'u. 643 ne'u. 645 du₁v, L du₁v. 646 be'u. 647 e'ul. 648 e'ue+r. 649 the'uzend. 653 bu₁t.

U': 654 sre'ud. 655 fe'ul. 656 rûem. 657 bre'un. 658 de'un. 659 te'un. 660 be'ue+r. 661 she'ue+r. 662 u₁z. 663 he'us [pl. he'uz'nz]. 664 le'us. 665 me'us. 666 hu₁zbend. 667 e'ut. 668 pre'ud. 670 búedh. 671 me'uth. 672 se'uth.

Y- 673 mu₁ty. 676 láí. 677 drái. 678 din. 679 tjatj. 680 biz'i. 682 lit'l [(e lit'len) a little one, suspend (t')].

Y: 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báí. — H mu₁k [muck]. 687 flóit. 689

bild bìuld. — ku₁mlì [comely]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 693 sin. 696 beth [rh. with *death*]. 697 beri. 698 meth. 699 ráit. 700 was. 701 fast. 704 fòks shiídhe [(hiídhe, shiídhe) are applied to the genders of animals].

Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thattin. 708 háiv.

Y': 709 fáiv. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 717 djéed. 718 trêed. 719 ta'dpúel. 722 dríen. 723 díeri. 725 séel. 729 frém. 733 skaa. 737 méet [common]. 740 wêev [Mr. B. considers that all such words involve *r*, but his *r* is simply (e)]. E. 743 skriem. 744 mez'lz. 745 tjét. 746 bríedh. 748 flegd. 750 beg. I. and Y. 753 tit'l. 756 srímp. 757 táini. 758 gel. 761 láud. 762 úekem. 763 rúem. 768 kúek. 769 múel [see 114]. 774 púeni. U. 792 skwa'b'l. 793 hu₁g. 794 dj₁g. 799 sku₁l. 800 sku₁l. 801 ru₁m. 803 dj₁mp. 805 kádz, kru₁dz. 806 fu₁s. 807 pu₁s. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 êeb'l. 810 fêes. 811 plêes [pl. (plêez'nz)]. 812 lêes. 813 bék'n, H b'e'k'n. 814 mès'n. 816 fêed. 817 redish. 818 êedj. 819 rêedj. 822 mêv. 823 bée. 824 tjé. 828 héegv. 829 gèen. 830 tréen. 831 distréen. 833 pée. 834 shée. 835 riez'n. 836 siez'n. 838 tríet. 840 tjéembe. 845 éemshunt. 847 déendje. 849 sfréendje. 851 a'nt [same as *ant*, for which *pismire* is used only by old people]. 852 épen. 853 baagin. 857 kées. 858 brées, L embrésez [embraces]. 859 tjéus. 860 péest. 861 téest, L téest. 862 séef. 863 tjéef. 864 bikoz. 865 folt foot.

E.. 867 tii. 868 djæ. 869 víel. 870 bíuti. 871 egrii. 872 tjéef. 874 réen ríen. 875 fêent. 876 déenti. 878 salleri. 879 fi'mée'l. 884 prentis [in the v. to (prentis) always; in the noun (eprentis) occ.]. 887 kladji. 888 saatin. 889 síes. 890 bíest, H bíes' [com.]. 891 fíest. 893 nefi. 894 díseiv. 895 risiev. 896 bíeve.

I.. and Y.. 897 diláit. 898 náis. 899 nîes. 900 prêv. 901 fáin. 902 máin. 903 dáin. 904 vóilet. 908 edváis. 909 bríez. 912 ráis.

O.. 913 kúetj. 914 brúetj. 915 stu₁f. 916 u₁njen. 917 rúeg. 918 fieb'l. 919 óintment. 920 póint. 921 ekacént. 922 bu₁sh'l. 925 L vóis. 926 L spóil. 929 ka'ekembe [heard, but (ku₁qge) most common]. 930 lóin. 937 kók. 939 klás. — L rôez. 940 kúet, H kúet. 941 fûel. 943 tu₁tj. 948 be'ul. 952 kúers. 953 ku₁z'n. 955 de'ut.

U.. 960 kîv. 961 griuel. 963 kúóiet. 964 síuit. 969 shûv.

Var. ii. MID LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

Great interest attaches to the pronunciation about Somerby (13 nw.Wainfleet) as the birthplace of Lord Tennyson, whence he derived the dialect in which he has written OS.=Northern Farmer Old Style (in the vol. containing the 'Enoch Arden,' 1864), NS.=Northern Farmer New Style (in the vol. containing the 'Holy Grail,' 1870), NC.=Northern Cobbler, and VW.=The Village Wife or the Entail' (both in the vol. of 'Ballads and other Poems,' 1880), and SS.=The Spinster's Sweet-arts (in the volume containing 'Tiresias,' 1885).

In view of the present work Lord Tennyson (then untitled, to whom I shall refer as T. simply) did me the favour to give me an interview lasting 1^h. 40^m. on 23 Mar. 1881, in which he kindly read over to me most of OS. and some of NS., referring me for other information to Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Raunsley, late rector of Halton Holegate (8 nw.Wainfleet), who he said had much more recent knowledge of the dialect than he had.

The information which this lady kindly gave me in two long interviews will be added hereafter. On account of the copyright, it is not possible to transcribe any one of T.'s five Li. poems at length; but I am permitted to give short extracts, and I prefix certain notes and observations which I made at the time and extended immediately afterwards. The poems are referred to by the above initials, the stanza and line of the stanza.

OS.=NORTHERN FARMER OLD STYLE.

T. pronounced the diphthong written *oi* not quite as (*ai*), but rather as (*ái*); Mrs. D. A.'s sound was much finer, rather (*ái*, *ái*). All the long *i* in the poems are (*ái*, *ái*, *ái*).

T. pron. the diphthong *ow* as (*au*) in *nout* OS. ii. 1, x. 3, *mout* vi. 2, xiii. 2, *yours*=*ewes* x. 4 (the *cow*, *now* x. 1, 2, xiii. 3, 'ow xiv. 1, were errors for *coo*, *noo*, 'oo), *plow* xi. 2, *thout*, *out* v. 4, *howd* xv. 2, *owd* xvii. 2. Possibly this was a Southernism, as T. has lived so long in the S. div. It varied at times to (*áu*), but this he repudiated. In NS. all his *ow* were (*au*). Mrs. D. A. used (*áu*) as (*náu háus*) now house.

The *un* used for *im* in OS. iii. 4, v. 2, vi. 4, viii. 2, 3, 4, ix. 1, 3, etc., is a Southernism, which, as T. pointed out to me, should be corrected. Similarly *thof* iv. 3 T. said should be *tho* (*dhoo*), but Mr. Peacock gives *thoff* in his Glossary for n Li., and Mr. Blasson gave (*dhaf*), p. 301, No. 357, in s.Li.

Throughout, *ä* is used for diphthongising (*u*) as OS i. 1 *beän meä aloän*, viii. 3 *moäst* (*bien mæ ulöen môust*), in such words as *saäy awaäy luäid* v. 3, 4, vi. 1, *naäil* ix. 3, the *ä* is pron. last (*sév ewév lëvd neel*). But *looäk* x. 1 (which should have been *looök*, compare *booök* in VW. xi. 1 and elsewhere) only means that the *oo* in both words is to be pron. long, as (*luuk buuk*), or possibly very long (*luuuk buuuk*), and not with a short vowel as in rs., nor as (*lu₁k bu₁k*). But *oä* and *aw* are used in the same sense (*óv*, *ôv*), and not (*aa*), hence OS. i. 3, *says that I moänt 'a naw moor yaäle* (which should have been *aäl*, T. said, as in VW., and in the same way *yeäid* v. 2 should be *eäd*) means (*sévz dhét ái mônt v nôv mûv éel*).

The short *u* in these poems was always (*u₁*), much thicker than (*u*) in T.'s speech, as also in Mrs. D. A.'s.

The fracture (*i₁v*) began with so deep an (*i₁*), as in *seäd* (*sí₁vd*), that I often mistook it for (*e*), and in the case of unfractured (*mi₁i*, *si₁i*) me see, NS. xiv. 3, 4, I quite did so.

The *h* was generally omitted, but introduced emphatically in the wrong place. In the 1864 ed. of OS. xiv. 3, 4, we have 'All all rhyming; in the new ed., as T. pointed out, it is 'All hall, meaning *Hall all*, the last emphatic.

As for final *r* not before a vowel, I heard no trace of it either in T. or Mrs. D. A., but T. thought he heard or felt a trace of it in OS. iv. 1, 2 *larn barn* (*laa₁r₀n baa₁r₀n*), certainly with no trill, but this seemed merely an orthographical suggestion, and at most

resulted in (láaen báaen). Mrs. D. A. says that (bêen) and not (baan) is the word.

OS. was originally written with *ow* for all the U' words, the custom of T.'s own district from Horncastle to Spilsby being to use (a'u, áu), but T. said that a friend (not named) persuaded him to change *ow* into *oo* as giving the poem a more antique and northern flavour. Unfortunately the change was not made consistently, as T. himself pointed out to me. Thus we have *oo* in aboot, oot viii. 3, 4, doon ix. 2, x. 4, doot xiv. 2; but *ow* in cow, now x. 1, 2, now, cows plow xiii. 3, 4, where observe plow is not (pluu) but (plúu) in n.Li.

T. said he did not know the dialect of n.Li., but, as we shall see, except as respects U' words, which have (uu) in the n., the pron. is practically the same.

The peasants speak slowly, and T. read vi. 3, 4 very slowly, with lengthened final consonants.

(siver ái káp im, ái káp im, mái las', dhv mu₁n u₁ndestand,
ái du₁n mái díuti báí 'ím—ez áí—v du₁n'—bái dhv lan'd.)

[however I kept him, I kept him, my lass, thou must understand,
I done [have done, did] my duty by him, as I have done by the land.]

ix. 2. *enemies* was a joke of T.'s, and should have been *emenies*=*anemones*.

ix. 3. (:nôeks v :thimb'lbi—tooner v₁d shot im ez d₁íed ez v nê₁el);
meaning: Nokes or Thimbleby, *toner*=one or the other, had shot him as dead as a nail.

x. 4. (su₁m on ít duun in s₁íed), some of it down in clover.

xii. 1. (duu :godemáí'ti nôv wot v)z duu₁n v₁ték'kin v m₁íe), does God Almighty know that he's doing a taking of me? This was actually said by an old bailiff.

xiii. 2. (v₁r v m₁áut v téek'n :robinz—v nív₁e mended v fens), or he might have taken Robins, he never mended a fence. This was actually said.

xiv. 1-4. (luuk u kwolvti smáílz wen dhe s₁ií₁z m₁e v pasín báí,
sez t₁e dh₁esen nóv duut 'wot v man v bí₁ s₁íuelái'!
fer dhe nôv₁z wot áí bí₁n t₁e :skwáíe sín fu₁st v ku₁md t₁e
dh₁e AAL,
ái du₁n máí díuti báí :skwáíe, en—ái du₁n—máí díuti—
bái hhaal!)

[look how quality smiles, when they sees me a passing by,
says to themselves no doubt, 'what a man he be sure-ly!'
for they knows what I (have) been to Squire since first he came to the Hall,
I (have) done my duty by Squire, and—I (have) done—my duty—by all!]

xv. 4. *noither a moänt*, now altered to *noä*, *nor a moänt*=no, nor he mustn't.

NS.=NORTHERN FARMER NEW STYLE.

In 1871 Mr. Bogg, a surgeon, native of and at that time resident at Louth, assisted by his brother, who had studied the

pron. of a labourer from Donnington-upon-Bain (5 wsw.Louth), had the kindness not only to write me out the pron. of NS. in glossic, but to answer a long string of questions upon it. From this I obtained a very correct conception of m.Li. speech, but as I have since had the advantage of referring all doubtful points to Lord Tennyson himself, I give the notes I made on reading portions of this poem with him.

- i. 1, 2. (du₁z'nt dhæ'u i₁æ mái æseze legz ez dhe kanter vwee'v?
propu₁ti, propu₁ti, propu₁ti! dhat)s wot ái i₁æz em see'e.)
Doesn't thou hear my horses legs as they canter away?
Property, property, property! that's what I hear them say.

T. had actually heard a Li. farmer make this comparison between the sounds of his horses feet and word 'property.' T. used (o) always and not (ə) as far as I could hear, but he made no statement concerning it. The word *horse* T. writes 'erse, there is no trilled (r) or buzzed (r_o) in his pron., but to my ear only the long vowel, which was fine like (æ̃s) and not coarse like (æ̃s). The sound in other words, however, varies.

- vi. 2. *laaid by* (léed, léed, lē'ed), the length and quality of the first element was very variable.
vi. 4. *a lass as 'ant nowt* (v la's' ez aant næ'ut), (aant) means *has not*, (*eent*) *is not*.
vii. 1, 2 (paas'nz la's' aant næ'ut, en shi₁ wí₁ent v næ'ut wen i)z dí₁ed, mu₁n bi v gu₁vnes, lad, v su₁met, en ad'l v brí₁ed.)

Parson's lass has not nought, and she won't have nought when he's dead,
Must be a governess, lad, or something, and earn her bread.

(shí₁æ) is more common than (shí) for *she*. T. never said pure (shii), though he thought he did.

- vii. 3, 4. (wái? fer i)z nobet v kúret, en wí₁ent ní₁v git noo áí₁v,
en i mē'ed dhe bed ez i ligz on efúv i ku₁md tē dhe shái₁v.)

Why? for he's nought but a curate, and won't never get no higher,
And he made the bed as he lies on afore he came to the shire.

I asked T. whether the people of Li. ever said (shái₁v), he said he hoped so, for the sake of the rhyme, but admitted that only the educated would say so, and he uses the right sound (shí₁æ) spelled *shere* in VW. iv. 6:

(en ái ôeps ez i bí₁ent buuk-laand, bu₁t i du₁z'nt ku₁m fro dhe shí₁æ,
wē'd eníu v dhat wi dhe :skwáí₁v, en wi héets buuklaanin i₁æ.)

And I hopes as he be-not book-learned, but he does not come from the shire,
We'd enow of that with the Squire, and we hates book-learning here.

And SS. iv. 3, 4, where it is also spelled *shere*:

(jis dhóv dhe kaad mī₁ ez preti ez oní la's i dhe shí₁v,
en dhæ'u bi ez preti v :tabí, bu₁d :róbí ái sí₁d thru₁f jē dhí₁v.)

Yes, though thou called me as pretty as any lass in the shire,
And thou be as pretty a Tabby, but Robby I see'd through you there.

The pron. (sháiɐ) is very recent; before Shire Lane by Temple Bar (now the "Griffin") was pulled down for the new Law Courts, it was always called (:shíɐ :leen). The usual indistinct (-shɐ) -shire, derives from (shíɐ) not (sháiɐ).

- viii. 2. (ɛn i aant got shuɪt on ɛm jɛt), and he has not got shot—quit—of them yet, which should be (jɪɪt) for the dialect.
 viii. 4. (wɪs' nɛr ɛ faa'wɛltɛd) or (fɛ'u'wɛltɛd jɛ'u), worse than a capsised ewe, lying on its back in a furrow and unable to rise. I could not determine whether T. said (jɛ'u) or (jóu).
 x. 1, 2. ('ee, ɛn dhái muɪdhɛ sɛz dhɛ'u wants tɛ mari dhɛ la's, kuɪmz ɛv ɛ djɛnt'lɛn bɛɛ'n, ɛn wi bôeth on uɪs thiɪks dhɛ ɛn a's.)

Ay, and thy mother says thou wants to marry the lass,
 Comes of a gentleman born, and we both on us thinks thee an ass.

born. The writing (bɛɛ'n) should imply that the sound was chiefly (ɛɛ), but that there was a tinge of (u) running through it, but I could not properly imitate the vowel; it would require a prolonged study, and the hearing of it from many people to do so. Similarly (mɛɛ'n) morn (NC. viii. 4), but I appreciated (múɪn'n) morning from Mrs. D. A. in NC. vii. 1. T. writes all these words with (ur), burn, murnin, thurn (NC. viii. 3, VW. xiii. 1)=born, morning, thorn.

- x. 4. (dhɛ biiz iz ɛz fɛl ɛz ɛ'ut), the flies are as fierce as anything; *flies* are always called *bees*, and *rooks* are called *crows*, so the *crows* fly from a *rookery* in Lockesley Hall, v. 68.
 xii. 2. *regular*, so written for the metre is called (rɛglɛ).
 xiii. 3. (fɛdðɛr ɛd ɔ'mʌst nɛ'ut) father had almost nothing.
 xiii. 4. *tued* sounded very like (tyɪd) or (ty'ɪd) at times, but never (tíud).
 xiv. 3, 4. *see, thee* (síɪ, dhíɪ), almost (see, dheɛ), and quite distinct from (síɪ, dhíɪ).
 xv. 3, 4. (kuɪm ɪp, prɒpɪti, kɛntɛr ɛn kɛntɛr ɛwɛɛ'ɛ) come up, property, canter and canter away.

These notes and extracts contain everything of interest in Lord Tennyson's own pron. The difficulties of NC. and VW. I inquired of Mrs. D. A., but they are all included in the above. The SS. was not then published. Instead, then, of going further into T.'s poems, I proceed to the special information obligingly communicated by Mrs. D. A.

HALTON HOLEGATE (1 e.Spilsby) dt.

pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mrs. Douglas Arden, daughter of the late rector, who had paid great attention to the dialect and made many notes before she had married. Her dialect had the true 'ring' in it.

1. sóv âi sɛv, méɛts, jɛ sív náu dhat ái)m reet ɛbáut jon lí't'l gɛl kuɪm'n frɛ dhɛ skuul jonde.

2. shi)z gu'in dáu'n dhi rûed dhîe, thru)f dhe red géet on dhe left and sáid dhe wée.

3. shúuer [síuer] enu)f dhe bêen ez gon stréet u)p te dhe dûer v dhe roq háus.

4. wîe me)bi shii)l fâ'ind [me hap te fá'ind, te láit on] dhat dru)qk'n def wiz'nd ood t)ap v dhe néem v :tu)mes.

5. wi aal naaz im rîel wel.

6. wîent dhe ood t)ap [man] suun laan v not te gu dhîer egen, pôu thi)q!

7. luuk! eent it tru) ?

Notes.

1. *see*. All the (éë, éë, ía) were decidedly less broad than Lord Tennyson's, which seem to have been rather strained.—*mates*, a common word.—*now* varied as (náu, náu, næ'u), but was not not (núu).—*right*, probably (réit), see cwl. p. 309, No. 459, but I first wrote (reet) and then (reet) without any (i).—*yonder*, more common than *that*.—*going*. Mrs. D. A. said (go, gu, góv, gúe) at different times, apparently according to construction.—*hand*, the (h) is pretty correctly inserted except from nervousness.

3. *sure*, (shûer) was dict. with (shû), but subsequently the word cropped up with distinct (síu). This seemed to depend on the position of the word.—*enough*, (enáu) was known, but not any distinction of sg. *enough*, pl. *enow*.

4. *shrivelled* was not known, but (shr-) initial falls into (sr-) generally, as (srìmp) shrimp.

5. *we knows*, in conjugating the verb the 2nd pers. sg. ends in (st) and the rest in (s, z). T. uses (st) or (s) in 'asta=hasst thou or hasst thou, with (th) assimilated to (t) after (s), OS. i. 1, but he has *thoort*=thou art OS.

i. 2; *tha knaws*=thou knowest OS. vi. 1; *d'ya moind*=do you remember OS. viii. 1; *what atta stannin' theer for and doesn't bring ma the aíl*=what art thou standing there for and dost not bring me the ale OS. xvii. 1; *dosn't thou 'ear*=dost not thou hear NS. i. 1; *thou's an ass*=thou art an ass NS. i. 3; *thou'll*=thou wilt NS. ii. 3, xiv. 3; *thou thinks*=thou thinkest NS. iv. 2; *thou can luuv*=thou canst love NS. ix. 1; *thou wants*=thou wantest NS. x. 1; *wiltha*=wilt thou NS. x. 4; *tha sees*=thou see'st NS. xiii. 1; *if thou marries*=if thou marriest NS. xv. 2; *if tha secäs 'im an' smells 'im*=if thou see'st him and smellest him NC. xi. 6; *if tha wants*=if thou wantest NC. xx. 3; *tha dosn' know*=thou dost not know VW. iii. 1; *thou knaws*=thou knowest, VW. v. 4. It is evident therefore that T. does not follow Mrs. D. A.'s rule for the 2nd pers. sg.—*real well*, the common affirmative adverb, (nêeshen) damnation is also used, but *very* is not common.

6. *learn* (laan), I could hear no (r) or even (r_o).

TEST SENTENCES.

1. (lév dhe fáulz dáu'n if jáu plîez), lay the fowls down if you please, emphatic (jáu), enclitic (v, v).
2. (shîe)z dhîe! wîe?), she's there! where?
3. (d)ve sîe áue thrîe trîez?), do you see our three trees?
4. (ái bi ood en lêem, téek mî hôem), I be old and lame, take me home; the last word is pron. in several ways, but (hóum) is most common. *I be*, *I am* are used indifferently, but *I am* seems most common. T. uses *beänt* freely, but that, like *un* (acc. *hine* for *him*), may be a Southernism.
5. (ái sêv, ladz, ru)n ewêv en plêv), I say, lads, run away and play.

6. (wiev got'n nu₁n, áiev du₁n, wii mäs gôe), we have gotten none, I have done, we must go; should it not be (wii men) or (mu₁n)? see 8.
7. (hi ka'nt en sha'nt, ái wient tenáit, ái dú'ent máind), he can't and shan't, I won't to-night, I don't mind (remember).
8. (hí mu₁n dáí [dói] tedév, so dhe sêv), he must die to-day, so they say.

Fragments of Spilsby talk from Mrs. D. A.'s note book, pal. from her dict. by AJE.

1. Chasing the Sun.

A book called "Chasing the Sun, or a Voyage due West," had been lent to an old woman by Mrs. D. A.'s sister, and this was the comment:

(ái did'nt láik dhat buuk etûel ez jûe siste broot mív. it was 'tjéssin dhe su₁n,' en áí doont thiik nu₁thiik tu tjéssin dhe su₁n. tjéssin dhe su₁n, indiid! áí thiik :godemáiti el suun let fooks nôe ez tjívez im. hiil bi téekín en pu₁tín it su₁mwíer els, áí rek'n. tjéssin dhe su₁n, indiid! áí doont láik sítj wêvz.)

I did not like that book at all as your sister brought me. It was 'Chasing the Sun,' and I don't think nothing to [have no good opinion of] chasing the sun. Chasing the sun, indeed! I think God Almighty will soon let folks know as chivies [chases] him. He'll be taking and putting it somewhere else, I reckon. Chasing the sun, indeed! I don't like such ways.

2. Two old crones meet.

(1. sôe pûe :dáine)z diêd. 2. jis, en áí)ν djíst ku₁md frê ligín on er áút, en dhe)z nobu₁t wu₁n thíq mûer, en 'dhat :mr. :raansli wíl duu fer)er. hii)l djíst hap er u₁p.)

1. So poor Dinah's dead. 2. Yes, and I've just come from laying her out, and there's nought but one thing more, and that Mr. Raunsley [the rector] will do for her. He'll just heap her up [bury her].

3. For the Baby.

(if dhe ka'nt kari nû mûe dhisen, dháu máit tlam ood on e píes fê dhe béebi, áí tel je.)

If thou can'st carry no more thyself, thou might clam [seize, snatch] hold on a piece for the baby, I tell you.

4. Independence.

(nee, áiv noo kaal to bi bi'hoold'n tu fooks, áí)d reedhê kamp in dhe pínfôeld, sívê.)

Nay, I've no call [desire] to be beholden to folk, I'd rather camp [lodge] in the pindfold, howsoever. The last word is constantly added, as *whatever* is by Welsh speakers, as it were, 'at any rate, in any case.' The 'pindfold' is the village *pound* (pind), under the charge of the pinder.

5. Nervous as a Cat.

(áim so naaves! gít ewêe wí je! ka'nt ebíe je. shíi)z ez naaves ez en oold kat.)

I'm so nervous! get away with you! I can't abear [abide] you. She's as nervous as an old cat.

6. A butter-woman says of a customer :

(shì)z fít fe noot bu₁t mîsîn v dets. shìz dhe haakēdest, haatīest, haaf'lest wu₁men in dhe táun, ku₁mîn en fliqîn dhi bu₁ter vbaút máí shop biko'z áí wu₁d'nt téek ít bak wen v nasti béenz ed bîn hu₁gîn on ít. dhen héef en áuer afte, shi ku₁mz mînsîn en grêesîn láík v hêendj'l fer enu₁dhe heef páund.

She is fit for nothing but missing of debts [? not paying them]. She's the awkwardest, haughtiest, awfulest woman in the town, coming and flinging the butter about my shop, because I would not take it back when her nasty bairns [not (baanz), as T. said] had been carrying of it. Then half an hour later she comes mincing and gracing like an angel for another half pound.

7. Old epigram on Boston, Li.

(oo ! :bos'n, :bos'n, dháu)z nóet tē boost en
bu₁t v gràn slûes en v háí stiep'l,
en v kúest ez sóuēlz v lost en.)

Oh ! Boston, Boston, thou hast nought to boast on [of]
But a grand sluice and a high steeple
And a coast as souls are lost on.

MID LINCOLNSHIRE cwl.

wn. in 1878 by TH. from Rev. William Jackson, native of Spilsby (14 sse. Louth), Principal of Didsbury College (4 s. Manchester), and three students from Sleaford (16 sse. Lincoln), Lincoln and Louth [:láæth]. There was a fourth student from Brigg, but his special words are omitted. The informants all spoke rec. English, and hence the dialect was a reminiscence. TH. wrote the equivalent of (u_o), which may have been due to Manchester. I change it to (u₁) to agree with my own observations.

TH. marked in the (r) final constantly, but it is certainly not pron. in Li., and hence has been omitted.

Phrases. (i)z tē'en is'en' of), he-has taken himself off; (i)z gōn rêevin mad'), he's gone raving mad.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — tē'en [ta'en, taken]. 19 tēul. A: or O: 60 lōq. 61 emōq. 62 stroq. A'- 86 wæts. 91 moo. 92 naa. A': 104 róed róed. 110 nóut' [nought, ? (næ'ut)]. 124 stōvn. — róep'.

Æ- 138 fēudhe+r fadhē+r. Æ: 156 dlād'. 160 eg'. 161 dee dee. 172 gras'. — kar_ot kāt'. 178 nat'. Æ': 208 ivē. 209 níve. 210 tlee. 218 shíp. E- 241 re'en. 251 mîet.

EA- 320 kjēev. EA: 324 éit' e'it'. 326 óūd. 328 kóūd. 331 sóūd. 332 teld. 338 kaal. EA'- 347 ied. EA': — kreem [cream]. — iep' (heap). 366 grîet. EO- 386 joo. EO'- 411 thrîi. 419 jār jār. [your]. EO': 422 sîk'.

I- 445 i[(dhi ewee men) hie thee away man]. I: — tha'r_od [thæəd] third]. 458 nît. 459 réit. — driqk [drink]. I'- 494 táim. I': — de'ík [dyke]. 517 iū.

O- — stoon [stolen]. O: — sru₁b [shrub]. 527 bóút'. 528 thóút'. 538 wu₁d. — tōul [toll]. 550 wæ'r_od [(wæəd) "with a little rounding"]. — mæ'r_onîn. — æsiz [horses]. O'- 559 mādhe+r. 562 muun. O': 588 nuun. 595 fût'.

U: ku₁p. U'- 648 âue+r. 650 ebóut. U': 658 dōun. 663 óus. 667 óat. Y: — mu₁kî [mucky].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *téutiz* [potatoes]. I. and Y. 756 *srimp*. O. — *dəg'*. U. — *tub tu₁b* [tub]. — *manɛ* [manure].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — *pèud* [paid]. 830 *teen*. 851 *ant*. — *gàr_od'n* [gaad'n]. E.. — *íəb* [herb]. O.. — *bíuf* [beef]. — *díə'ine+r* [joiner]. 939 *tlóuziz* [closes, fields]. — *róeziz* [roses]. — *bru₁shiz* [brushes]. 947 *ba'il*. — [between] *təən toon* [written between (tə'rn tòrn) turn]. U.. — *wé'etəd*. 965 *a'il*. 969 *síue+r*. — *míuzik*.

VAR. iii. n.LINCOLNSHIRE FORM.

This is well marked by lying to the n. of the s. *hoose* line 6, which was traced with great care with the help of numerous clergymen, as already described (p. 19). But the change of (ǣ'u) or (áu) into (uu) does not affect the dialect in other respects; the nature and multiplicity of the fractures is not at all changed. The inference from this is that the dialect was established before the change of (uu) into (a'u), and that this n.Li. variety is a nearer approach to the old speech. Hence I have been forced, here, as also on the w. of England, to disregard this line for divisions of districts, as I did also the n. *sum* line 1 through Np. and the s. *sōm* line 2. They shew how far the change of (U' U) from (uu u) to (a'u ə) has proceeded northward, leaving the dialect otherwise unchanged. Unfortunately Gill, though a Li. man, is of little or no assistance. The only examples of his northern dialects which refer especially to Li. (suprà Part IV. p. 1250) are (*tóaz hóaz*), meaning probably (*tôez hôez*) toes hose, indicating an existing fracture. His other northern words are not necessarily Li., but his (*dhóu jóu*) thou you, may refer to it, and if so would indicate that the (ǣ'u) diphthong was fully in use in his time. But he may be referring to Nf., and his (*gyyd kyyk*) good cook may belong to that locality, as well as (*paa saa*) for (*pái sái*) pay say. Sir T. Smith (suprà Part I. p. 121b) says that (*paa daa waa maa laa*) pay day way may lay, were used by the Scotch and those living beyond the Trent. I have only once got (*paa*) pay from Nf., and never heard of the other words either in Li. or Nf.

As the pron. (uu) for *ow* would naturally lead to the supposition that the n.Li. variety was more related to the N. div., and hence to class it under that rather than the M. div., the following comparison between Brigg in n.Li., D 20, and Holderness in s.Yo., D 30, where the speech is also full of fractures, will shew the striking difference of the dialects. It must be recollected that the broad Humber rolls between them, with no possible bridge.

A-	<i>made</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>thaw</i>			
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>méd</i>	<i>tévl</i>	<i>thoo</i>			
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>míed</i>	<i>tívl</i>	<i>thóu</i>			
A'	<i>no</i>	<i>toe</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>stroke</i>	<i>oak</i>	<i>home</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>nóv</i>	<i>tóv</i>	<i>sóv</i>	<i>s tróek</i>	<i>ôek</i>	<i>óem</i>
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>níe</i>	<i>tíe</i>	<i>síe</i>	<i>sthruék</i>	<i>jak</i>	<i>wom</i>

O-	<i>foal</i>	<i>hope</i>	<i>nose</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>fôel</i>	<i>ôep</i>	<i>nôez</i>
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>fûel</i>	<i>wop</i>	<i>nûez</i>
O'	<i>book</i>	<i>took</i>	<i>foot</i>
<i>Brigg.</i>	<i>buuk</i>	<i>tuuk</i>	<i>fuut</i>
<i>Holderness.</i>	<i>bîek</i>	<i>tîek</i>	<i>fîet</i>

Brigg has, with no great certainty, (t.r-, d.r-). Holderness has (thr- dhr-).

Brigg uses (dhæ) generally for the def. article, and (t') rarely by assimilation. Holderness generally omits the def. art. altogether, or at most uses (t').

Brigg has always *I am* (a)m). Holderness always *I is* (a)z).

Mr. Edward Peacock, F.S.A., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, the author of the Glossary of Manley and Corringham Wapentakes, Li., has fully illustrated the n. Li. form, and he and his daughter also most kindly went vv. through a wl. for me, and furnished me with a dt. Miss Mabel Peacock has subsequently published "North Lincolnshire Dialect: Tales and Rhymes in the Lindsey Folk-speech," 1886.

In Mr. Peacock's Glossary, first ed. 1877 (the second was announced but not published when this was printed), a large number of words are spelled with *ou*, *ow*, apparently directing them to be pronounced with (æ'u), and in several instances this pronunciation was added in glossie by Prof. Skeat. I therefore took the trouble of extracting all such words as were not derived from -ol, -ough, etc., and sent them to Mr. Peacock, who kindly marked them for me, and at the same time said that they had been so written inadvertently. But as the pronunciation (æ'u) or (ou) or (au, au) is prevalent over the greater part of Li., that is, s. of the s. *hoose* line 6 which cuts off only a small portion of n.Li., it is very necessary to bear the distinction carefully in mind, and persons who consulted the glossary might consider that the cwl. here given is incorrect. The following is the result:

1. (u₁) written *oo* in flood, hood.

2. (uu) written *oo* in coo [cow], cool [a lump on the head], coop, coot, crook, crooked, croon [crown], croopy, dogmooth [dogmouth = snapdragon], doot [doubt], floor, foot, hoos [house], to hooze [to house], i'noo [just now], loonging [should have been *loongin'* = lounging], moo [bellow as a cow], moon, moose [mouse], mooth [mouth], moozles [stupid] noodle, nook, oot [out], hoors [hours], shoot, smook [smoke], smoor [smother], to smooth, smooting and smoochin [narrow passage between houses], soot, stooks [sheaves of corn], stool, tooken [taken], tool, tooth, tooth-houd [(tuuth æ'ud) = tooth-hold = something to bite], toozle [touzle], Wroot [in Isle of Axholme (8 e. Doncaster, Yo.)].

3. (uu) written *ou*, *ow* in below, bow out, bouncing, bounder, bow, breast plough [pluu epliu], brown [clock, linnet, study], to butter down, by now, a or to clout, clout-nails, count, countess-closes, court, to cow, cow-cotton, cow-gate, cow-grass, cow-lady, cow-lick [observe a *cow* is spelled *coo*], cowl [for chimneys], crowle [crawl], crown [also written *croon*], crownation, crowner, dogmouth [also written -mooth], to do out [to clean out], to doubt [=to fear], to dout [extinguish], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (æ'u)], down [ill], downcome, downfall, down-ligging, down to the ground [completely], :dowsabell, dowse, to drownd, drowned, enow [just now, also written *i' noo*], flout, flowter [flutter], foul, foul-tongued [these were marked as both (fæ'ul, fuul)], hound, house, house-boot, house-row, housen, how, howlerly [dirty, muddy, indecent], lout, louting, 'lowance [allowance, and also with (æ'u)], nows and thens, out and out, outcasts, outing, at outs, outwen [backwater], to owse [to bail water], to plough (ploou, pliu), powse ['pæ'uz, puuz] rubbish], proud, round, rousin, rout [noise], rout about, scour, shroud, souter-hole, a sow, to towel [to beat], a towil [a troublesome boy], a town.

4. (oo) written *ou*, *ow* in bout [a struggle], bowk [the belly], fower [four], goule [outfall of a drain], gowl [lump or swelling on the body], grout [thin mortar for concrete], growsome [fit for growing], growze [to eat noisily], howle [wooden water tunnel], howler [the alder tree], howmswever [howsoever], insouling [outfall

of a ditch], knowl [toll a bell], koush [=kewse=hemlock], loup [leap], to low [blaze], and adj. low [both also (AA)], lowse [loose], nowstril [nostril, a blow on the head], owen [over], ower [over], oweralls [overalls], overtaken [overtaken], owler [alder tree, also written *howler*], powl [pole], rowl [a roll of paper], rowler [a roller for crushing], rowly powly pudding, a snowler [something large and powerful], sougning [noise of the wind], to sowle [to assail], stour and daub [also stud and mud, building of laths, wattles and mud], stowp [post], to thow [thaw], i' tow, a yow [ewe].

5. (AA) written *ow* in know, to low [and also with (oo)], to own, throw.

6. (u₁) written *ou* in double rough (ru₁f).

7. (æ'u) written *ou* or *ow* in bouge out [bulge], bough-pot, boulder [a bolder], coulter, dowdy, dowly [weak], to dowk [duck], dowel [an iron pin, and also with (uu)], Howbeck dale [probably], 'lowance [allowance, both (æ'u) and (uu)], a power, to power [to pour], a rowel, sour [said of hay and clover], souse, towze, to yowl [howl], yowls [lands in certain parishes].

8. (o) written *ow* in knowledge-box.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE dt.

Manley Wapentake, about Brigg (24 nne.Lincoln).

Written by E. Peacock, Esq., of Bottesford Manor, Brigg, and pal. by AJE. from his indications and vv. wl.

1. sóe ái sêv, mérts, ʒe sív nuu, dhét ái)m réit ebuut dha't lít'l la's ku₁mín fra t' skuul jònde.

2. shii)z ego'in duun dhv róed dhie thrif jòn red jéet v)dhe left and sáid v)dhe wêv.

3. síuer enif dhv bêen ez gôen stréit u₁p tē)dhe dûer v)dhe rōq uus,

4. wiv shi)l tʃantʃ find dhat dhv dru₁qk'n diéf wiz'nd felv kaad :təməs.

5. wi aal naa im veri wel.

6. wiént dh)æ'ud tʃap suun laan)v nót tē duu dhat egien, pûv thiq!

7. luuk, iz'nt it triu?

Notes to n.Li. dt.

1. *I* (ái) apt to run to (ái A'í).—*I am*, "is, are, be, not used," but (bént) be not seems to be occasionally used.—*from the*, the (t') is very doubtful, and (dhv) is more probable.—*yon* (jòn) is commonly used for *that*, *yonder* is not so common.

2. *through*, this form is also given in Mr. P.'s Glossary, Brogden gives

(thru)f).—*hand*, in his wl. Mr. P. always inserted (h), here he notes "(h) never used, but in anger." Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, a native of n.Li., always omitted (h) in dialect.

4. *chance*, *maybe* would be more usual.—*called* more usual than (v)dhe néem v) of the name of.

5. *very*, also called (vari).

WINTERTON (22 wnw.Gt. Grimsby) es.

written by Rev. J. J. Fowler, sometime curate of Winterton, and corrected from his dict. in 1873 by AJE.

This es. was also read to me by the daughter of a labourer from Epworth (9 nww.Gainsborough), who was servant at Mr. Spencer's Hotel, King's Cross, London, a Lincolnshire house. The servant had been a year only in London, but her dialect was not certain and was confused, partly apparently from original

proximity to Doncaster (14 w. Epworth), which probably affects the whole of the Isle of Axholme, partly from London speech, and greatly from inability to understand what was wanted. Hence I subsequently felt that her version was not sufficiently trustworthy. Mr. Fowler himself was not always quite certain. Under these circumstances I give only an abridged form of Mr. Fowler's version.

1. wel, nébbe, juu en ii me bóeth laf. úe kéuz?
2. dhat shel bi tríu. it iz'nt e vari láikli thiq, juu me pend.
3. djest dhuu od dhi' dín, men, wá'il a)m ete'lín dhe.
4. a)m síue ái íed em sèb—dhat a did, síuer enif—
5. et-t'-juu qgest su₁n iz'se'n, e grínt lad e náin jír ood, níu iz féudhez tu₁q terekli [directly], en ái'd tru₁st ím te spék triuth oní dee, éi, dhat wod)í.
6. en dh)ood wu₁men ese'n 'l tel oní on je, if je)l nobet aks)e, éi 'dhat she wil,
7. tuu e thrii táimz over en aal.
8. uu it waz en wíer it waz en wen it waz et she fu₁n dhat dhíe dru₁qk'n bíest ez she kaalz er u₁zben.
9. she siid)im wí er aan iiz, lígín u₁p)e) dhe gru₁nd i iz gu₁d su₁nde kúet, klúes egíen dhe dúe stíed, duun bi)dh kaaner et jon dhíe léen end.
11. it waz djest ez dhe :bíl wáif en æ wez e ku₁mín uut o)dh téuti gath [potato yard] fre íqín uut t' klóuz,—dhe) d djest bín duu'in e bíe e weshín, en ed aadlínz get'n dher anz uut e dh wesh tu₁b,
12. en)dh ket'l waz bóilín, en dhe wez djest e go'in te ev e ku₁p e tie.
13. en if juu)l belii'v 'mii, a níve naad noo móer, ne dæ'z'nt want tu néedher, sóe nuu je naa.
14. a mu₁n ewee' ôem te gít e bíe e su₁per A)í'v'e, sóe a mu₁n bi wishín je gu₁d niit.

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE cwl.

written by Mr. Peacock, and corrected from his dict. in 1877 by AJE. Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of Whitelands Training College, Chelsea, also gave me a wl. for Scotter (19 n.w. Lincoln), which I corrected vv., and when the pron. differed from or supplemented Mr. Peacock's, the words are here annexed with F. prefixed.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 talk téek. 5 ma'k méek. 6 méed. 7 sa'k séek. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 10 haa [no tendency to euphonic (r)]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 draa. 17 laa. 18 kéek. 19 téel. 20 léem. 21 néem. 22 téem. 23 séem. 24 shéem. 25 méen. 27 F néev. 31 léet. 32 béedh. 33 reedhe raadher. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom ku₁m. 41 theqk [occ. probably a modern vulgarism]. 43 ha'nd. 44 la'nd. 46 ka'n'l. 51 ma'n. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 fra¹. 60 loq. 61 emoqst. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 65 soq. A'- 67 gõe. 69 nôe. 70 tõe. 71 wõe. 72 uu. 73 sóe. 74 tuu₁, F tõe. 75 s'tróek. 76 t'éd, F tóed. 78 aa, e aaez me [he owes me]. 79 aan. 81 leen. 82 [no (wu₁nst) is heard]. 83 móen. 84 móe+r. 85 sóe+r. 86 óets wots. 87 thæz [(tl) for 'kl, initial, always]. 89 bóeth. 90 blaa. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 99 thraan. 100 saan. A': 101 óek. 102 aks. 104 róed. 105 róed. 106 bróed. 109

1AA. 111 a'ut. 113 óel. 115 óem. 118 bóen. 121 góen. 122 nóen. 123 F na'ut. 124 stóen. 126 F óe. 127 [(v óest) a cough]. 128 dhóez. 129 góest. 130 bóet. 131 góet. 133 root reet. 134 F óeth.

Æ- 138 feedhe+r féedhe+r. 139 drée. 140 éel [ale, ail pron. in same way]. 141 néel. 142 sniil snéel. 143 téel. 144 F egéen. 145 sléen. 146 F méen. 147 F bréen. — a'nt [(pismáie+r) more common]. 149 F bléez. 152 wa'te.r. 153 se'te.rdi. Æ: 155 tha'k. 158 eft'e+r. 161 dée. 164 F mév. 166 méed. 168 tal'e. 169 wa'n. 172 gres. 173 waa+r. 174 esh. 179 wa't. 181 pa'd. Æ'- 182 F s'ie. 183 t'ietj. 191 íel. 192 m'ien. 194 eni. 195 men'i. 199 bliet. 200 w'iet. Æ': 205 thríed. 210 tl'ee. 213 éedhe+r. 215 F taat. 216 diel. 226 m'óest. 227 wiit. 228 swíet.

E- 232 bríek. 233 spíek. 234 níed. 240 lêen. 241 rêen. 242 F twêen. 243 plêe. 247 F wíen. 249 wíe+r. 250 swíe+r. 251 m'iet. E: 260 F l'êe. 262 wêe. 265 street. 267 j'ild. 270 bel'as. 274 bintj. 284 thresh. E': 314 híed. EA- 319 géep. — kév+r. EA: 321 [(sid) used]. 323 la'f. 323 fa'ut. 326 ood. 327 bood. 328 kood. 330 ood. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kaaf, F kaaf. 334 éef. 335 aal. 340 F jaad. 343 waa'm. 345 daa+r. 346 j'et. EA'- 347 híed. EA': 350 díed. 351 líed. 354 shíef. 355 díef. 356 líef. 357 dhôe. 361 b'ien. 362 slée. 363 t'iep. 366 gríet. 367 thríet. 368 dieth. 369 slaa. 371 strôe, F straa'v. EI- 372 ái, ee. 373 F dhée. 374 F név. 376 be'ek. EI: 377 ste'ek. 378 we'ek. EO- 384 hev'n. 385 biniin. 386 soo. 387 níu. EO: 388 milk. 390 shu'd. 397 swóed. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 405 aath. 406 íeth. 407 faad'n. EO'- 413 div'l. 414 flii. 421 foti. EO': 423 thii. 426 F féit. 430 frend. 432 fóet. 434 bet. EY- 438 dii.

I- 442 áivín. 444 stiil, F stáil. 446 náin. I: 452 ái [v) unemphatic]. 455 lig. 458 níit. 459 réit. 461 eliit. 462 siit. 465 s'itj. 466 t'áid [but (b'een) bairn, used]. 468 t'ilde+r. 471 tímbe+r. 472 s'riqk. 473 bl'ind. 475 wáind. 476 bind. 477 fínd. 478 gráind. 479 te wínd. 486 íest [F (baam) used]. 487 j'istedi. 488 F j'it. I'- 491 F sái. 493 F dráiv. 494 F táim. 496 áien. 468 F ráit. I': 500 F láik. 501 F wáid. 502 F fáiv. 504 F náif. 505 F wáif [occ. (wáif wa'if)]. 506 wu'men. 507 wímin. 508 máil. 511 wáin. 512 F spáie+r. 515 wáiz.

O- 520 ba'u. 521 íóel. 522 op'n. 523 hóep. 524 wóeld waald [first commonest]. O: 526 kof. 527 ba'ut. 528 th'ut. 529 bra'ut. 530 ra'ut. 531 da'ute+r. 532 kóel. 534 hóel. 536 ga'ud, F guuld. 537 ma'ud, F muuld. 538 wu'd. 539 huul. 540 F áli. 542 ba'ut. 550 wod. O'- 558 luuk. 563 F mu'ndi. 565 nóez. 566 F u'dhe+r. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 F gu'd. 572 F blu'd. 573 flu'd. 575 stuud. 576 wenzdi. 577 bíu. 578 pliu [always, never (pl'et)]. 579 uni'f [sg.], eniu [pl.]. 580 toí. 581 sa'ut. 587 du'n. 592 swaa'v. 594 buut. 595 íuut. 597 suut.

U- 599 ebuun. 600 F lu'v. 601 faul. 602 suu. 603 ku'm. 605 su'n. 607 bu'te+r. U: 608 F u'gli. 612 su'm. 613 dru'qk. 615 pu'nd. 616 gru'n. 618 wa'und. 619 fu'n. 621 wu'n. 625 tu'q. 629 su'n. 631 thozdi. 632 u'p. 633 ku'p. 634 thrif, F thru'f. 635 woth. 636 fæde+r. U'- 643 ku. 641 F hu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 646 buu. 649 thuuzend. 652 ku'd. 653 bu't. U': 654 shruud. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 662 F u'z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 677 F drái. 679 t'ietj. Y: 685 rig. 686 F báí. 689 bíld [rarely, and (byld)]. 690 máind. 691 káind. Y: 700 was. 701 fást. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 F thottiin. 708 háie+r. Y': 709 táie+r. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 F bad. 714 F lad. 717 dyéd. 718 tréed. 719 [(bu)lhed) used]. 722 driu, F dréu. 723 F déeri. 725 séel. 729 fréem. 733 F skév+r. 735 F smesh. 737 F mért. 738 F préet. 742 F léezi. E. 743 skriem. 744 meslinz. 745 t'iet. 748 u'nfl'ed [unfledged]. 751 píet. I. and Y. 756 simp [occ.]. 758 gel [(wentj) much used]. O. 761 lóed. 763 F róem. 768 kóek.

769 mæ'udiwaap, mæ'ud. 772 boonfaiv+r. 773 [F only (djak-as) jack-ass used]. 774 pœni. 778 efœd. 779 F œts [usually (liëvînz)]. 780 F' djos'l. 783 pu'ltri. 784 F bu'ns. 786 F duus. 787 F' suus. 789 F rau. 790 guun [(d) never added], F gâun. — druund, druunded [drown, drowned]. U. 792 F skwab'l. 793 F u₁g. 794 F dju₁g. 795 F sru₁g. 801 F ru₁m. 802 F ru₁m. 803 F dju₁mp. 805 F kru₁dz. 806 F iu₁s. 807 F pu₁s. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 F fœs. 811 F plœs. 812 F léés. 813 F bœk'n. 814 F mœs'n. 815 F fa'ks. 816 feed. 817 redish. 827 F eegv+r. 828 F eegv. 834 sheez. 838 trœt. 839 béel. 840 tjaambu+r, F tjœmbv+r. 852 a'pen. 853 baagzn. 857 F kœs. 858 F brœs. 859 F tjœs. 860 pœst [used for dough]. 861 tést. 864 bikas. 865 folt. E.. 874 re'én. 875 féent. 876 déenti. 878 salleri. 887 tlaadi. 888 saatin. 892 nevi. 893 flûue+r. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 899 niis. 904 F vâilet. 910 djaist, F djaïs. 911 sestén. O.. 913 kôutj. 914 brôutj. 915 F stu₁f. 922 F bu₁shel. 927 F tru₁qk. 928 u₁ns. 929 F kuukeme+r, kœ'u-. 931 dju₁gle+r. 935 F kuuntri. 939 tlœs. 940 kôut. 942 bu₁tje+r. 943 tu₁tj. 944 F eluut. 950 F su₁pe+r. 951 ku₁pl. 952 kôés. 953 F ku₁z'n. 954 F ku₁shen. 955 duut. 956 F ku₁ve+r. U.. 963 kœâiet. 966 F fruut. 967 F suut. 969 súvr. 970 F dju₁st. 971 F fluut.

D 21 = s.NM. = southern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the confluence of the Irwell with the Mersey, then go n. over Chat Moss just e. of Astley and Tyldesley, through Peel (3 s. Bolton). Turn ne. and pass se. of Bolton, nw. of Bury and se. of Bacup to the b. of La. at Todmorden. Then go s. along the e. b. of La. to Ch. just n. to Mosley. Turn across Leatherbed Moss, Ch., to the ne. b. of Db., and pursue the e. b. of Db. to Stanedge or Stanage. Go. w. to the s. of Bamford and Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Man Tor. Here turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest liberty to Hay Dale, and then w. to Black Edge (1½ n. Buxton). [This b. from Stanedge to Black Edge is also the b. between (dr, tr) on the n., and (dr, tr) on the s.] Go nw. over Combs Moss to its nw. point; then just w. of Chapel-en-le-Frith, and keeping n. of Combs Edge township go nw. to the b. of Db. at Whaley Bridge (9 se. Stockport). Pursue the w. b. of Db. to the ne. horn of Ch., just at the junction of the Etherow and the Goyt near Marple, Ch. Then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to just w. of Stockport joining the Mersey and pursuing it to the starting-point at the affluence of the Irwell.

Area. The se. corner of La., the ne. horn of Ch., the High Peak or the nw. of Db. The s. slopes of the Peak are in D 26.

Authorities. See County List under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., ° in io.

Ch. † Stockport, partly in La., † Stalybridge, partly in La., and incidentally with † Glossop Db. are given Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Hattersley, etc. to Compstall.

Db. † Chapel-en-le-Frith, † Edale, † Glossop (including Hadfield, Padfield, etc.), † Hope Woodlands, † Peak Forest.

La. † Ashton-under-Lyne, * Bury, † Failsworth, ° Manchester (twice), ° Moston, † Oldham, † Patricroft, † Rochdale, † Rayton, † Stalybridge, partly in Ch. It will thus be seen that practically I am almost entirely indebted to TH. for information on this district, and he is the only informant who was capable of giving the necessary minute information.

Character. This district lies in the middle between the NM. group, D 20 to D 24, and the MM. group, D 25 to D 27. It is not itself perfectly homogeneous, but very nearly so. Two principal varieties may be distinguished. Var. i. the La. Form which

prevails in La., Ch., and the s. bank of the Etherow, and Var. ii. the Peak Form. Var. i. is strongly distinguished from the surrounding districts, by the use of (a'u) for U' in place of (aa') in D 22, the great variety of sounds for U' in D 24, and the use of (ái) for U' in D 25. Var. ii. is not so strongly distinguished as Var. i., because it uses (áu) for U', which is not an unfrequent variety of (a'u) everywhere, and as already shewn (p. 293) is really on the way to (aa) and (ái) through (áe). In the present participle Var. i. uses (-i,qk), a very characteristic La. form, but Var. ii. has (i,u), for the usual form (-iq). In the three interlinear cs. given presently it will be seen that these are practically the only points of difference.

For the meaning of (u_o), which is here universal, see p. 291, and for (æ'u) see p. 292. Both are here pure, and as D 21 is TH.'s native district, his pron. of these sounds must be received as normal. On (r), which must be considered in the illustrations to represent (r), following TH.'s writing, see p. 293. On (h) see p. 295. The final -ng becomes generally (-qg), except in participles, where it is usually (n) in Db. as in most places, but occ. becomes (-qk) in the La. and Ch. portions of D 21.

The following peculiarities of TH.'s notation, but not his (ú_ou), have been strictly observed in this his native district :

1. TH. has been very particular in marking *the medial length of vowels* as distinguished from long or short, both when occurring independently and as the last element of a diphthong. But this is by no means a peculiarity of any particular district, as appears from his continually marking the same kind of prolongation in every place which he visits. It is very rarely that I find any inducement to make this distinction in my own writing, but, except in the final element of diphthongs, which is frequently prolonged at pleasure, I follow his orthography when quoting him. TH. is very anxious to have it understood that the medial lengths he marks are strictly dialectal, and that to use either short or long quantities in their place would be inaccurate. Old John Hart, 1569, considered the second element of all diphthongs long, as (âiî áuu), and certainly whenever a diphthong is much prolonged or emphasized, the second element is necessarily lengthened, an elocutionary device by which its character is not altered, whereas its character is always much changed by more or less lengthening the first element, as (âi áai, âu áau). Hence I mark initial but do not mark final lengthening of the final element of a diphthong, just as I do not mark elocutionary devices in general.

2. TH. much insists on his *notation of unaccented (i)*, as I write it, which he considers should be (i_o) or retracted (i_o), especially in final syllables. Thus he would write *infinity* as (infin*i*ti). Here I do not follow him, but write (infin*i*ti), considering that any difference of sound is an accidental, neither intentional nor invariable, effect of the absence of accent, which always obscures the sound and makes it difficult to appreciate. At first I thought it was a local peculiarity, but when I found that TH. recognised it from all speakers, peasant or educated, local or general, and in myself also, where I failed to perceive it, I concluded that it was a mere difference of appreciation and ceased to use (i_o), which as contrasted with my own habits of writing would have produced the impression of a difference of pron. which did not really exist. A glance at the following cs. will shew the undesirability of such a notation.

3. TH. not only marks the medial length of vowels, but the *prolongation of final consonants*, especially “(1) in the pause after short and sometimes medial vowels, and diphthongs having both elements short, and (2) occasionally in connected speech.” In the case of (f v, th dh, s z, sh zh, r, l, m, n, q) of course they can be prolonged and often are prolonged even in received speech, especially in the pause or when dictating isolated words and aiming at distinctness, as (looth') loth, (loodh', loodh'th') loathe, but this is elocutionary and not dialectal or permanent, that is, the consonant is not invariably so prolonged whenever the word is used. Again in the case of mutes as (p, t, k), which of course having no

sound cannot have their sound prolonged, the configuration may be suspended and released on flatus, thus (noot' t') note, for which (noot') would be written. [The French release on voice as (not').] But this again is elocutionary, not permanent, and its more or less frequent use does not belong to any special dialect. In noting down a person's pron. it is unobjectionable to mark it, as well as other passing usages, but in printing dialectal specimens it would be misleading, because it would acquire the appearance of permanence, which it does not really possess. Hence, as a rule, I omit them altogether. Of course TH. holds a different opinion and says that in all cases where he marks this prolongation of consonants, the phonetic representation of the dialect would be imperfect if they were not prolonged. Nevertheless I prefer not marking prolongation, but leaving it optional.

For a specimen of TH.'s complete style of writing palaeotype, which I do not find it right or convenient to adopt generally, see the Chapel-en-le-Frith dt. and cwl., pp. 322-329, which being written by himself after consultation with his friends there resident, is worth preserving as a portrait. I have also used his marks of prolongation and retraction in the three interlinear cs. here given, in the eight interlinear cs. of D 26, and the Combs Valley dt. in the four interlinear dt. in D 25, so that the full effect of these (to my mind individual and not dialectal) prolongations and suspensions may be readily seen. But beyond the particular specimens named, I shall omit them.

The suspension of consonants, however, is quite different from the *suspended* (t') for the definite article, which here occurs sparingly, but is universal in D 24, 30, 31. The mode in which it makes its presence felt is peculiar. When it is possible it hangs on by a glide to the preceding vowel or consonant, as (in,t' kart) in the cart, but in (t'kart,s ku,min) the cart is coming, this is impossible. It then modifies the position of the organs for (k), so that the glide on to (aa) in (t')kaa) is quite different from that in simple (kaa). Before (t, d) as (t' tu,q, t' dag) it intensifies the (t, d) in a remarkable manner. It never properly runs on to the following vowel, (t' oud t'ap) the old chap, and (toud t' t'ap) told the chap, have different effects as well as meanings. The (t'ou) then more nearly resembles (t'tou), but is not so intense. In no case must voice or flatus intervene. To say (t'dag, t'tuud, t'kaat) the dog, the toad, the cart, with introduced (') or (°), would be quite wrong. It is almost hopeless to understand (t') without studying its effect from native lips.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

S Stalybridge, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1876 from the dictation of John Marsland, Esq., J.P., b. 1817, cotton spinner, native and resident.

G Glossop, Var. i. pal. by TH. in 1874 from the dictation Mr. Samuel Lyne, native of Hollingworth, Ch. (4 wnw.Glossop), b. about 1808, who has resided in the neighbourhood all his life, lodge-keeper at a large cotton-mill. Woodhead, Tintwhistle, Hollingworth, Mottram, Hattersley, etc., to Compstall, in the ne. horn of Ch., and Hadfield, Padfield, etc., on the Db. side of the Etherow Valley, have all the same peasant speech.

C Chapel-en-le-Frith (5 n. Buxton, Var. ii. pal. by TH., native, from personal knowledge. In this version the roman superiors ^{a, b, c}, etc., refer to the variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Govt, which are also given in D 25 as variants from Pott Shrigley; they consist chiefly in the use of (ái) for (áu). The italic superiors ^{a, b, c} give the variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc., on the Peak. For both see notes, p. 321.

0. S *Stalybridge*. wái :dʒən)z nó da'uts.
 G *Glossop*. wái :dʒən(z næ'u da'uts.
 C *Chapel-en-le-Frith*. wái :dʒən)z næ'u ^ada'uts.

1. S we'l, ma'n, búvðh ìm u_n dhì mî, laf' et wət A)m
 G we'l, mən, dhíi en ìm mē búvðh laf' et wət A)m
 C we'l, làd, joo en ìm mē ^bbuvðh laf' ed dhiz ní,úz

S teliqk)ɹɐ. A du_onɐ kJEER. dhat matɐr)z nɔ₁ut'.
 G bə'um)t' tel)ɹɐ. úv kJEERZ ? dhat)s noodher íer ner dhíer.
 C v)máin. 'uu kJEERZ ? dhat)s noodher íer ner dhíer.

2. S dher)z nɔ mənɪ, fɔk' dāin bi'kooz dhɐ)r laft àt, wi_i(noon,
 G dher iz)nɐ mənɪ, ez dāin bi'kooz dhɐ)r laft àt, wi_inoon,
 C dher iz)nɐ mənɪ, ez dāin bi'kooz dhɐ)r laft àt, wi_inoon,

S du_onɐ wi_i? wɔt shu_od mak)ɐm ? it)s noon sɐ láiklɪ,
 G du_onɐ wi_i? wɔt shu_od mak)ɐm ? it iz)nɐ verɪ, láiklɪ,
 C 'du_ont ez ? wɔt shud mak)ɐm ? it iz)nɐ verɪ, láiklɪ,

S iz)it ?
 G iz)it ?
 C iz)it ?

3. S shu_oz) ɹ'u it)wɐr ɐ)dhɪs'n. sɐ dju_ost ó₁ud
 G ɛt anɪ, reet it)wɐr ɐ)dhɪs'n. sɐ dju_ost ɹ'ud
 C ɛt anɪ, reet dhūiz ɐr th)faks ɐ)th kjees. sɐ dju_ost ɹ'ud

S dhɪ, nɔ₁iz, mən, u_on shu_ot' dhɪ, mɹ'uth wáil A)v dū_on.
 G dhɪ, dən, mən, ɛn bi, kwáivɛt tɪn A)v dū_on.
 C ɹɐr 'nɛ'iz, mən, ɛn bi, kwáivɛt tɪl A)v 'dæ'un.

S JE'ɹ)dhɪ ?
 G íɐr)dhɪ ? [JEER)dhɪ, ?]
 C íɐr)jɐ ?

4. S A)m shúu⁵ɐr A JE'ɹd su_om ɐ dhúu⁵z fɔk' ɛt
 G A)m sàrtɪ_n A íɐrd ɛm SEE—A mɪɛn su_om ɐ dhæ'uz fɔk' ɛz
 C A)m sàrtɪ_n A íɐrd ɛm SEE—A 'miin su_om ɐ dhæ'uz fɔk' ɛz

S rek'nt t' noo ó ebə'út it SEE—

G went thræ'u th)wu_ol kensàrn fɐr th)fæst dhɐrsɛlz—dhat A
 C went thræ'u th)wu_ol kensàrn 'fɹe th)fæst dhɐrsɛlz—dhat A

S
 G dɪd shæ'uer ɛnu_of
 C dɪd shæ'uer ɛnu_of

5. S u_ot th)ju_oqkst lād i'ssɛl' ɐ big' lād ɐ nāin, nood i's
 G ɛs th)ju_oqgi_{st} lād i'ssɛl' ɐ big' lād nāin íɐr ɹ'ud, nood i's
 C ɛs th)ju_oqgi_{st} lād 'i'ssɛl' ɐ big' lād nāin íɐr ɹ'ud, nood i's

S feedherz vóis' in ɐ krak', fɐr oo it wɐr sɐ kwíɐr u_on
 G feedherz vɛ'is' ɛs sæ'un ɛz ii íɐrd it, ɛv it wɐr kwíɐr ɛn
 C feedherz 'vɛ'is' di_ɹɛkli_ɪ, ɛv it wɐr sɐ kwíɐr ɛn

S skwɛk'iqk, u_on A noo th)lād vɔ Aalɛs tɛl t' t_ɹúu⁵th,
 G skwíek'iqk, ɛn A)m shæ'uer ii)l tɛl t' t_ɹæ'uth,
 C 'skwík'ín, ɛn A)d t_ɹu_ost 'ɛm t' tɛl t' t_ɹæ'uth,

S A)m shúu⁵r.

G ani, táim.

C ani, táim, dhat A wú⁵d.

6. S u_n th)ó⁵ud wu_{men} ersel' el tel ani, on je u_t)s laf'i,qk,
 G en th)á⁵ud wu_{men} ersel' el tel ani, on je et er laf'i,qk,
 C en th)á⁵ud wu_{men} ^sersel' el tel ani, on je ez laf''n naa,

S u_n stre'it' á⁵ut', en oo, bá⁵ut ani, bødher, iv jæ)n
 G en tel je stre'it' á⁵ut', tæ'u, bá⁵ut mĩtj bødher, ev jæ)n
 C en tel je stre'it' fōret, tæ'u, ^fbá⁵ut mĩtj bødher, ev jo)n

S næber aks er, oo! wi)nt úu⁵?

G næber aks er, oo! wi)net æ'u?

C oonli, aks er, oo! wi)net v?

7. S shu_z) á⁵u, úu tó⁵ud mĩ wen A akst)er, mōni, v
 G et ani, reet, æ'u tæ⁵ud i't mĩi wen A akst)er, tæ⁵u er thrĩi
 C et ani, reet, æ'u tæ⁵ud i't mĩi wen A akst)er, tæ⁵u er thrĩi

S táim, u_n úu)d nā)bi, ru_{qg} v dhat pói⁵nt A)rek'n,
 G táimz óer, en æ'u shu_d)nē bi, raqk eba⁵ud
 C táimz óer, en æ'u du_z)nē á⁵ut t' bi, ru_{qg} ^seba⁵ut sītj

S wā)d'n .jæ thi⁵qk?

G dhis', wād du_n je thi⁵qk?

C v thi⁵qg ez dhis', wād du_n je thi⁵qk?

8. S wēl, ez A wer se'i,qk úu⁵)d tel je, á⁵u wíer u_n
 G wēl, ez A wer see'i,qk æ'u)d tel je búrdh á⁵u en wíer en
 C wēl, ez A wer see'i_n æ'u)d tel je ^hbaudh áu en wíer en

S wen' úu⁵ fu_n' t' d_ru_{qk}'n bíest úu⁵ kooz er)u_zbent.
 G wen' æ'u fu_n' t' d_ru_{qk}'n slotj ez æ'u kooz er u_zbent.
 C wen' æ'u fu_n' t' d_ru_{qk}'n slotj ez æ'u kAAZ er u_zbent.

9. S úu⁵ SWEER úu⁵ siid i_m wi, er oon iin, fu_l leqkth
 G æ'u SWEER æ'u siid i_m ersel', lá⁵i,i,qk ó ev v leqkth
 C æ'u SWEER æ'u siid i_m wi, er oon iin, lá⁵i_n A' i_z leqkth

S on th) flúu⁵er in i_z gú⁵d a'led⁵i, kúet, tlós' bi,)th
 G u_{pe} th) grá⁵und in i_z su_{ndi}, kúet, tloos et)i_z
 C u_{pe} th) ⁱgrá⁵und, in i_z gú⁵d su_{ndi}, ⁱkuut, tloos bi,)th

S á⁵us' dār, dá⁵un bi,)th karnēr v)th loon.

G oon dār, dá⁵un et th) karnēr v)th loon.

C ^káuz dār, ⁱdá⁵un et th) karnēr v ^sjōnd loon.

10. S úu⁵ sed i wer mak⁵i,qk v dñ, fer oo th)wāld
 G i wer mak⁵i,qk v dñ, æ'u se'd, fer oo th)wāld
 C i wer mak⁵i_n v dñ, æ'u se'd, fer AA th)wāld

S láik e púerli, tjáilt, er láik e lit'l wentj fret'i,qk.
 G láik e badli, tjáilt, er e lit'l wentj krái'i,qk.
 C láik e badli, tjáilt, er e lit'l wentj krái'in.

11. S u_on dhat wár, ez úu⁵ en er d_ou't_er i_n laa kúu⁵m
 G en dhat wár, ez á'r en er d_a'u't_er i_n laa k_a'um
 C en dhat ap'nt, ez á'r en er d_a'u't_er i_n laa k_a'um

S thrúu⁵ th)bak' jàrd fræ aqgi,qk th)wít tlúez
 G thræ'u th)bak' jàrd af'ter eqgi,qk t)tlúez
 C thræ'u th)bak' jàrt wen dhi,)d bin i,qgi_n th)wít mtluuz

S á'ut' e)th wE'ish'i,qk dee
 G á'ut' e)th wEsh'i,qk dee
 C áut' t)^kd_re'i ev e wEsh'i_n dee

12. S wáil th)tee kjet'l wer bó'i_ili,qk wən
 G wáil th) kjet'l wer bE'i_ili,qk fer th)bag'i,qk wən
 C wáil th) kjet'l wer 'bE'i_il_in fer th)^mtee, wən

S fáin brít' su_omer af'ter n_ou⁵n, n_aber e wík'
 G su_onshe'ini, af'ter n_ae'un, n_aber e wík
 C fáin brít af'ter n_ae'un i, su_omer, en it'l oonli, bi e "wík

S sin' t' neks th_arzdi.
 G sin' t' neks th_arzdi.
 C sin' t' neks th_arzdi.

13. S u_on du_on)je noo? esh) shúu⁵er ez A')m kood :djak'
 G en du_on)je noo? esh sh_a'uer ez A'm íer,
 C en du_on)je noo? esh sh_a'uer ez mái neem)z :djən

S :shepert, A J_erd n_oi'ut' ne múer eba'ut i,t
 G A NEVER íerd n_a'ut' aba'ut i,t sin'
 C :shepert, A niver gj_et t' noo ne múer e dhat kensàrn te

S u_op te n_a'u, u_on A du_o)ne want t' dúu⁵ noodher, n_a)dhen'!
 G en A du_o)ne want noodher, n_a)dhen'!
 C dhiz dee, en A du_o)ne want noodher, n_a)dhen'!

14. S u_on se)n_a'u A)m gu'i,qk) k' mi, bag'i,qk. gu_od nít,
 G en n_a'u A)m gu'i,qk w_am)p' mi, su_oper. gu_od nít',
 C en naa A)m gu'i_n w_am te mi, su_oper. gu_od nít',

S u_on du_o)ne bi se redi, t' kroo óer anib_adi, egeen, wen
 G en du_o)ne kroo óer nu_obdi, egjeen, wen
 C en du_o)ne bi se redi, t' kroo óer an_ib_adi, egj_en, wen

S dhe)r ta'ki,qk eba'ut ó'ut'.
 G dhi, taak'n eba'ut á'ut'.
 C dhi, taak'n "eba'ut á'ut'.

15. S i)z nəber v fūù⁵ et taaks bæ'ut sens. sɛ nɛ'u a
 G ï iz v sɔft fœ'u et preets bæ'ut sens. A's)se)nu
 C it's v "wɛk fœ'u ez preets 'báut riiz'n. ɛn dhat)s mi,

 S dū_on. gu_od nít'.
 G múer vɛá'ut i)t. gu_od nít'.
 C last wárd. gu_od nít'.

Notes to Stalybridge cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or (:tu_om', :bíl'), etc.—*thee*, the 2nd pers. sg. is employed in the usual way. TH. writes (dhí), but says, "In this and other words in which (i ii) occur, the sound, when not a pure vowel, is a slight fracture nearly = (íi).'' This is in other cases written (ii) or (íi); but I here retain TH.'s notation. —*telling*. "The termination (iqk) is, in the town, restricted to *elderly* people. It was generally used about 1836-46. Mr. Marsland's father (d. 1864) invariably said (iqk)." He also said (ru_okh) rough, (láikh) laugh.

3. *choose how*, a common phrase, for 'at any rate, take it as you like.'—*shut thy mouth*, or (shar u.p') or (shu_or u.p') shut up, the final (t) before a vowel becoming (r), as very frequently here

and elsewhere, see par. 12 (nəber v wik) nought-but a week.

4. *sure*, the ⁵ in (æ'u⁵) merely means "with protruded lips," as near Oldham, only not quite so much protruded.

6. *you will-en* (jɛ)n, the *will* is lost and only the *you-n* remains.

9. *by the house* or (ɛsáid v)th-), aside of the.—*corner of the lane* or (loon karnɛr) lane corner.

14. *going to my* (gu-i,qk)k' mi), (k') is *to*, assimilated to preceding (qk). —*tea*, bagging. Most work-people have tea at six, which they call *bagging*, and have no supper. This word is used also over D 31. At the printers' of this book, in Hertford, a similar word, *packing*, is used for dinner.

Notes to Glossop cs., p. 317.

1. *man* or Tom, Bill, etc.—*thee* used for *thou*, as at Stalybridge.

3. *until I've done*, (tín) is a Ch. word.

4. *certain* or (shæ'uɛr) *sure*.

5. *if* (i.e. although) *it were queer*.

6. *nought-but* or (oonli) only.

7. *two or three* or (tæ'uthri).—*wrong* or (ru_oqg).

8. *slotch*, sottish, or besotted fellow.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') is (t') *to*, assimilated to preceding m.

15. *I shall say no more*, the (s) is (sh) for *shall*, assimilated to the following (s).

Notes to Chapel-en-le-Frith cs., p. 317.

Variants for Combs Valley and Dale of Goyt, which properly belong to D 25 :

^a dáits. ^b búédh. ^c úv. ^d mien. ^e skwíek'i.n. ^f báit. ^g ɛbáit. ^h búédh ái. ⁱ gráind. ^j kúet. ^k áiz. ^l dáin. ^m tlúz art. ⁿ ɛbáit. ^o báit riez'n.

Variants for Edale, Hope Woodlands, etc. :

^a du_o ne wi. ^b dín. ^c dū_on. ^d tɛr (th)fárst dherseɛnz. ^e i'ssen'. ^f vdis'. ^g ɛrsen'. ^h ílek [hillcock]. ⁱ jɔnd. ^j ɔn dɛr. ^k wárd. ^l d'rái. ^m báih.n. ⁿ tíi. ^o wík'.

General Notes.

1. *lad*. The contracted Christian name is generally used, as *Tom*, *Tommy*.

—*you* or (dhí) *thee*; used as before.

3. *these are the facts of the case*, or (it wɛr v dhis'n) it was of this fashion. —*your*, or familiarly (dhí) *thy*.

4. *from the first*, or (bi'gi'n'i,n) beginning.

5. *youngest*, or (ju_oqst).—*directly*, or (in a mínit) in a minute, or (ɛs sɛ'uɛz íi íerd i t) as soon as he heard it.

6. *laugh-en*, or (lafs) laughs.—*too*, or (ɛn ɛɛ) and all.

10. *crying*, or (rúeri,n) roaring.

11. *yard*, or (jɛ'rt).

13. *do you know* ? pl., if sing. (du_os)t noo) dost thou know.—*John* or (djak') Jack.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH dt.

pal. from personal knowledge by TH. 14 April, 1888, and checked on the spot the next day with a cousin, about 60 years of age, a farmer, who has resided in the immediate district all his life. On (ú_o for (w_u, see p. 324, No. 1.

1. A se', ladz [tjaps], Jo sūn naa ez a)m rūt' ebâut' dhat lit'l wentj kəmi'n frə's'sk ú_où jənd.

2. ú_oz gu'in dāun th)rood dhier thr'ú_o th)red' Jeet, u_ope th)lift ənd sáid v)th)rood.

3. sū jə! th)tjáilt's gā'n st're'it' u_op' tē th)ru_oq' dər [ru_oqg áus].

4. wíer (ú_o)l ap'n fáind dhat (d)ru_oqk'n díf' wí'z'nt fele ez dhi, kaaN ə'ud :tu_om'.

5. wí [wí] AA noon ìm 'verí, wíl.

6. wí)ne th)ə'ud tjap' s'ú_oun túitj)er nan fər t')d'ú_o i't egj'e'n, púr thúqk!

7. lu_ok' jə! iz)'nt i't t,r'ú_où?

Notes with the pronunciation of words omitted from the dt.

1. so (s'ú_o),—mates (mets, meets).
—girl (g'jəl), half refined.

2. hand (ənt) in pause.—way (wee).

3. sure (sh'ú_ouer).—enough (enu_of).

—wrong. Observe (ru_oq) before (d), and (ru_oqg before áu).

4. chance (tjans).—shriveled, not used [shr=(sr); shrimp (srɪmp)].—name (neem).

SOUTH-EAST LA. AND NORTH-WEST DB., cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

R Rochdale (:ratjdə :ratjit) and adjacent villages, La.

O Oldham, La. Ex. youth looking at a picture of a wolf pursued by dogs: (it iz)'ne v fəks, sh'ú_oz ə'u, A kən'v gaaN it, wət it iz) it is not a fox, choose how [=at any rate,] I cannot understand it, what it is.

P Patricroft (5 w. Manchester), La. Ex. (su_om tók se'n, dh'i)n gən t' bakert rood sē lu_oqg) some folk say-en, they have-n gone the backward road so long.

H Hope Woodlands (10 ese. Glossop), Db.

E Edale (7 se. Glossop), Db.

F Peak Forest (5 ne. Buxton), Db., collected in 1865.

S Stalybridge and G Glossop are prefixed to a few words from the three inter-linear es. on p. 317-321. The Chapel-en-le-Frith words are given separately in the next cwl.

The principal phonetic difference between Oldham neighbourhood and Stalybridge, Gorton (3 ese. Manchester), Openshaw (2 e. Manchester), consists in the abnormal protrusion of the lips at Oldham in (óu⁵) in bold, cold, etc., (ú⁵) in moon, noon, that is, in EAL and O'- words.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 23 O seem. — O st'er [to stare]. A: 43 R á'inz [hands]. 44 F lond. — E gəner [gander]. 51 O mə'n. 56 RS we'ish, G wesh. A: or O: 60 P lu_oqg. 64 SG ru_oqg, G raqk. A'- 67 R gu'in [going], F guu. 69 R na'u, ná'ə, O ná'o. 74 O tæ'u⁵. 81 EFSG loon [F giving place to leen]. 84 O múer. 87 SG tlúez. 89 SG báedh. A': 104 RP rood. 106 F brood.

115 ORF wə'm, OR wə'm. 117 R wə'n, t' toon [the one]. 118 E boon. 122 RO noon, S nò, G nə'u. 124 E stoon, F stuun. — F rūp' [rope]. 137 G noodher. Æ- 138 SG feedher. — P siet [seat]. Æ: 154 R bak. 158 R à'ther, à't'èr. 161 F dee. 172 R graals. 177 PE dhat [demonstrative pronoun final, characteristic of E, F, etc.] TH.]. Æ'- 187 E liiv. 200 E wiit. Æ': 218 F shēip. 224 RSG, wīer. 226 O múist.

E- — O wi eet'n [we eat]. E: 261 P see. — R bēd [bed]. 265 SG strē'it. — F fē'ilt [field]. 279 R we'int. E'- 291 F dhe'i. 292 R m'i. 301 R A JER'èr [I hear her], S JER, G íer. E': 312 F e'ær. 314 R JERd. EA: 322 E lakjh [said in 1873 by an old woman]. 326 R æ'ud, O ó'ud, S ó'ud, G æ'ud. 328 F kæ'ud. 330 S ó'ud, G æ'ud. 332 R tó'ud. 333 R ka'f. 334 R eepni [halfpenny]. 335 RO oo. 338 RSG koo. — R shæ'r' it [share it]. 345 R darnt [dare not]. EA'- 347 R JEd. EA': 360 R fiem. 366 R greet. F griit. EI: 382 O dhier. EO: 394 R JEd. 395 R ju qg. 399 E briit. EO'- 410 RF æ'u [nearly uir]. — F t'rii [tree]. 420 O fōer. EO': 424 E ru'kh [old]. 426 R fē'it. 428 S se'iqk, G seer'iqk [seeing]. 437 S t'ráu'th, G t'ræ'uth.

I- 440 E wák'. 444 R stíil. 449 P g'jet, O giit [got]. I: 458 R n'it, [nearly] nit, OE n'it. 459 R r'it. 469 F w'ill [will]. 479 R waand. 485 HEF f'is'l. 487 R ju'st'èr'nit [vesternight]. 488 R Jē'it. I'- 492 R saad, P sáid. 494 R taam taam. — R paap [pipe, normal, deviating in dir. of paape, this sound for I' occurs also in D 22, Prescott, Samlesbury, West Houghton, Wigan, but is rare out of Yo.]. 498 R raat. I': 502 R faav faav. 505 R [between] waaf, waaf. 510 R [between] maan, maan.

O- — R brók'n [broken]. — H smækt [smoked, old], F smòk [smoke]. 518 E anibadi. O: 525 OR A'f [off]. 527 R ba't. 528 R tha't, O thóu't. 529 R bra't. 531 S dó'u't'èr, G dæ'u't'èr. 535 P fòk. 538 E wæ'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. O'- 555 F shæ'un [shoes]. 557 O t'au'. 558 F læ'uk. 559 R mu'dher. 560 R skúu, skuu. 562 E mæ'un. 566 P u'dher. O': 569 O háu'k, F bæ'uk. 571 O gh'd. 586 R dáu, O dáu'. 587 RSG dù'n. 588 R næ'u'n. 589 O spuun, spú'u'n. 594 E bæ'uts.

U- 603 R kum, kæmín [coming], F kæm. 606 OR dæ'r. U: — E pə'u [pull]. 612 P su-m-, F su'm'. 615 O pæ'und. 616 G græ'und. — R u'n d'èr'd [hundred]. 632 R u'p'. 634 S thráu, G thræ'u. U'- 641 SG æ'u. 642 O dha [unemphatic]. 643 RO næ'u. 652 E kæ'uld [formerly taught by a schoolmaster]. U: 658 R dæ'un daa'n, E dæ'un [with elongated horizontal opening to lips]. 659 R tæ'm. 663 RS æ'us, E áus. 667 PROSG æ'ut.

Y: 686 R baa [(A)st baa noon], I shall buy none, F báil. 701 RE færst. Y'- 706 SG wái.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 F lār [more frequent] là'r [in salutation]. — HF pləd [a plaid, the same at Chapel-en-le-Frith]. O. — R dag [dog]. — E tlu'kh [elough, old]. U. 804 E d'ru'qk'n. 808 R pu'ct.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 O tee. 811 E plès. 830 R threen t'reen. — R var'i [from boys reading inscription on Tim Bobbin's tomb, where it rhymes to g'mà'r'e Mary, obs. reverted (R)]. E.. 867 OR tee, F tii. — E lèt'èr [letter]. I.. and Y.. 898 O na'is. O.. 939 E tlòs. 940 F kuut, SG káut. 941 S fiáu'. 947 S bó'il, G be'il. — H di'ar'nè [journey, it is ar in D 22, 24, and in most of D 21]. 955 SG dæ'ut, R dæut. U.. 965 óil [in the mill any one saying (ail) would be charged with 'talking fine'], E ail. 969 G shæ'uer.

CHAPEL-EN-LE-FRITH (5 n.Buxton) cwl.

Applying also to the township of Bowden Edge, e. and n. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. TH., who was born in Dec. 1819 at Raglow (1½ e. Chapel), wrote this cwl. especially to show the peculiarities of notation which he prefers, many of

which have already been indicated. As one to whom I am so much indebted for assistance in the M. counties and those bordering upon them to the South, it seemed right for him to shew, in recording his own native pron., the full forms that he advocates. But it would be evidently impossible for me to alter the whole of my book in accordance with them, even if I desired to do so. I have in the introduction to the M. div. (pp. 291-4), and especially to this district (p. 316), indicated the reasons of my dissent. Here it is necessary that the reader should bear in mind the following among TH.'s special habits of palaeotyping.

1. (*ʊ*) is written for my (*œ*ʊ). The sound intended to be conveyed is identical in both notations, namely, (*uu*) commenced with too open a mouth, which rapidly closes to the proper position. But in (*u*) the tongue is supposed to be slightly more advanced than for (*uu*), and the mouth is supposed to be open at first only so wide as for (*o*). The ultimate effect is very like (*ʊ*). See *supra* p. 292.

2. (*i*) represents (*i*) with a slightly retracted tongue, and is insisted on by TH. in all unaccented syllables where I write (*i*). See p. 316. I have elsewhere sometimes written the result (*i*₁). But in truth I do not hear this difference of unaccented syllables from myself or any other speaker, whereas TH. hears it from all speakers.

3. TH.'s extensive use of the notation for medial vowels I find mostly unnecessary, and the intended effect would often be more intelligibly rendered by long vowels. But when a writer has once got the habit of using medial vowel signs, the long vowel mark seems to indicate for him altogether an abnormal lengthening which he shrinks from using. At any rate I found that effect on myself when for a time I gave in to their employment.

4. The lengthened or suspended final consonants, as 'bak' 'dlad', see p. 316.

5. The treatment of *r*, using (*r*) simply, without any indication that TH. does not mean the genuine trill, but rather (*r*), see p. 293.

Bearing these points in mind, the reader will appreciate the minute care and unceasing search after phonetic accuracy which characterise all TH.'s palaeotypic writing, and are very conspicuous in the cwl., a work of immense labour, scrupulously checked in every point, and hence of great value.

* * The hyphen (-) after a word, as in Nos. 4 and 5, shews that this form is used only in connected speech when another word immediately follows.

† before a number in the cwl. shews that the word having that number is not used in the dialect. In this case the word used is frequently added; and even when a phrase would be required, it is occasionally given.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 s^uu. 3 beek. 4 tak- tak- [generally]; tee- te'- [sometimes]. 5 mak- mak- [generally]; mee- me'- [sometimes]. 6 meed. 7 seek. 8 av- av-. 9 bi- ee-v. 10 eeg. †11 [(krəp') used]. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 d^{raa}. †15 [(ʼaʼaʼʉl) occ., (təʼbʼbʼl) often]. †16 [sb. (brək' v'dee) break of day, used]. 17 laa. 18 kjeek. 19 teel. 20 leem. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. 24 sheem. 25 moon. †26 [the moon's (past t' fū'l, gu'i'n les') past the full, going less, used]. 27 neev. 28 eer. 29 a'r. 30 kjeer. 31 leet. 32 beedh. 33 ree'dher. 34 last. 35 aal. 36 thoo. 37 tlaa.

A: 38 az, ez. 39 k^uu'm. 40 kam'. 41 thaqk. 42 en [(d) always omitted]. 43 ont [(lɪft and sɪd)]. 44 lnd. 46 kja'nd'l. 47 wan'der. 48 su^uq^ug. 49 aq^ug [to execute by hanging]. i^uq^ug [to hang, or to hang up clothes, etc.]. 50 tu^uq^uz. 51 ma'n. 53 kjan'. 54 want. 55 es'. 56 wesh. 57 as'.

A: or O: 58 frē- [generally], fr^u [in pause]. 59 lam'. 60 lu^uq^ug. 61 r^unu^uq^ug. 62 s^utr^uq^ug. 63 th^uq^u [ad.]. 64 r^uq^ug [sometimes (raqk)]. 65 su^uq^ug. 66 [le'dher le's, lash, leather lace, or leather lash of whip, used].

A'- 67 guu. 69 ne'ū. 70 tuu. †71 [(sore, su^uferi'n) sorrow, suffering, used]. 72 uu. 73 s^uu s^uu. 74 t^uu [quite distinct from 70]. 75 s^utrook. 76 tuud. 77 la'rd. 78 oon. 79 oon. 80 a-ledi. 81 loon. 82 wu^unst. 83 muun. 84 muer. 85 s^uerli, [sorely]. 86 wu^uts uts. 87 thuuz. 88 thoodh. 89 buudh. 90 bloo. 91 moo. 92 noo. 93 snoo. 94 kroo. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 s^uūl. 98 noon. 99 throon. †100 [(sood) used].

A': 101 ðk'. 102 aks. 103 akst. 104 rood. 105 rid. 106 brood. 107 lór'. 108 dór'. 109 loo. 110 i. ne'ut'; ii. [generally (ne) unaccented, and preceded by can, have, must, shall, will, etc. (kəne, a'ne avne, ma'ne, shəne, wine), etc.]. 111 a'ut'. 113 wə'l. 114 muul. 115 wə'm. †116 [(uu) the nominative, used]. 117 wa'n. 118 buun. 119 guu gù gu-. †120 [(sin') = since, used]. 121 ga'n. 122 i. na'n; ii. n.ə'u-. 123 nə'thi'n. 124 stuun. 125 oonli. 126 óer. 127 ús'. 128 dh.ú.úz [those gen., (dhe'm) occ.]. 129. goost. 130 bôt'. 131 gôt'. 132 wət'. 133 rit-. 134 òth'. 135 tloth. 136 i. oodher; ii. ər- [generally unaccented]. 137 i. noodher; ii. ner-.

Æ- 138 feedher. †139 [(wagi'n) used]. 140 eel. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 egje'n. †145 [(kjilt) used]. 146 meen [principal adj.]. 147 breen. 148 ieer. 149 bleez. 150 list liist. 152 weeter. 153 seturdi.

Æ: 154 bak'. 155 thatj. 156 dlad' [frequently (feen) fain]. 157 reev'n. 158 aftar. 159 az-, àz. 160 eg'. 161 dee. 162 tē-dee. 163 lā. 164 me- [(mee) in pause]. 165 se'd. 166 meed [meaning gen. a maid servant or young single woman]. 167 deel. 168 talv. 169 wen'. 170 arest [old form], arvíst [modern form; but the forms hay-time (ee-táim) and corn-time (ka'ru-táim) are gen. used]. 171 bàrli. 172 gres'. †173 [(wə'r) emph., (wer) unemph. both sg. and pl., used]. 174 ash. 175 fast. 176 at-, àt [emph.], et-. [unemph.]. 177 dhat-, dhàt [in pause]. 178 nat'. 179 wat-, wāt [in pause]. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 see. 183 taitj [(le'rn) also used]. 184 liid. 185 rād. 186 bratth. 187 liiv. 188 [(wini) whinney used]. 189 we'i. 190 kjee. 191 iil u.p'. 192 miin. 193 tliin. 194 ani. 195 māni. 196 wə'r [emph.], wer [unemph.]. 197 tpiiz. 198 ler [gen. before: 'im = him, 'em = them, it], le't [gen. before- 'er = her], le- [gen. before- me]. 199 bleet. 200 wiit. 201 ādhi'n. 202 iit.

Æ': 203 spaitj. 204 dād. 205 thrād. 206 red'. 207 nāld. 208 iver. 209 niver. 210 flee. 211 gree. 212 wee. †213, †214 [the forms 136, 137 gen.]. 215 [(tāitj) and sometimes (lerut) used]. 216 diil. 217 e'atj [rare, gen. (epāis', AA on em, iveri wan on em) apiece, all of them, every one of them, used]. 218 ship'. 219 slāp'. 220 shepert. 221 fier. 222 ier. 223 dhier. 224 wīr. 225 flesh. 226 mūst muust. 227 wāt'. 228 swat' [sb.]. 229 briith [occ., but (wāind) wind, is gen. used]. 230 fat'.

E- 231 th- [gen. form; (t) as (on t'top) = on the top; also various forms of assimilation to a following consonant, as (s'seem) = the same]. 232 brack. 233 speek. 234 need. 235 weev. 236 feever. †237 [(kjaibz) kibes, plur. used]. 238 edj. 239 seel. 240 lāin. 241 reen. 243 plee. 244 wāil [= 266]. 245 meel. 246 i. kwāin. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer. 251 meet. 252 kjet'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 256 stretj [also (ratj)]. 257 edj. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 ewee. 264 eel. 265 stre'it. 266 wāil [= 244]. 267 jild jild iild. 268 [(a'udi)st used]. 269 [(sel') used, plur. (selz)]. 270 i. baliz, ii. bali. 271 tel- tel'. 272 elm. 273 me'n. 274 bentj. †275 [(stīk) = stink, used]. 276 thiik. †277 [(sook) soak, used]. 278 wentj. 279 went. 280 elev'n. 281 lenqth. 282 streqth. 283 meri. 284 thresh. 285 kres'. 286 arv. 287 blizem. 288 ler le't- le- [see 198]. — set-, ser- [set as sheaves of corn into kivers of 12 sheaves or riders of 10].

Æ'- †289 [you 435 used] 290 āi. 291 dhāi, dhi, [unem.]. 292 mā [unemph.] mī. 293 wii [em.] wi wī [unem.]. 294 fīd. 295 bred'. 296 bi'liv. 297 fēlv. 298 fāil. 299 grāin. 300 kjūp. 301 ier. 302 māt. 303 swāt'. †304 [(melit), mallet, used].

Æ': 305 āi. 306 ē'it'. 307 nāi. 308 nāid. 309 spāid. 310 āil. 311 tē'n. 312 ier. 313 ārk'n. 314 ierd. 315 fāt'. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 fāi. 318 laft. 319 gjeep. 320 kjeer.

EA: †321 [(sīd) used]. 322 laf'. 323 fa'ut'. 324 ē'it'. 325 wa'k'. 326 a'ud. 327 bā'ud. 328 ka'ud. 329 fa'ud. 330 a'ud. 331 sē'ud. 332 tā'ud. 333 kAAV. 334 AAV. 335 AA. 336 fAA. 337 WAA. 338 kAA. 339 ām [em.] m [unem.]. 340 i. jārd. 341 mare. 342 ārm. 343 wārm. †344 [never used]. 345 dār. 346 Jeet [for a garden, field, etc.].

EA'- 347 *re'd*. 348 *i* [pl. (*i*n)]. 349 *fi'ù* [rare (*t'ù*uthri) *toothry* gen. used as *t'ù*uthri, broth, a few=some broth, too few=not enough (*en'ù*ù)].

EA': 350 *diid*. 351 *liid*. 352 *red'*. 353 *bre'd*. 354 *shif'*. 355 *dif'*. 356 *lif'*. 357 *dhoo* [rare and half refined, gen. (fer AA) for all. (*iv*, if, used)]. 358 *n'i*. 359 *neeber*. 360 *tiim*. 361 *biin*. †362 [kjil] used]. 363 *tiip*. 364 *tiap'*. 365 *nar* [nearer]. 366 *gre't*-*gret*- [often (*gred big*)]. 368 *dith*. 369 *sloo*. 370 *roo*. 371 *s'tree*.

EI- 372 *aa*. 373 *dhee* [em.] *dhi*, [unem.]. 374 *nee*. 375 *reez*. 376 *bèt'*.

EI: 377 *steek*. 378 *wèk'*. 379 *eel*. 380 *dhe'm* [em.] *em* [unem.]. †381 382 *dheer* [em.] *dh'r* [unem.].

EO- 383 *sev'n*. 384 *ev'n*. 385 [(*u*,*n*der) or (*hi*loo) used]. 386 *ji'ù* [used e. of Chapel and in Peak Forest, but (*ja'ù*) in Combs Valley, Dale of Goyt, etc.]. 387 *níuu níu-*.

EO: 388 *milk*. 389 *jók'*. 390 *shù'd shu'd*- [em.] *shed sh'd* [unem.]. 391 *àm* [em.] *m* [unem.]. 392 *jond*. 393 *bíjond*. 394 *jond*. 395 *ju'q'lg*. 396 *wark*. 397 *sòurd*. 398 *stàrv*. 399 *bràit'*. 400 *erni*st. †401 [*lu'q' fàr*] long for, used]. 402 *le'rn*. 403 *fàr*. 404 *star'*. 405 *aasten* [hearthstone, hearth not used without stone]. 406 *jath* [old for the earth, (*wald*, world, gen. used, (*ethli*) earthly as opposed to heavenly, half refined]. 407 *fàrdh'n*. †408 [*uood*] used].

EO'- 409 *bái*. 410 *úu*. 411 *thrù*. †412 [410 alone used]. 413 *div'l* *dev'l*. 414 *flù*. 415 *lài lài*. 416 *i*. and *ii*. *dier* [*adj.* and *sb.*]. 417 *ti'uu*. 418 *br'úuu*. 419 *jó'ur* [em.] *j'r* [unem.]. 420 *fó'ur*. 421 *farti*, *fàrti*.

EO': *sik'* [about or inclined to vomit, or vomiting, (*badli*) is used for ill, unwell]. 423 *thái*. 424 *ru'f'*. 425 *lât'*. 426 *fe'it'*. 427 *bíi* [em.] *bi-* [unem.]. 428 *sù*. 429 *fínd*. 430 *frend*. 431 *bier*. 432 *fó'urt*. 433 *bre'st*. 434 *biit*. 435 *joo* [em.] *je* [unem.]. 436 *tr'úù*. 437 *tr'ú'uth*.

EY- 438 *dí*. EY: 439 *tru'st*.

I- 440 *wáik'*. 441 *siv'* [also (*sai*) for milk]. 442 *iv'n*. 443 *fráid'i*. 444 *st'il*. 445 *ái*, *ái* [*(ái dhí)* hie thee, occ., but (*mak èst*, make haste, occ.]. 446 *náin náin*. 447 *ér* [em.] *er* [unem.]. 448 *dház*. 449 *gjet* [in pause], *gjer gjet*. 450 *tíuzdi*. 451 *soo*.

I: 452 *AA*, *A'* [em.] *A* [unem.]. 453 *wik'*. 454 *witj*. 455 *lee* [reflexive, as, lay me, thee, him, etc., down]. 456 *ev*. 457 *máit'*. 458 *náit'*. 459 *rát'*. 460 *wé'it'*. 461 *lút'* [anything thrown or falling 'lights on the ground, but they (*gjer af*) get off a horse, and (*gjer áut*, get out of a vehicle]. 462 *sát'*. 463 *té* [*ti*n]. 464 *wáit*. 465 *sáit*. 466 *tááit* *tááit*. 467 *wááid wááid*. 468 *tá'der*. 469 *wíl wíl* [em.], *il* [unem.]. 470 *ám* [em.], *im* [unem.]. 471 *tímbur*. †472 [*ru'n' u p'*] run up, or (*ru'n' in*) run in, used of flannel, etc.; (*skrindj* as from a hot poker; to be (*terebli*, *fiert v*) terribly afraid of]. 473 *bláind bláind*. †474 [they use (*só'urt*, Ws. *sucard*, the sward of bacon; (*pil'*) peel, of oranges, potatoes, etc.; (*kru st*) crust of cheese, etc.]. 475 *wááid wááid*. 476 *bááid bááid*. 477 *fááid fááid*. 478 *grááid grááid*. 479 *wááid wááid*. 480 *thiik* [gen.: plur. (*thiqz*)]. 481 *figger*. 482 *iz* [em.] (*s*), (*z*), *is*, *iz* [unem., viz.: (*s*) after words ending in *p*, *t*, *k*, *f*; (*z*) after vowels and voiced consonants except *z*, and *zh*; (*is*) after *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *x*, *x* (*gz*) and before unvoiced consonants; and (*iz*) after *s*, *z*, *sh*, *zh*, *x*, *x* (*gz*), and before vowels and voiced consonants]. 483 *iz-iz'* [em.], *iz* [unem.]. 484 *dhis'* *dhis-* *dhiz-* [em.], *dhis-* *dhiz-* [unem.]. 485 *fis'*. †486 [*bàrm*]=*barm* used]. 487 *jis,te,rdce*. 488 *jit'*. 489 *it* [em.], *it* [unem.].

I'- 490 [(*lòs'* *bái*)=close by; (*nâ*)=nigh or near; (*es'* *sáid v*)=at the side of; by, for the instrument, is (*wi*) with, as (*kjilt wi*, *lút'nén*, *Et'n wi*, *v táágr*) killed by lightning, eaten by a tiger; but (*bi*) used in: by daylight, by moonlight, etc., as *dhe-* *dhi-* *pleed ut f'úuthaa bi m'úunlút'*) they played at football by moonlight]. 491 *sáik'*. 492 *sáid sáid*. 493 *d're'v*. 494 *táim táim*. †495 [a dog *wiz'nz*, a man (*muunz*, *gruunz*) moans groans]. 496 *e'iern*. †497 [*gjet u p* or (*gjer u p*)=get up used]. 498 *ráit*.

I: 500 *láik láik*. 501 *wááid wááid*. 502 *fááiv fááiv*. 503 *láif láif*. 504 *náif náif*. 505 *wááif wááif*. 506 *wu.men*. 507 *wim'n*. 508 *máil máil*. 509 *wááil wááil*. 510 *máin máin*; *mái máí* [em.], *mí*, [unem.]. 511 *wááin*

wain. 512 spāier. 513 wāier. 514 dist. 515 wāiz wāiz. 516 wizdem [if used]. 517 vi-ū-trāi.

O- 518 badi. 519 ô[er. 520 boo. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 oop. 524 wald. O: 525 i. e [gen.; but (on) is used in phrases like "enough of (on) it; I heard of (on) it"]; ii. of. 526 kaf. 527 bā'ut. 528 thā'ut. 529 brā'ut. +530 [warkt) used]. 531 dau't'er. 532 koolz, kool. 533 du'l. 534 ool. 535 fōk'. 536 gā'ud. 537 māuli, māult [mouldy, become moulded, said of the mould fungus on cheese, fruit, etc.]. 538 wū'd [em.])d [unem.]. 539 bā'ul. 540 ol'n. 541 wine. 542 bā'ut. 543 on' [em.] e [unem.]. 544 i. tūn dhen [the first gen., the second occ.]; ii. dhen'. 545 op'. 546 fā'r [em.], fēr [unem.]. 547 būert. +548. +549 [(ò,d,de_r u_p') to hoard, used]. 550 wārd. 551 sta'rm. 552 ka'rn. 553 A'rn. 554 krōs'.

O'- 555 shu'f [old], shū'uu [plur. (shū'ūn)]. 556 tū'u [em.] te t' [unem.]. 557 tū'u. 558 lū'uk. 559 mādher. 560 skū'uu. 561 blū'uum. 562 mū'uum. 563 :mu'ndi. 564 sū'ūn. 565 nooz. 566 u_dher. 567 tū'dher. 568 brū'dher.

O': 569 bū'uk. 570 tū'uk. 571 gū'd. 572 blū d. 573 flu'd. +574 [(at) hatch, used, that is, birds hatched at once]. 575 stū'd stū'ūd. 576 wēd'nzdi. 577 bū'ū. 578 plū'ū, [old (plu'f)]. 579 enu'f [plural (enū'uu)]. 580 taf. 581 [(sāit) searched used]. 582 kū'uul. 583 tū'uul. 584 stū'u. 585 brū'uum. 586 dū'u. 587 dū'uum. 588 nū'uum. 589 spū'uum. 590 flū'uer. 591 mūer. 592 SWEER swier. +593 [(mū'n) used, (mu'ne) must not]. 594 bū'ut'. 595 fū'ut'. 596 rū'ut'. 597 sū'ut'. +598

U- 599 ubū'y. 600 lā'v. 601 fāul fāul. 602 sāu sāuu. 603 kām [em.], kām kām [unem.]. 604 su mer. 605 sū'n. 606 dā'r. 607 bu't'er.

U: 608 u gli [but fāuu] foul 655 gen. used]. 609 fū'l. 610 wu'l. 611 bu'lek. 612 sū'm. 613 d_ru_qk'n. 614 āund [this and the next four (āu, or (āu)]. 615 pāund. 616 grāund. 617 sāund. 618 wāund. 619 tū'n. 620 grū'n. 621 wā'n. 622 u_n,de_r. 623 fū'n. 624 grū'n. 625 tu_qqg. +626 [(u_qqer), if used; but the adj. (u_qqri) would gen. be made use of in the construction]. 627 :su'ndi. 628 nū'n. 629 su'n. 630 wū'n. 631 :tharzdī. 632 u_p. 633 ku_p. 634 thrū'ū. 635 wath. 636 fār. 637 tu'sh. +638. 639 dū'st.

U'- 640 kjan kjan. 641 āu āu. 642 dhaa [em.] dha [unem.: affirmatively, as (dha)rt lect) = thou art late; but (t) interrogatively, as (wī)t guu ?) = wilt thou go ?]. 643 naa nā. 644 su'k'. 645 doov. 646 bāh. 647 āul. 648 aar ār [em.] er [unem.]. 649 thāuzent. 650 vāūt. 651 wīdhāut. 652 kū'd ku'd [em.] kd [unem.]. 653 ber [this form always used, as (AA ber im, ber mū) all but him, but me; (nā'ut ber, neber) nought but, the first occ., the second gen., in Peak Forest (neper)].

U': 654 srāud srāud. 654* ru'f. 655 fāuu [meaning ugly, as in 608; not used for dirty]. 656 rā'm. 657 brā'n. 658 dā'n. 659 tā'n. +660. 661 shāuer. 662 ūz [em.] ez [unem.]. 663 āus'. 664 lāus'. 665 māus'. 666 u_zhent. 667 āut'. 668 prāud. +669. 670 bū'ūdh. 671 māuth. 672 sāuth.

Y- 673 mitj. 674 did did-. 675 d_re'ì. 676 lāi lāi. 677 d_re'ì. 678 dīn. 679 t_jartj. 680 bizi. 681 biz'nz. 682 lit'l.

Y: +683 [nat') guat, used]. 684 brāj. 685 ridi. 686 be'ì. +687. 688 bild. 689 intj. +690 [they use (sól'ert) sort; (brāid) breed]. 691 m'ind. 692 ju_qgi.st. 693 sin'. 694 wark. 695 ārk'n. 696 beth. 697 beri. 698 meth. 699 [only in composition, as (wāil-rāt') wheel-wright]. 700 wā's [and] wā'. 701 fast. 702 wī [in pause]; wīdh [gen. before a vowel]; wī wī [before a consonant]. 703 pit'. 704 viks'n [used by a few in scolding a girl; perhaps half refined; may be used for a bitch-fox].

Y'- 705 skjāi skāi. 706 wāi. 707 thart'īn. 708 e'ier.

Y': 709 fe'ier. 710 ārk'n. 711 le'is'. 712 me'is'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad'. 714 lād. 715 pad'. 716 ad'l [adj. occ. vb., to earn]. 717 djeed. 718 tjeed. +719 [(bu)je'd) bullhead, used]. +720. 721 tag' [to

weary]. 722 *dreen* [gen. (su.f) = sough]. 723 *dēeri*. 724 *baad*. 725 *seel*. 726 *taak*. †727 [(pɛzərɪv) preserve used; to jam (dʒam)]. 728 *sham'*. 729 *freem*. 730 *kjæntər*. †731. 732 *ap'n*. 733 [in Chapel to (fɪər) gen., (frɪt'n) occ., both to frighten; in Peak Forest (skar')]. 734 *dērn*. 735 *smash*. †736 [(wɛntɪ) = wench used]. †737 [(bʊ.ti) booty used]. 738 *preet*. 740 *weev*. 742 *leezi* [seldom, gen. (dɪd'l) idle].

E. 743 *skriim* [(skrɪk, shriek, often]. 744 *miiz'lz mǝiz'lz*. 745 *tɪt'*. 746 *briidh*. †747 *indeevər* [half refined, usually to (trɪi, əs') try, oss or offer]. †748 [fledged and unfledged not used, but stages of growth distinguished by different words, as: 1. (oʊnli, doʊn ən') only down on; 2. (fɛdherz AAV groʊn) feathers half grown; 3. (fʊl-fɛdhert) full-feathered]. 749 *lɪt* [hand]. 750 *beg'*.

I. and Y. 753 *tik'l*. 754 *pig'*. 755 *filbert*. 756 *srimp*. 757 *táini*. 758 *gjel'* [half refined, (wɛntɪ) gen.]. 759 *fit'* [adj. suitable]. †760 [(wɪz'nt, wizened, or (rɪk'lt) wrinkled, used].

O. 761 *luud*. 762 *ookem*. †763 [(roov) = rove used]. 764 *kod'l*. 765 :dɪa'n. 766 *mɛ'i dɛrt mɛ'dhert*. 767 *ne'iz*. 768 *ká'uk'* [gen. in pl. ká'uks]. †769 [(m.ə.ʊd; wɔrp) mouldy-warp used]. 770 :tʊmɛz. 771 *fɒnd*. 772 *bʊn-fɛ'ər*. 773 *dɔkɪ*, [(dʒak-əs') jack-ass gen. used]. 774 *poonɪ*. 775 *b.ə.ubi* [if used]. 776 *gu d bái* [now partially used for a long parting, gen. (gu.d-dee, gu.d-náit) good-day and good-night, and when people take leave for a considerable time (fɛər dʒi wɛl) fare thee well, or (fɛər ʒə wɛl) fare you well, used]. 777 *shop'*. 778 *ɛfɔ'rd*. 779 *A'ts*. 780 *dʒɔs'l*. 781 *bodher*. 782 *pu dher*. 783 *pə'nd'tri*. 784 *báans*. †785 [(lɔl, sáid'l), loll, sidle, used]. 786 *dáuz*. 787 *sáus'*. 789 *ra'ú*. 790 *gjáun gjáun*. 791 *bái* [half refined, (lād) used].

U. 792 *skwab'l*. 793 *u.g'* [to carry with some inconvenience, to squeeze or cuddle]. 794 *dʒu.g'*. †795 [(u.tɪ u.p') hutch up the shoulders, used]. 796 *bl'uu bl'uu*. 797 *skwik'in*. 798 *kwíer*. 799 *sku'l*. 801 *ru.m'*. 802 *ru.m'*. 803 *dʒu.mp*. 804 *dru.qk'n*. 805 *kru.dz*. 806 *fú.s'*. 807 *pu.s'*. 808 *pu.t-*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *eeb'l*. 810 *fès'*. 811 *plès' plees'* [occ. for a situation for a servant, etc.]. 812 *lès'*. 813 *beek'n*. 814 *mees'n*. 816 *feed*. 817 *redɪ.tɪ*. 818 *eedɪ*. †819 [(pashən) passion gen. used]. 820 *gjee* [possibly, applied to dress]. †821. 822 *mee*. 824 *tɪfɪr*. 826 *iig'l*. †827. 828 *eggi*. 829 *gjeen*. 830 *treen* [of railway carriages]. 831 *streen* [di- omitted]. 832 *meer*. 833 *peer*. 834 *sheez*. 835 *riiz'n*. 836 *siiz'n*. 838 *tɪt'*. 839 *i. beel* [if used], ii. *bAA*. 840 *tɛmber*. 841 *tjans*. 842 *plak*. 843 *brantɪ*. 844 *tɪrentɪ*. 845 *centɪrent*. 846 *talɛ-tjandɪer* [= tallow-chandler]. 847 *deendɪer*. 848 *tjeendɪ*. 849 *stɪrendɪer*. 850 *dans*. 851 *cent*. 852 *apɛrn*. 853 *bargɪn*. 854 *barɪ'l*. 855 *kjaret*. 856 *pàrt*. 857 *kjès'*. 858 *brès'*. 859 *tjès'*. 860 *pèst*. 861 *tèst*. 862 *sɛf*. †863. 864 *bikooz*. 865 *fòt'*. 866 *pûer*.

E.. 867 *tee*. 868 *djee*. 869 *viil*. 870 *bíuti*, [bíuti,fel]. 871 *egrâ*. 872 *tjɪfɪli* [occ. = gen., mostly]. †873. 874 *reeni*, [pl. (reeni,z) reins]. 876 *deenti*. 877 *eer*. 878 *salɛri*. 879 *fee-meel* [unfrequent]. 880 *egza'mp'l*. 881 *sens*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *da'ndi.láivən*. 884 *prentiz*. 885 *veri*. 886 *fráivər* [if used]. †887. 888 *sàrtɪn*. †889. 890 *bist*. 891 *fist*. 892 *neti*. 893 *fláuvər*. 894 *diseev*. 895 *ri.seev*.

I.. and Y.. 897 *dɪlái't* [as (i teez v dɪlái't i d.ə.u.ɪn mɪstɪɹɪf) he takes a delight in doing mischief]. 898 *náis'*. 899 *náis'*. 900 *pree*. 901 *táin táin*. 902 *máin máin*. 903 *tɪ*; ii. *dinɛr*. 904 *váilet*. †905. †906. †907. 908 *advái's'*. 909 *bríiz*. 910 *dje'is'*. 911 *ses.tɛrn*. 912 *ráis'*.

O.. 913 *kootɪ*. 914 *brootɪ*. 915 *stu.f*. 916 *u.ni.ən*. 917 *roog*. †918 [(wɛk') weak used]. 919 *ɛ'ntmɛnt* [or (sAAV) salve]. 920 *pe'nt*. 921 *ɛkwɛ'nt* [half refined]. †922 [(stɪrɪk') = strike = 4 pecks, used]. 923 *stɪrɛt'*. †923. †923*. 924 *tje'is'*. 925 *ve'is'*. 926 *spe'rl*. †927. 928 *áans*. 929 *kja'kə.mber*. 930 *le'in*. 931 *dʒu.g'ler*. 933 *frɛ.ənt*. 935 *ku.n.tɪrɪ*. 937 *kɔk'*. 938 *ká'rner*. 939 *i. and ii. flɔs'*. 940 *kunt*. 941 *f.ə.uu*. 942 *bʊ.tjɛr*. 943 *tʊ.tɪ*. 944 [see 198]. 945 *váuu* [sb.] [for the vb. (swEEr) used]. †946.

947 br̥iil. 948 báund. 949 mæ'uld [or?] mæ'uud m.ú.und. 950 su per. 951 ka.p'l. 952 i. kəs'; ii. kəs'. 953 ka.z'n. 954 ka.shen. 955 daut daut. 956 ka.ver. †959.

U.. 960 kje. 961 gr.ú.úil. 963 kwái.ut. 964 sh.ú.úit. 965 e'il. 966 fr.ú.ut'. 967 sh.ú.ut' [a suit of clothes]. 968 ais.tɛ.r. 969 sh.ú.uer. 970 dju.st. 971 fl.ú.ut' il.ú.ut'.

Principal Variants for Combs Valley.

Combs Valley (se. of Chapel-en-le-Frith) properly belongs to D 25, Var. iv, where a dt. will be found in the same peculiar notation as this cwl. But as it is in the parish of Chapel, and differs from it chiefly in three points, TH. has here furnished a list of the principal variants. Ch. = Chapel-en-le-Frith; C. = Combs Valley.

First point. Ch. (uu, ù) become C. (ûv), rarely permissibly (úv).

A'. 76 tâud. 86 ûts. 87 tlûez. 89 bûdh. A': 118 bûen. 124 stûen. 127 ûes'. Æ': 226 mâust. O. 761 lûed. O.. 940 kûet. 952 i. kûes'.

Second point. Ch. (ii, i) become C. (îv), rarely permissibly (iê).

Æ- 150 liest. Æ'- 184 liêd. 186 briêd. 187 liêv. 191 iêl. 192 miên. 193 tliên. 200 wiêt. 202 iêt. Æ': 216 diêl. E: 267 iêd. EA': 350 diêd. 351 liêd. 354 shîef. 355 diêf. 356 liêf. 360 tiêm. 361 biên. 363 tîep'. 368 diêth. EO': 434 biêt. E. 743 skîem. 745 tîet'. 746 briêdh. U. 793 [(skwiêz) used]. 797 skwiêk'in. A.. 835 riêz'n. 836 siêz'n. 838 tîet'. E.. 869 vîl. 890 biêt. 891 fiêt.

Third point. Ch. (âu, âù, âú) become C. (âi, âî, âî) respectively.

U- 601 fâil. 602 sâi. U: 614 âind. 615 pâind. 616 grâind. 617 sâind. 618 wâind. U'- 640 kjâi. 641 âi âi. 647 âil. 649 thâizent. 650 ebâit. 651 wi-dâit. U': 654 srâid srâid. 656 ràim. 657 brâin. 658 dàin. 659 tâin. 663 âis'. 664 lâis'. 665 mâis'. 667 âit'. 668 prâid. 671 mâith. 672 sâith. A. 730 kjâintɛ.r. O. 784 báins. 786 dàiz. 787 sâis'. O.. 928 âins. 948 bâil. 955 da'it.

Also EO- 386 Ch. (jî, ù) is C. (jâ'ù).

D 22 = w.NM. = western North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin w. at the mouth of the Ribble and go up it to the ne. as far as its junction with the Hodder on the b. of Yo., just s. of Great Mitton. Then proceed along the b. of La., going first e. and then s. to Todmorden. Then turn sw. along the nw. b. of D 21, se. of Bacup, nw. of Bury and se. of Bolton, w. of Peel and e. of Tyldesley and Astley, and then turn s. over Chat Moss to the junction of the Irwell and Mersey. Go down the Mersey to the sea, and take the coast round to the mouth of the Ribble.

It has been thought advisable to pursue the La. b. against Yo., but it will be seen that the neighbouring D 24 greatly resembles D 22 on its w. side, and I formerly attempted to include Halifax, Huddersfield, Marsden, and Saddleworth with the e. parts of D 22. But on further examination these have been included as a variety of D 24.

Area. The whole of s.La., s. of the Ribble, with the exception of the se. portion in D 21.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following places, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || in systematic spelling, ° in io.

°† Blackburn, °† Bolton, °† Burnley, † Chorley, ° Clitheroe, † Cliviger Valley, ° Colne, † Earlstown, † Farrington, † Halliwell, † Haslingden, ° Higham, † Huddlesden, ° Leigh, °† Levland, * Mellor, † Newton-le-Willows, † Ormskirk, † Penwortham, † Prescott, ° Sabden, ° Samlesbury, † Skelmersdale, † Walton-le-Dale, † Warrington, † Westhoughton, ° Whalley, °† Wigan, † Worsthorpe.

These notes have superseded the numerous printed books, which were neither local enough nor precise enough for my purposes.

Character. There is a very fair amount of uniformity, but in such an extensive tract of country with large towns and outlying manufacturing districts, many varieties may be expected, and I have been induced to consider six, Var. i. Ormskirk, Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan, Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland, Var. iv. Blackburn, Var. v. Burnley, Var. vi. Old Colne Valley. The differences are often very minute, and they are here illustrated by a cwl. for each separate variety, by four interlinear versions for Var. i, ii, iii, v, by two interlinear dt. for Var. iv, and by a dt. for Var. vi.

The general character for the whole district is as follows:

A- generally (ee) as (neem) name.

A' normally (ûv) as (rûvd) road, occ. (oo), and the adv. *no* is often (næ'u).

E- often (Ē'i) as (spē'ik) speak.

E/- (ii) or (îi) and occ. (Ē'i).

I generally (i), but occ. treated as I'. In the unemphatic pronoun I the sound is regularly (A).

I' normally (âi), usually assumed as (j'i), but not unfrequently (aa) in Var. i, ii, iv, and in Var. iv. both (âi) and (aa) are used.

O often becomes (ôi) in Var. iv, v, as in D 24.

O' seems naturally inclined to (uu) in the form (æ'u), but occ. becomes (ôi), probably as a variant of (ûv).

U is regularly (u_o), see p. 291, but in a few words, as (kam) come, reaches (æ), a sound otherwise well known in the district for (dæg tæg tag, dog clog fog).

U' becomes generally (aa aa'): the transitional form from (âu) in D 21 was evidently (âæ), which occurs in Var. v, vi, with the first element thinned in Var. iv, as (â'æt) and even (êat) out, and from Haslingden, Var. iv, I obtained (têeven dêeven) town down. But the regular sound in this part of La. is (aa), as it is in D 24, 26, or its refinements (aa', ææ). It is this sound which is meant by the La. spelling *eaw*, invented by Collier (*Tim Bobbin*), and used by all La. dialect writers, whatever be the pronunciation of their district. In Collier's district at Rochdale, D 21, people now say (æ'ut). The forms (æ'u ôu) are in D 22 reserved for EAL and OH words, as (æ'ud ôuld, bôut), old, bought, and are never confused with (aa). In spelling, dialect writers use *ow* for this sound, in contradistinction to *eaw*.

Among consonants -t-r -d-r -tæ-r -dæ-r are used as in D 21, which may be considered as containing those legitimate forms throughout that have been degraded and altered in D 22. Otherwise (r) has the same values as in D 21, that is, (r), p. 293. It decidedly affects the preceding vowel, as (dær) door. The *r* is also at least occasionally reverted to (R) in the words *our Mary vary cares queer share*, and even sometimes *there where*.

In the w. parts of D 22 (q) final becomes (qg) as (ru_oqg), but this seems to die out eastwards.

The gutturals (kh kjh) were common in Var. vi. in 1840. Cases still occur in other parts of D 22, where old people use (kh) in rough tough (ru_okh tu_okh), but as a rule it is lost, though *Leigh* (5 se.Wigan) is stated to be pronounced as (:læ'ikjh).

The definite article seems to be normally (th), but (dh) occurs before vowels, and even (dhæ) is heard. The article is frequently assimilated, and becomes (t', s', k', p'). The form (t') is much more common than I had anticipated, and will be found in all the illustrations. But it is decidedly not the normal form here as it is in D 24. The final (s, f, t) frequently become (z, v, d), as (dhiz rûad, v kAAV, nûd), this road, a calf, not, but I do not know the law of change.

Medial or final (l) is sometimes omitted, as in (ôud fæ'u skæ'u) old fool school.

There is a large number of very characteristic words, which are not within the scope of this investigation, but may be seen (mixed with those of m. and n.La.) in Nodal and Milner's Glossary, where also a list of numerous printed works in the dialect is given.

The speech of this district is sufficiently homogeneous to render

it difficult to formulate the differences of pronunciation which determine a variety. Of course those dialect-connoisseurs by whom a man from each of the five modern varieties is immediately distinguished, rely on much beside pron. They are guided by intonation, and the use of certain words and peculiar constructions, none of which can here be considered.

Var. i. Ormskirk has a fine (aa', ææ) for U', as (daa'n daæn) down, (daan) at Skelmersdale, and a broader sound (aa) or occasionally (aa) for I' in (taam, faav) time, five. The O' words have (áu) as (dáu) do, and the O .., OU .. words are treated in the same way.

Var. ii. Bolton and Wigan have generally only the finest (ææ) for U' words as (daæn) down, and often the broad (aa) or broadest (AA) in the I' words, as (taam, tAAm) time. The O' words are uncertainly treated with (uu, æ'u) as (stuu, da'un) stool, done, and if it has been rightly appreciated, (dæarnt) don't, TH. feels certain of the (r). The French O .. is (úv) in (kúet) coat.

Var. iii. Chorley and Leyland is more distinct. The U' words have the form (á'á) as (dá'án), which on trial will be found to be a transitional pron. from (dá'ón) to (daa'n). The I' words have the distinct form (ái) as (táim) time, continually conceived as (tá'im). The O' and Fr. O .. words as before.

Var. iv. Blackburn. Here the U' words pass back to (aa') through (á'v) as (dá'en daa'n), but the (ái) remains or at most becomes (áæ) as in (sáid, sàed) side. The O' words vary as (uu, æ'u), as (skuu, skæ'u) school, the French O .. in (kúet) remains.

Var. v. Burnley. The U' words have (á'á) again as (dá'án), and the I' words continue to have (ái), as (táim) time. The O' words are variously treated as (uu, úu), but also most peculiarly as (nóin, spóin) noon, spoon, which appears for O: as (óil) hole, and for French O .. as (kóit, tlóis) coat, close. This form seems an alteration of (úv) through (óv). We shall find it very distinctive in D 24.

Var. vi. The old Colne Valley pron. is mainly distinguished by the constant use of the guttural (kh) as shewn below.

The extreme difficulty in finding phonetic differences, and the fading of the slightly different forms into one another, shew the propriety of considering these forms of speech as insignificant varieties of one main dialect. I have selected above merely those forms which shew some difference, the other forms are practically identical throughout, as the following examples and cwl. will shew.

Illustrations. Through the labours of TH., continued for many years, I am able to give satisfactory illustrations of the first five varieties in the following interlinear es. and dt. Only those who have tried to represent dialectal pron. with accuracy can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of procuring and writing such specimens as are here given, and the long time and attention that they have demanded. The interlinear representation will enable the differences in the varieties to be more easily perceived. The notes shew variants or explain differences. For the old Colne Valley Var. vi. I am indebted to a correspondent who himself spoke the dialect in his youth, and witnessed the loss of (kh) and the substitution of (óu) for (ǝkh). The five cwl. which follow have been chiefly drawn up from wn. by TH., without introducing words from the es. They are all necessarily incomplete, because they contain words actually heard and noted at the time, and speakers frequently did not make use of such words as it would have been desirable to register, and constantly repeated other words, or made use of new words comparatively unimportant for our purpose. In Var. ii. I had valuable assistance from Bolton, and in Var. iv. from Samlesbury by other informants, but the want of TH.'s accuracy and phonetic

knowledge was much felt. Precise indications are given in the heading to each cwl.

FOUR INTERLINEAR CS.

Four versions of the cs. obtained and written from dictation by TH.

S. Skelmersdale (:skjɛˈmɜːzdl) (7 n-by-w.St. Helens, 4 esc.Ormskirk and 12 ne.Liverpool), representing Ormskirk or sw.La. speech, taken in June, 1878, from dictation of Silvester Pye, joiner, native, b. 1823, and his wife. This illustrates Var. i.

W. Westhoughton (4 wsw.Bolton and 11 e.Skelmersdale), and representing that speech, except for I' Y' words taken in July, 1876, from dictation of W. Winward, formerly a mill-hand, then a clerk, native, b. 1846, assisted by his mother and sister. Westhoughton is called (:æʊt'n), the (f) replacing the old guttural, and in refined form is (:æʊt'n). This illustrates Var. ii.

L. Leyland (5 s.Preston) written in 1887 from dict. of Miss Susan Maria Ffarrington, of Worden in Leyland, born 1807, and since deceased, an extensive landed proprietor, who took great interest in the language of the people, and endeavoured to give the speech as she knew it in her youth. The omitted words and phrases are given at the end of the notes. TH. subsequently read his version to natives of Farrington (2 n.Leyland), referred to as T and E, and one who had been long resident at Leyland, but himself a native of Ambleside, We., a working man, b. about 1827, referred to as W. Their suggestions will appear in the notes. This illustrates Var. iii.

B. Burnley (20 ene.Leyland), written in 1875-6 from dictation of James Fielding, cotton operative, b. about 1845, native, speaking the dialect ordinarily. This illustrates Var. v.

The correctness of (iu) for (æ'u) in S was ascertained by TH. in special visits in 1888. Westhoughton had both (iu, æ'u).

- | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| 0. Var. i. | <i>Skelmersdale.</i> | wái :dʒɹ'n | ez no | daats. |
| Var. ii. | <i>Westhoughton.</i> | waa :dʒɹn)z | noo | dæ'ts. |
| Var. iii. | <i>Leyland.</i> | wái :dʒɹ'n | az no | dá'ats. |
| Var. v. | <i>Burnley.</i> | wái :dʒɹn | [:dʒɹ'n] | az núe dá'ats. |

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|------------|----------|---------------|
| 1. S | wɛ'l, lād, | dhii en im | mɛ búeth | laaf et wɔt |
| W | wɛ'l, :tu_m, | im en dhii | mɛ búedh | lɹ'uf et dhiz |
| L | wɛ'l, óud tʃap', | jó en im | mɛ búeth | laf' et) tɪs |
| B | wil, :dʒak', | im en dhii | mɛ búedh | laf' et wɔt |

- | | | | | |
|---|----------------------|------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| S | A)m gu'in tɛ tɛl)ɹɛ. | úe kjə'ɹz? | dhat)s noodher | íer ner |
| W | núuz v maan. | úe kjɹɹ'z? | dhat)s noodher | íer ner |
| L | núuz v máin. | | búod dhad)z | noodher íer ner |
| B | A)m bá'ɛn tɛ see. | ber A | kjéer nóut' ebá'at it. | dhat)s |

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| S | dhíer. |
| W | dhíer. |
| L | dhíer. |
| B | noodher íer ner dhíer. |

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------|------------|---------------------|
| 2. S | dher)z nɔd | sɛ mɔni ez | diiz wi | bì'in laaft àt, wi |
| W | dher)z nɔt | sɛ mɔni fɔk' | dùz thræ'u | bì'in lɹ'uft àt, wi |
| L | | vare fíu' fɔks | diin kooz | dhe)r laft àt, |
| B | dher)z núen | sɛ mɔni | dùz bíkɹz | dhe)r laft àt, wi |

S noon, dōnt wi? wət shəd meek ɐm?

W noon dhāt, du_onet wi? ææ 'ku_od dhi dii wi bi'in læuft åt?

L wət səd meek ɐm?

B noon, dúent wi ná'a? wət shu_od dhi dú fá'r?

S it iz'nt veri láikli iz)it?

W it)s not ɐ láikli thi_qg, iz)it?

L id)z nəd vare láikli, iz)id?

B it iz'nt láikli, iz it?

3. S ɛt ani reet it wez ɐ dhiz rood, se dju_ost óud
 W æ'ever it wer dju_ost ɐ dhis'n, se dju_ost æ'ud
 L á'æsemever dhiiz is f'aks v)th ká'as', se óud
 B a'ever dhis iz wət a)m bá'an tɛ see, se dju_ost old

S dhi náiz, ma'n, ɐn bi kwáiet dhɛn a)v dù_on.

W dhi ne'iz, ma'n, ɐn bi kwáat tɪn aa)v dù_on. dju_ost

L jɛr dɪn ɐn bi kwáiet dhɛn ái)n dù_on.

B dhi dɪn, ma'n, ɐn bi kwáit tɪl a)v dù_on. ná'a

S ə[rk'n!

W a[rk'n)dhi!

L

B árkn.

4. S a)m sɛrtɪn a íerd ɐm see—su_om ɐ dhíuz fook ɛz
 W aa)m sɛrtɪn a jɛrd ɛm t' see—su_om ɐ dhæ'uz fók ɔz
 L ái)m sɛrt'n ái íerd ɐm see—su_om ɐ dhɛm ɛz
 B a' noo varɪ wúl a jɛrd ɐm see—su_om ɐ dhɛm ɛz

S went thrúu th)wool thi_qg frɛ)th)fɔst dhɛrsɛlz — dhat a

W went thræ'u aa)t thi_q dhɛrsɛl fru_o)t'—

L nood it oo frɛ't' fɔst dhɛrsɛlz—

B went thrúu t' wúl dɔb frɛ't' fɛrst dhɛrsɛlz—

S dɪd, seef ɛnu_of.

W bɪgɪn'in tɛ)th iɪnd.

L

B

5. S ɛs)s ju_oqgɪst lɛd íssel', ɐ grɛ'id lɛd náin íer óud,
 W ɛs t' ju_oqgɪst sù_on íssel', ɐ grɛ'id lɛd ɐ naan jɪr æ'ud,
 L dhɛt t' ju_oqst sù_on íssel', ɐ bɪg lɛd ɐ náin
 B dhɛt th)ju_oqkst lɛd íssel', ɐ gɛrt lɛd náin jɛr óud, ɪi

S nood is feedherz váis in ɐ mɪnɛt, ɛv it wu_os se

W nood is feedherz vɛ'is in ɐ mɪn'it, fɛr aa ɛz it wer se

L nood is feedherz vois ɛt wɔnst, dhó it wer se

B nood is feedherz vóis ɛt wu_os, dho it wɛ'r se

S kwəəlR en skwaakin, en a ked t,ruost ðm tɛ spɛ'ik
 W rææsti en kwəəlR, ɔn a bɪliiv ɛz iɪd spɛ'ik
 L kwier en skweekin, en ái d t,ruost ʒɔn lād tɛ spɛ'ik
 B kwéer en sɛ skweekin, en A ked t,ruost ðm tɛ spɛ'ik

S t' t,rúuth ani dee, dhat A kùd.
 W t' t,ræ'uth ani dee, dhat a dù.
 L t' t,rúuth ɔni dee.
 B t' t,rúuth ɔni dee, ái, A kùd dhat.

6. S en th'ód wuomen ɛrsel ɛl tel ani ɔn ʒɛ ɛz laafs,
 W en tth'əd wuomen ɛrsel ɛl tel ani ɔn ʒɛ ɛz iz lə'uf'in
 L en dh'ód wuomen ɛrsel 'l tel ɔni ɛ ʒɛ
 B en th'ód wuomen ɛrsel ɛl tɛl ɔni ɛ ʒoo ɛt's laf'in

S en st,ré'it fɔred, en AA, baat mitʒ bɔdher, iv ʒo)l
 W sɛ mitʒ, en ùl tɛl)ʒɛ rɪt ɛwee baa't ani bɔdher, ɛv ʒɛ)l
 L st,ré'it ɔf, bá'at ɔni bɔdher, if ʒɛ
 B ná'ɛ, en tɛl ʒɛ st,ré'it fɔred, túu⁵, bá'at ɔni bɔdher, if ʒò)d

S bəd aks ɛr, weent úu?
 W dʒuost aks ɛr, a noo ù wɪl.
 L aks'n ɛr.
 B ɔnli aks)ɛr, wuod'nt úu⁵?

7. S ɛt liest úu tóud 'mɪ wɛn A aks)t)ɛr oodher túu ɛr
 W ɛz ææt iz ù tɛ'ud 'mii wɛn a aks)t)ɛr tuu ɛr
 L dʒuost ɛz ù tóud mii tuuthri táimz óer,
 B ɛt liest úu⁵ teld 'mii wɛn A aks)t)ɛr ɛ túethri

S thrii táimz óer, en 'úu did'n óut tɛ bi ruoqg
 W thrii taamz óer, en 'uu ɛ'ut t' noo,
 L en 'uu shuod'nt bi ruoqg
 B táimz óer, úu⁵ dɪd, en úu óut tɛ noo

S ɛ sɪtʃ ɛ thiɣg ɛz dhɪs', wɔd'n ʒoo thiɣk?
 W wɔd'n ʒoo thiɣk?
 L thiɣk ʒɛ, ɛbá'at suotʃ ɛ thiɣg ɛz dhɪz.
 B A'l ɛbá'at it, wɔt thiɣks)tá'ɛ?

8. S wɛl ɛz A wɛs sɛ'jɪn, 'úu)d tɛl)ʒɛ wə'lR en wɛn úu
 W wɛl ɛz á wer see'in, 'uu)l tɛl)ʒɛ ææ wɪər en wɛn ù
 L wɛl ɛz ái wer see'in, 'uu ɛd tɛl)ʒɛ wɪər ù
 B wɛl ɛz A wer see'in, 'úu⁵)d tɛl)ʒɛ A'l ɛbá'at wɪər úu

S fɔnd t' d,ruoqk'n thiɣg, ɛz úu kAAZ ɛr uoʒbent.
 W fuon t' d,ruoqk'n piɣ' ɛz ù kAAZ ɛr uoʒbent.
 L fuon t' d,ruoqk'n bíest ɛz ù kooz ɛr uoʒben.
 B fuon dhat d,ruokh'n beɣɛr [á'and] ɛt úu⁵ kAAZ ɛr fɛli.

9. S *úu swóer úu sii im widh er oon ín st,retjt AA t'*
 W *ù swóer ù siid im wi er oon iin láí)in st,retjt*
 L *ù swóer ù siid im wi er oon iin láí)in st,retjt*
 B *úu⁵ swóer úu⁵ síi im wi er oon iin láí)in lu_oq)*

S *leqth ən th)flúuer, ín iz best kúet, tlòs*
 W *el_oqk u_opə t' græænd, ín iz gù_od su_ondi kúet, tlòs*
 L *[leed] u_opə th)grá'and ín iz gu_od su_onde kúet, tlòs*
 B *leqkth ən)t' grá'and, ín iz gù_od su_ondi kóit, tlóis*

S *bi t' door, daan et t' ka'rner v*
 W *bi)t th)ææz da'r, dææn et t' ka'rner v)t'*
 L *bi t' dúer v)th á'es, dá'æn et t' ka'rner v*
 B *tu iz oon da'r, dá'æn et t' ka'rner v)t'*

S *jən loon.*
 W *loon jən'.*
 L *jən lúen.*
 B *lóin.*

10. S *ú wez róer'in en bel'in*
 W *i wer meek'in v ne'iz ən mien'in issel, ù se'd, fer AA)t'*
 L *i wer wá'nin ewee, ù se'z, fer oo)th*
 B *ii wer mien'in issel*

S *láik v gre'it soft kAAV.*
 W *wærlð laak v tjált ez iz púerli, er v litl wentj ez iz pu_ot æ't*
 L *wá'rlð láik v badli tjáilt, er v litl wensh in v fret'.*
 B *láik v lit'l tjáild et wer púerli, er v lit'l la's et wer mà[r]d.*

S
 W *v)t' rood wi su_omet.*
 L
 B

11. S *en dhat ap'nt v)th wash'in dee, ez úu en er*
 W *ən AA dhat ap'nt, ə)t' wá'ish'in dee, ez ə'r en er*
 L *en dhat ap'nd ez ù en er*
 B *en AAl dhis ap'nd ez ə'r en er*

S *dóu(t_er)in)lAA kúum thrúu t' bak' jə'rd, wen*
 W *da'u(t_er)in)lAA kuum thruu t' bak' jA'rt, dju_ost ez*
 L *dóu(t_er) i loo kuum thruu t' bak' fóud, fre*
 B *ladz wáif kúum thrúu t' bak' jà[r]d fre*

S *dhi)d bín iqqín th)tlúez àt,*
 W *dhi)d bín eqqín t' tlúez æ't fe t' dre'i,*
 L *iqqín á'at t' wit tlúez te d'rái on t' wesh'in dee,*
 B *iqín t' tlóiz á'at vt' wesh'in dee,*

12. S wáil t' ket'l wez báilín fer tee, wá'n fáin
 W waal t' ket'l wer be'ilín fer t' bagín, wá'n greeðli
 L wáil [t'] kjet'l wer e bóilín fer [t'] tee, on a brit
 B wól t' ket'l wer bóilín fer t' tee, wón re'it

S afternúun i) su_omer, oonli e wíik' t' neks
 W faan su_omer afte_rnuun, nē'ubet e wík' sin t' neks
 L fáin su_omer afte_rnuun, nabet e wík' sin t' neks_t
 B fáin afte_rnúun i) sumer táim, nabet e wík sin t' neks

S tha'rzde.
 W tharzdi.
 L tha'rzde.
 B tharzdi.

13. S en, dónt je noo? A níver íerd ne múer ebaat it te
 W ən dù_n joo noo? a never le'nt nò múer tín dhís
 L en íern je? ái never íerd ɔni múer e dhíz
 B ən du_on je noo? a never jerd núe múer ɔn it frē

S dhíz dee, ɛsh shúuer ez
 W ɛbæəd dhad bizniz fro dhad dee t' dhís, ɛsh shæ'uer ez
 L biznez u_op tē tēdee, ɛsh shúur)z
 B dhat dee tē dhís, ɛsh shúuer ez

S mái neem)z wot it iz, ən a dónt kjéer ebaat it,
 W maa neem)z :djak :sheperd, ɔn a dónt want t' dæ'u
 L mi neem)z :dja'n :wa't'n, ən ái dónt want noodher,
 B maa neem)z :djak, ən a dúent wa'nt tē dúu

S du_on)je noo?
 W noodher, su_o nææ jo an it.
 L dhíer- naa!
 B noodher, su_o naa dhen`.

14. S ən naa a)m gu'in woom tē)mi)su_oper. gu_od
 W a)m gu'in wù)m)p' mi su_oper nææ. gu_od
 L ən su ái)m gu'in úem tē mi su_oper. gu_od
 B ən ná'ɛ a)l bi páikín ɔf wə'm tē mi su_oper. su_o gu_od

S nít, ən dónt bi sē redi tē kroo ó_uer anibədi
 W nít, ɔn du_o)net bi sē shæ'rp ət' kroo-in ó_uer e tʃap
 L nít, ən du_o)net bi sē kɛik tē kroo ó_uer e bədi
 B nít, ən dúent bi sē redi egíen et takín fòk ɔf,

S egje'n, wēn i)z taakin ebaat óut.
 W f' neks taam ez iz taakin ɛbææt ɛ'ut.
 L egje'n, wēn i tóks e wəd i nooz ɔn.
 B wēn dhe)r taakin ɛbá'at óut.

15. S *hi wu*_od *bi v* sɔft *fau* *es* takt *baat* *ani reez'n.* *en*
 W *dhe*_r *wɛk* *fæ'uz* *es* preets *bæat* *sens.* *en*
 L *id*_z *wɛk* *fu* *es* prɛts *bá'at* *reez'n.* *en*
 B *i*_z *nəbet* *v* gart *fau* *et* taaks *bá'at* *sens.* *en*

- S *dhat*_s *AA* *ɛz* *A'* *EV* *tɛ* *SEE* *ubaat* *it.* *so* *gu*_od *nɪt.*
 W *dhat* *s* *AA* *ɛz* *à* *av* *fɛr* *t' sɪ.* *gu*_od *nɪt.*
 L *dhad*_z *mɪ* *last* *wá'rd.* *gu*_od *nɪt.*
 B *dhat*_s *AA* *et* *AA*_v *tɛ* *see* *ubá'at* *it.* *su*_o *gu*_od *nɪt.*

Notes to Skelmersdale cs., p. 332.

1. *lad* or (*tu*_om), etc.
4. *safe* or (*shúuer*) *sure*.
5. *that the youngest*, there is an assimilation of (*th*) to (*s*).—*queer* or (*kʷæ*_lr, observe reverted (*r*).—*trust*, observe dentality.
6. *without much bother* or (*widhaat* *ani* *bodher*).
8. *as I was saying*, or (*ɛz* *A* *se'd*) as I said.—*thing* or (*ɔg'*) *hog*, *pig*.
9. *best* or (*su*_ondɛ) *Sunday*.—*door* or (*daar*).
11. *daughter-in-law* or (*dheer*:*djak's* *wáif*) their Jack's wife.—*yard*, possibly with (*r*).
13. *to this day* or (*sin*) *since*.—*as sure as my name's what it is*, or (*ɛsh* *shúuer* *es* *tu*_p) *s* *mu*_t'n) as sure as *tup*, i.e. *ram*, is *mutton*, or (*ɛsh* *shúuer* *ɛz* *mái* *neem*) *z* *djak* *:shepard*) as sure as my name's Jack Shepherd.
14. *I am going home*, or (*A*) *l* *gu* *woom*) I'll go home.

Notes to West Houghton cs., p. 332.

0. *why*, at Westhoughton (*waa*), but at Bolton generally (*wái*), and so for other long *I'*, *Y'* words.

1. *Tom*, (:*djak*) *Jack*, etc., represent the plainest peasant speech, (*tu*_omɪ, :*djɔni*) *Tommy*, *Johnny*, etc., used to children and youths; adults in 'quiet and homely' speech say (*tu*_omɛz, :*wil*·iɛm, :*djeemz*) *Thomas*, *William*, not (:*wil*·jɛm), *James*, etc.—*thee*. Children and young people *thou* each other generally, and adults *thou* children, parents *thou* their children of all ages, husbands and wives and older people who have been familiar from youth, *thou* each other; to *thou* a senior would be an offence. This is a general custom in the NM. group.—*laugh*, more rudely (*lɔ*₁uf).—*cares*, or (*kjɛ*_{ar}z). *TH*. says *W*. gave the latter and his sister the one in the text, and that he also wrote

(*kje*_{ar}z) and found it the most difficult word to analyse.

2. *there's not so many folk dies*, or (*dhɛr*) *z* *v* *veri* *tuth*·ri *fòk'* *ɛz* *díiz*) there is a very two-three [small number of] folk as dies. *How could they die*.

4. *all the thing*, or (*th*) *wool* *thiq*) the whole thing.

5. *rusty*, between (*ræ*_{esti}) and (*raa*_{'sti}), it stands for the dialectal form *rousty*.

7. *as how it is hoo told*, observe (*ù*, *uu*) for *hoo*=*she*.

10. *he were making a noise and moaning himself*.

11. *yard*, also (*jæ*_{'rd}).

13. *till this*, sometimes (*tɛn*).—*so now you have-n it*.

14. *aught*, or (*anithin*) anything.

15. *say*, here (*sɪ*) but (*see*) in par. 4.

Notes to Leyland cs., p. 332.

0. *doubts*, (*á*₁ɔ) appears to be the normal form for *U'* and *ou-* words, but in *L*. and *Farington* villages *TH*. observed several examples with the (*ɔ*) very faint, and in two or three heard (*aa*₁) only.

1. *you*, (*dhi*) is the ordinary form used as in *Chapel*, D 21.—*him*, Miss

Ff gave (*i*), but both *T* and *E* believe (*im*) to be the normal form, and also *TH*. thinks the proper form of *both* is (*bú*_ədh).

2. *die-n*, Miss *Ff* said (*dáin*) in error, probably both (*diiz*, *diin*) are used.—*laughed at*, Miss *Ff* wrote and said (*la*_t'n).—*what*, Miss *Ff* had (*wat*).—

make, TH. says (mak) most probably, W adds 'by elderly people.'

3. *however*, Miss Ff had (a'asem-never) corrected by T.—*the facts*, (th) assimilated to (f), inserted by TH.—*your*, (dhi) is the ordinary form.—*until I have done*, for (ai)n, W would write (ai)v. Can (ai)n be an alteration of (ai)m, the (m) assimilated before (d)? 'I'm done' for 'I've done' is not unfrequently heard.

4. *certain* (sərt'n), generally. — *I heard*, unemphatic. *I* is oftener (A) than (ai); all "(oo) certainly," TH.; (AA) Miss Ff.—*first* (fəst), T.

5. *fathers*, (feedhəz) T., (fadherz) Miss Ff.—*voice*, (vəis) Miss Ff.—*I'd better* (A)d.—*squeaking*, (skwəkin) T and W, or (skriit'n) W.—*speak*, (spe'k) T, (speek) Miss Ff.

6. *if you ask-en her*, or (if ʒo aks ɐr), or (ɪv ʒə nout bəd aks't ɐr) T, if you nought but asked her.

7. *wrong*, (rɔŋg) Miss Ff, (ruŋg, raŋg) W.—*such*, TH. thinks that probably (sitʃ) is the normal sound, and says that he has heard (mitʃ) twice.

8. *as I*, or (ɛz A).—*beast* (biəst) is sg. Miss Ff said (biəs), which is plural.

9. *eyes* (iin) E, (áiz) Miss Ff.—*stretched laid upon the ground*, or (ɛt fu:l lɛŋkθ ɒnt' grá'nd) E.—*Sunday*, this is E's reading, (best su:ndɪ kúnt) is also used, W; (su:ndi) Miss Ff.—*close by the door*, or (tlɔs tɛ)t' dʊər) E.

10. *whining* or (bel'in) bellowing, W.—*world* (wə'rlɔd) E; (wə:rlɔd) Miss Ff.—*badly*, E's reading; (sɪk) Miss Ff.—*little wench in a fret*, (nóuti wɛnʃ) naughty wench is much more idiomatic, E.

11. *happend*, (ap'nd) E; (ap'nt) Miss Ff.—*her daughter-in-law*, or (ɛr :dɔimz wáif) E.—*came* (ku:m) Miss Ff.; (kuum) E.—*clothes*, (tlúez) E; (tlóiz) Miss Ff, which seems impossible.—*dry*, (drii) Miss Ff; (d'rái) E, who prefers the following rendering of the end of this paragraph, (fro iŋɡɪn t' tlúez á'at ɐ)th wɛʃ'n dee), from hanging the clothes out on the washing day.

12. *boiling* (bóilin) E; báilin Miss Ff.—*tea*, also (bag'in, d'riŋkɪn) used at farms W.—*bright*, (o ɐ bráit') Miss Ff; (ɔn ɐ brɪt') E.—*what* = only, (nəbet) E; (nəbet) Miss Ff.—*thursday*, (tharzdɪ) Miss Ff; (tha'rzde) E.

13. *hear-en*, by elderly people.—*I never*, *I don't*, (A) is more usual than

(ai).—*sure*, (shúer) W.—*John want*, Miss Ff. adds (tu) to, which E excides.

14. *so I am*, (su (ai)m) E, (so ai)z), Miss Ff, which is n.La.—*home* (úem), E.—*do not*, (dərnd) E, where (r) seems an error if pronounced.—*quick*, (sharp, redi) E.—*again*, (ɛɡiən) E, but W confirms the text for Leyland. E would render par. 14 thus, (ɛn naa A m ɡu'ɪn úem tɛ mɪ sʊ pɛr. ɡu'ɪd nɪt, ɛn dərnd [(r) dɪstɪnkt] bɪ sɛ redi tɛ kroo óer ɐ bɔdɪ ɛɡiən, wɛn i tɔks ɐ wɔd i nooz sʊ mɛt ɛbá'at).

15. *it is*, (it)s Miss Ff. E would render the paragraph thus: (ɪd)z nout bəd ɐ fuu ɛs prɛts bá'at sɛns. bəd A'l sɛ nout nɛ mɪər. sʊe ɡu'ɪd nɪt,.

Omitted Words.

As will be seen in the version Miss Ff omitted many words and phrases in the es. TH. questioned her and obtained the following results.

1. *neighbour*, (nɛbɐr) "used by elderly people, W" or (niibɐr), which TH. thinks should be (nɛɛbɐr).—*who cares?* (woo kjeərz'), T says (úe).

2. *men*, mɛ'n.—*we know*, don't we? (wi noon, du:nɛ wi?).

3. *hold*, (óud) Ff and W.—*noise*, (nóiz) Ff and W.—*friend* (frɛnd).

4. *folks* (fòks).

5. *great boy* (ɡrɛt báɪ).—*aye*, *I would* (áɪ, áɪ wʊt). W corrects to (wʊd).

6. *too* (tuu).—*only* (oonli).—*oh!* *won't she?* (oo! wɪnɛt uu?);—*much*, (mitʃ) W.

7. *leastways* (liist weez).—*when I asked her* (wɛn áɪ aks't ɐr).—*did she* (did uu).—*ought not* (óut'nt).—*point* (póint).—*what do you think?* (wɔd)'n ʒoo thiŋk?).

8. *how* (áɛ).—*when* (wɛn').

9. *at full length* (ɛt fu:l lɛŋθ), "sometimes (lɛnθ)," but this TH. doubts.

10. *girl* (ɡɛrl).

11. *yard* (járd).

12. *one* (wə'n).—*only*, see 6.—*come* (ku:m).

13. *do you know?* (du:n ʒə noo?)—*learned* (lɛənd).—*Shepherd*, (:shɛpɛrt) Miss Ff; (:shɛpɛrd) T.—*either* (oodhɛr).

14. *this*, *that*, *t'other* (dhis, dhət, tu.dhɛr).

15. *goodbye* (ɡu:d báɪ), used only for a long leavetaking.

Miss Ffarington also gave the following account of an Easter "lifting," as overheard by herself between 1827 and 1837 from an eyewitness, probably a servant or labourer, speaking in the Leyland dialect, and written down by her at the time.

WEN :dʒeɪmz en :tuːmɛz en :dʒæk en
when James and Thomas and Jack and
:piitər kʌm tʊ lɪft :ɛlɪn, ð pʌnʃt
Peter came to lift Ellen, she punched
en ð skrit en ð nɪpt en ð
and she shrieked and she nipped and she

skrat'; en ð kjɪkt :dʒeɪmz, en ð
scratched; and she kicked James, and she
bæstəd :piitər, en ð lʌgd :tuːmɛz, en
basted Peter, and she lugged Thomas, and
ð stæmpt ʌpə ð flʌər, en ð skrit
she stamped upon the floor, and she shrieked
mæ'rdhər!
murther!

Here *basted* means beat violently, *lugged* pulled by the hair. This specimen was said by W to be (*greedli:məs*), that is, exactly in the Leyland Moss dialect.

Notes to Burnley cs., p. 332.

1. *Jack, thee*, salutations and address as in the other places.—*him and thee*, the fracture (*i*) is said to be not so marked as in Ch. D 25, (*i*) being nearer (*i*), perhaps (*i*) may be meant, most persons would hear simple (*ii*).—*but I care nought about it*, the (*t*) of *but* becoming a (*r*) as very usual.

3. *I'm boun to say*, meaning am going to say.

4. *through*, the sound has now been ascertained to be (*úu*) not (*œu*). In many words the lips are rather pouted or projected for the (*u*) in this fracture, thus (*úu*⁵), but not so much as at Oldham, see par. 6, *tuu*, *hoo* (*túu*⁵, *úu*⁵) etc.

8. *beggar or hound—fellow*.

9. *coat, close, lane*, the last taken as *lone*; these (*ói*) forms will be found again in D 24.

10. *lass that were marred*, i.e. a spoiled child.

11. *and her lad's wife*, or (*en dhéer :dʒɪm waɪf*) and their Jim's wife, the 's omitted.

13. *as my name's Jack*, or (*ɛz ʌʌ)m ɪər*) as I'm here.

14. *piking off*, stealing off, going away quietly.—*taking folk off*, mocking people, or in the sg. (*takin ɐ tʃap ɔf*, *wen i*)z tʌkɪn ɛbá'at ɔut) taking a chap off when he's talking about anything.

TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

illustrating Var. iv. Blackburn, both pal. in 1879 by TH. from dictation.

B Blackburn, from a moulder, a native, b. 1850.

H Hoddlesden (4 se. Blackburn, 2 ese. Over Darwen station), from a collier, a native, b. 1858.

1. B sò, A SEE, ladz, jo sii naa¹ A)m rɛ'ɪt ɛbaa't dhat lɪt'l
H súv, A SEE, ladz, jɛ sɪ ná'ɔ dhut A)m rɪt ɛbá'ɔt dhat lɪt'l

B las kʌmɪn frem)s skuu jənd.
H las kʌmɪn frɛ't' skúu jənd.

2. B ù'z gu'ɪn daa'n th) rúəd dhíer thruu)t' rɛd gjeet ɔn't' lɪft
H ù'z gu'ɪn dá'ən)t' rúəd dhíer thruu)t' rɛd gjeet ɔn't' lɪft

B and sáid.
H ant sâd ɛ't' rú-ɛd.

3. B sii)ʝe, th)tʃáilt)s gən [gá'n] s,tʃrɛ'it uop te)t' dúer v)t'
 H sii)ʝe, th)tʃâld)z gúen s,tʃrɛ'it uop' te)t' dúer v)t'

B ruɔl à's.
 H raɔl á's.

4. B wíer ù)l ap'n fáind dhat ɔ,ruok'n def' fəle vt)s páinín
 H wíer ù)l ap'n fâland dhat ɔ,ruok'n díef wiz'nd fɛle

B ewee; iz neem)z :təm.
 H ez dhi koon :tuəm.

5. B wi oo noo im veri wiil.
 H wi oo noon im vare wiil.

6. B weent th)óud tʃap suun te'itʃt ɛr nɔt te du ít egien,
 H warnt dh)óud tʃap suun te'itʃt ɛr nɔt te du ít egien,

B púer thiɔ!
 H púer thiɔ!

7. B sii)ʝe! is'nt-it trúu?
 H sii)ʝe! iz'nt it ,tʃrúu wɔd a bín telín ʝe?

VAR. VI. OLD COLNE VALLEY.

Colne (:kóum) (6 nne.Burnley) has now practically the same speech as Burnley, but in 1840 it was different. The district considered extends through Colne from Pendle Hill (:pen'l :il) to Boulsworth Hill. My informant, Mr. Hartley Stuttard, was in 1878 national schoolmaster at Plympton, Dv. (4 e.Plymouth). He was a native of Pendle Hill, and states that when a boy he had "special opportunities of hearing the hand-loom weavers who lived in the small farm cottages in the hill-side in what was known in old times as Pendle and Trawden (2 se.Colne) Forests. During the 20 years he had been away the dialect had completely changed and become a bastard Yo., from the mechanics who were engaged fitting the mill machinery and from the 'hands' who cross and recross the Pennine chain."

The following table shews the pronunciation of a few words in 1840 when Mr. Stuttard was a child, and in 1855 when he left the place. He says that in 1877, when he revisited the place, he was able to speak the dialect of 1855, which his brother who had remained there all the time hardly recognised, and also found many words extinct which he remembered in use. I am indebted to Mr. John Shelly of Plymouth (see D 11, p. 162) for obtaining this interesting information from Mr. Stuttard.

COLNE VALLEY PRONUNCIATION.

in 1840.	in 1855.	rec. spelling.
fɒt	fɒtɪ	fetch
thɒkht	thɒut	thought
nɪkɪht	nɪt	night
rɛkɪht	rɛ'it	right
rɒkht	rɛ'ikt	reached
bɒkht	bɒut	bought
sɪkɪh	sáɪ	sigh
sɒkht	sɒut	sought
sɒkh	sɒɪkh	sough
shuukh	shuɪf	shoe
trɒukh	drɒkh	trough
rɒukh	rɒkh	rough
tɒukh	tɒkh	tough

COLNE VALLEY dt. 1840 pron.

Mr. Stuttard wrote the following dt., in his own orthography, to represent the 1840 pron., and gave such ample explanations, that I think my interpretation gives a very fair representation of the sounds he meant to convey.

1. súv A se tɪaps ʒo sì naa'ɛ vt A)m rɛ'ikɪht vɛá'ɛt dhat lɪt'l la's vt wer kəmm'ɪn frɛ)t' skú'ɪl ʒɒndher.

2. uu)z bá'an dá'an t' lóin dhíer thruu t' red jeet v't' left and se'íd v't' rúed.

3. síuer enɒkh t' tɪá'ɪld)z gúen rɛ'ikht uɒp te t' dər v't' raq á'as.

4. wíer uu)l apen fá'ɪnd dhat dhruɒkhen díef wí'z'nd feli kauld :tuɒms.

5. Aal ən uɒs noon ɪm wiil enɒkh.

6. wíent dh)óud tɪap sú'ɪn laarn ɛr tɛ núen duu)t vɛ'ɪen, púer thiɔ!

7. sii ʒo! díd'nt A tɛl súv?

Notes to Colne Valley dt.

1. *so*, the vowel here written (u_o) is said to be “a cross” between (uu) and (u).—*say*, with *e* in *leg*, which in these regions I interpret as (ɛ).—*mates*, recently come into use; chaps, lads, lasses, folk, were common.—*you*, (ʒoo) plural only, (jaa) was equally common in 1840, but was generally used for the singular. There was the customary use of *thou* and *you*.—*see*, (si) “shorter than *ee* but longer than *i* in *pin*.”—*now*, “long *a* as in *land*” followed by (ɛ).—*right*, “*r* as in *Scotch*.”—*from the school*. Mr. Stuttard writes the equivalent of (frɛt' t' skú'ɪl), saying “*the* becomes (t') suspended from the last word, but there is also added a very slightly-sounded and almost indistinguishable (t) to the next word,”

see p. 317. As (t') represents that the position of the tongue for (t) is undisturbed till the next word begins, I have not written the (t) twice over.—*yonder*, the (dher) was possibly Mr. Stuttard's interpretation of dental (dər).

2. *she's*, (uu) “like the *oo* in *fool*, *h* is used when emphatic.” In the emphatic form (iz), similarly (A am, A war, A ev bin, A ed bin, A sol bi, A sol vɛ bin).—*there*, “*the-ur* would rhyme with *see-ur* not *see-er*,” this distinction I do not understand.—*through the red*, “with a slight aspirate before *r*,” which I do not hear of elsewhere, possibly (ɪrhred).—*gate*, (*jeet*) was the common form.—*on the*, (v)t' with the *n* omitted and the (t') suspended.—*hand*, the aspirate generally omitted

and rarely inserted. — *side*, “a very pure and fine long *i*, obtained by drawing back the corners of the *lip*, not as in Yo., where the word becomes *si-id*.” I have endeavoured to represent this, probably unsuccessfully, by the form (E*i*), but elsewhere in La. it is (di) in this word. — *road*, with a slight sound of *w* after *r*, possibly (r₁wúed). It may be merely that the (u) begins before the (r) ceases.

3. *sure*, (s) very sibilant, not (sh). — *enough*, “like *ou* in *tough*, which is pronounced *toch* like *loch*.” — *right* or *straight* (sthre’it). — *up*, “Lancashire *u*.” — *door*, “rhyming with *cur*.” — *wrong*, “*w* suppressed,” but he does not hint at (raqg) or (ru₂qg).

4. *chance*, (apen) happen is given as the common word, but (tjans, amər, pən), chance, hammer, pan, as the pron. “on the skirts of the district;

on the other hand, within the district *tongs*, *long*, *prong*, are called” (taqz, laq, praq). — *find*, “like *fined*, p.t. *fund*, pp. *fan*” (fáind, fand, fu₂u). — *drunken*, with (kh) as in L., “*drunk* is not used, but *I have drunken*, *they are drunken*.” — *wizzened*, (sr-) not (shr-) used, *shrimps* = (srimps). — *called*, “*name* is a new word in the district, pronounced” (neem).

5. *him*, the (i) never omitted (A teld im) sg., (A teld em) pl. — *well enough* or *very well* (vari wiil).

6. *won’t*, (winet) is as common as (wíent). — *teach* is (te’itj), but (laarn) is commoner. — *her*, “*r* not trilled.” I write (r) final as explained on p. 294, l. 1, but, as there shewn, believe the sound is at most (r) or some form of (r₁). — *not to do it* is rendered to *none do it*.

7 *look* is (luuk) with long (uu). — *isn’t it true* (inet it thrú₂ ?).

VAR. i. ORMSKIRK cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. for

O Ormskirk (7 se. Southport). In 1888 TH. found (úu) to be normal.

Ex. (it A’lez du₂z júuz weetin v dhat t₁reen), it always does use waiting of [to wait for] that train.

S Skelmersdale (7 nnw. St. Helens), see also the Interlinear cs. p. 332.

Ex. (dha ma’nt sit sè níer t’ waa v dha)l djoú dhi jed egjen t’ waa wi páu₂in et dhæt tu₂f [tof] búif, thou mustn’t sit so near the wall or thou’lt jolt thy head against the wall with pulling at that tough beef.

P Prescott (4 wsw. St. Helens). (tr dr) not (t₁r d₁r) probably through influence of Liverpool.

Ex. (i sez dha)r gu₂in t’ pleé su₂m klæg soolz teməre, he says thou-art going to play some clogs/soles [do work] to-morrow. — (oo o ! ka’rn gjer em stre’it et aa), o-oh ! can’t [(r) certain to TH.] get them straight at all. — (so)en jò tu), so have-n you too.

N Newton (4 e. St. Helens), the dialect was reported by a railway porter (from St. H.) to have altered considerably since he came there 13 or 14 years before 1874.

W Warrington, generally (t₁r), but occasionally (tr). It was stated that the se. and ne. suburb varied in speech, thus se. (dàin dæg’ boon bá’il), ne. (taa’nz iind daa’n dæg’ búen be’il) town’s end down dog bone boil, confirmed in 1888.

Ex. (it wa’ks on it JEED, en it wa’ks on it teel, en aa), it walks on its head, and it walks on its tail, and all. — (kam on, dha)l síi), come along, thou’lt see. — (ií NEER wil bíi, ez lu₂qg ez dhaa)l kiip im fər thartíin shilín v wík), he never will be, as long as thou’lt keep him for thirteen shillings a week.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 19 O teel. A: 43 P onz [hands]. 55 O th(es’)ool [the ash hole]. A: or O: 60 S lu₂qg. 61 S s₁tr₂u₂qg. 64 W ru₂q. A’- 67 N gáu, S gáu. 69 S næ’u. 72 OP úv. 74 OS táu. 76 SP táud. 81 S loon. 84 O múer. 87 O tlúvz klúvz. A’: 107 W lóf. 115 O wòm, ON wa’m, S woom, W wa’m. 118 S búen. 122 S noon. 124 OSP stoon. 137 P noodher.

Æ'- — O re'itj [to reach]. 190 O kje'i. Æ': 209 O níer, never.
213 P eedher. 214 P needher. 224 S eniwa[r]. 227 S w'it.

E- 232 S bre'ik. 233 O spe'ik. 235 S we'iv. 243 P plee. — OPW
e'it [to eat]. 251 OP me'it. E: 261 P see. 262 W wee. — P tu_opu_ons
sikpu_ons [twopence sixpence, last (u_o) distinct]. E'- 290 S á. 292 P
míi. E': 305 S íi. 306 S e'it. 312 P íer.

EA- 320 O kjar'. EA: 324 O e'it. 325 O wák. 326 O a'ud, P óul.
334 O eepni [halipenny]. 342 S a'rm. 343 S wə'rm. EA'- 347 SP
jed. EA': 350 S diəd. — O biem [a beam]. 360 OS tiem. 366 S
gre'it. — S da'u [dew].

EI- 372 P aa¹ [inclining to (ææ)]. EO: 395 P ju_ogg. 419 P jòr
[your]. EO'- 410 W áu. 411 P thríi. — S tríi [tree]. — O shəut
[to shoot]. EO': 423 S thríi. 425 W lít. 426 SP íe'it. 428 S síi.
434 O bjét. 435 P jò.

I- 442 S ivin. 444 S stíl. 446 P naan [inclining to (naan)]. I: 458
O ne'it náit, OS nít. 459 S rit'. 461 W let [(ev je let'n on ím, íi)l stík túu
je aa níit] if you light on = meet with him he'll stick to you all night, that is, till
you go home]. I'- — P raad [to ride]. 492 P saad [inclining to (saad)].
494 OW [between] taam taam. — O waap [to wipe]. — P thartíi. I':
500 O láik, P lauk. 502 P íauv. 508 P máil [probably refined for (maad)].
509 O waal. 510 OP maan.

O- 522 SW op'n. O: 550 S wa'rd. O'- 558 P láuk. 559 P
mu_odher. 560 SPW skáu. 564 P súun. 567 P t'tù_odher. O': 569 P
báuk. 580 S tu_of. 584 S stáu. 586 P dúu⁵. 595 S íaut.

U- 603 O kam, W ka_omin. 606 W dúuer. 607 W hu_oter. U: 615 OS
paa'nd. 632 W u_op. U'- 640 S kjaa [pl. (kjaaz)]. 643 O naa¹ naæ. 650
OSP ebaa't. U': 658 OP daa n, S daan, N daa'n daæn [a youth said colliers and
country people at N. say (daa'n), and so for the U' words, but village people say
(daæn); to TH. in 1874 the boys and youths of the village seemed generally to
use (a'u) or a sound between that and (áu), but that (aa¹ a¹) cropped up oc-
casionally and unconsciously, and was the normal sound]. 659 O tæænz. 663
O æ's [as in (weshæ's, æljæ's) washhouse, alehouse], N áus, W a'us. 667 O æ't.

Y- 682 S láit [a few, a small quantity of]. Y: 691 OP maand. 701
O fa_ost. Y': 709 O íe'ier.

II. ENGLISH.

O. — P fæg [fog]. — SP dæg [dog]. — SP tlag [clog]. 766 S mái_odər_od.
— O shaa't [to shout]. U. 805 S kru_odz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 830 O threen [rather than (treen¹), W treen t'reen. 839 P baa [ball].
851 S ant [(cent) old]. E.. 867 SP tee. — S :nāubrei fā_or [Newborough
fair, 2½ n. S]. 890 P bies [cows, the sg. is (kjaa¹)]. I.. and Y.. — P
səri [sirrah]. — P raa'nd [round]. — P mu_one [money]. 947 P báil. 948
S ba'u, P bōu. — W kraan [a crown]. U.. 963 W kuaat. 965 P áil.

Var. ii. BOLTON AND WIGAN cwl.

B Bolton (:bóat'n), from the wl. in io. furnished by Mr. Charles Rothwell,
surgeon; conjecturally pal. by AJE. with the help of Bh and W below.
The (æ'u, íi), if they occur, have been confounded with (uu, ii).

Bh Bolton from wn. by TH.

W Wigan (:wígín), from wn. by TH. (r) frequent and of medial length, but
not so specially marked.

Ex. (a'shed_o bín tii-too_o-tel naa¹, v_o it ad_one bín fur :an, áu_oz s_o sha'rt),
I should have been teetotal now, if it hadn't been for Ann, she's so
short [hasty-tempered]—(wí_on gjet'n v_o veri gu_od stárt), we have-n
gotten a very good start.—(ít fav_orz su_omer weli), it favours
[=resembles] summer well-nigh.

Wh Westhoughton (4 wsw. Bolton), wn. by TH., see also the interlinear cs. p. 332.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 B teek, tak. 5 B meek, mak. 16 B doon. — Wh egjeet [agate, going on]. 20 B loom [rare]. 21 BW neem. 23 B soom. 24 B shoom. 32 B bath [same as noun]. 33 B reedher. 36 B thoo. A: 39 B kuum. 40 BWh kom. 41 B theqk. 43 B ont, Wh ont ond. 44 B lond lont. 47 B wander. 50 Bh tuqz. — Wh ka[rnt] [cannot]. 51 B man, feli. 54 B Wh want. 55 B th)es. 56 B wesh. A: or O: 60 B luqg. 61 B umuqg umuqk. 62 B s truqg. 63 BBh thruqg. 64 B ruqg. 65 B suqg. A'- 67 Bh gu, B gúv. 69 BW na'u. 76 B túvd. 83 B míen. 84 B múv. 86 B oots. 87 B klúz. 89 B búth. 95 B throo. 99 B thru.t. A'- 102 B aks. 104 B rood. 106 BW brood. 108 B d'áf. 111 BWh a'ut. 113 B wu.l. 115 B wu.m, W wə'm woom. 122 B noon. 123 B naut, Wh naqk [obs. expression for (nath)qk] nothing, with its correlative 'aqk) anything]. 124 Wh stoon. 128 B dhuuz. 135 Wh tla'th. 136 B oodher.

Æ- BBh feedher. 140 B eel. 141 B neel. 142 B sneel. 144 B egen. 150 B liest. 152 B water. 153 B sate.rdi. Æ: 155 B thetj. 160 B heg. 161 BBh dee. 172 B graas. 174 resh. 175 B faast. 179 wor is)t? [what is it?]. Æ'- 182 B se'i, Wh see. 183 B te'itj. 187 liev. 190 B ke'i. 192 B míen. 194 B oni. 195 B moni. 202 B jet. Æ': 215 B tóut. 216 BWh diel. — Wh me'il [a meal]. 223 B dhier ["a rarer form, used when a job is completed satisfactorily," (dhe'íer, dhat)'l duu), there, that will do, (dher) unaccented]. 224 BBh wier. 225 W fle'ish. 226 B múest, W múist. 227 Bh wet.

E- 231 Bh tth [often, ?(tth)]. 232 B bre'ik. 233 BWhW spe'ik. 234 B ne'id. 235 B we'iv. 236 B feever. 245 Wh me'il. 247 B ween. — Wh e'it [eat]. 251 B me'it. E: — W e'iv [heave, raise]. 261 B see. 262 B wee. 266 Wh wiil. 269 W mise'l [myself]. 270 Wh i. baliz, ii. bali. E'- 301 B Jer)im [hear him]. E': 305 B he'i, Wh ii. 306 BWh e'it. 312 Bh ier.

EA- 317 B flii. 320 B keer, Bh kjeer. EA: 322 B la'uf. 323 B fa'ut. 324 Bh e'itpens [eightpence], Wh e'it. 326 BWh a'ud. 327 Wh ba'ud. 328 BBh ka'ud. 329 B fa'ud. 330 BBh a'ud. 331 B sa'ud. 332 BW ta'ud. 333 B kaaf. 334 B aav, Bh eepni [halfpenny]. 335 BW aa, oo. 336 BW faa foo. 337 BW waa woo. 338 WhBhW kaa. 340 B jard. 342 B arm [(ar) in 340, 342, 343 is conjectural, the sound is written *er* and thus described "a slightly extra stress on the vowel, a prolongation of sound as though the voice had to reach the saddle *e* from the horse-block *a*, a touch with one boot-toe and you are on, viz. *aerm*, yet they are one sound." I get (ar) at Blackburn]. 343 B warm. 345 B daar deer. EA'- 347 BWh jed [the informant at Wh noticed that there was a habit of prefixing (j) to words beginning with a vowel in singing]. EA': 350 B died. 353 B bred breed. 354 B shief. 355 B dief. 356 B lief. 357 B dho dhóuf. 359 B niiber. 360 BW tiem. 361 BWh bien. 366 BW gre'it. 368 B dieth. 371 B stroo. EI- 372 B aa, Wh ái. EI: 378 B week. EO: 393 B bi)ont. — daerk [dark]. 396 Bh waark. 399 B briit. — Wh bru_n [burn]. 403 Bh fa'r. 405 B aarth. 407 B faardhán. EO'- 410 B uu, Bh úu⁵, W ù. 411 Bh thrii. 413 B div'l. 414 B flii. 417 B tjuu. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B ruuf. 425 B liit. 426 B fe'it. 434 B bi)et. 435 B joo. EY- 438 B dii.

I- 440 BBh wik. — Bh giv [give]. 444 B still. 446 B no'in. 449 Wh gjet'n [gotten]. I: 452 B a. 458 BBh niit, BWh nit nít. 459 B riit. 462 B sit. 465 B sitj. 468 B tjilder. 473 B blint. 475 B th)wint. 487 B jes,turdi. I'- 492 B sá'id, Bh sáid, W saad. 493 B dre'iv. 494 B taam, W taam. 496 B e'iern. I': 500 B laak, W laak [inclining to (laak)]. 502 BW faav. 503 Wh laaf. 504 B naaf, Bh naaf. 505 B wa'if waaf, W waaf waif. 508 B maal. 509 B waal. 511 B wó'in. 515 B wó'iz.

O- — Wh a'un [oven]. 522 B op'n. 524 B worlt. O: — Wh fæg [fog]. 526 B ka'ut. 527 BWh ba'ut. 528 BWh W tha'ut. 529 BWh bra'ut. 531 B da'u,ter. 536 B ga'ud. — W ta'u [toll]. 539 B [not used, always basin, jug, or pot]. 542 B ba'ut. 547 B búert. — Wh a's [horse]. O'- 555 B shuuf. 564 W sa'un, B suun sanner [in sense of lief, liefer]. 566 B oodher. — gr(i)in [growing]. O': 569 Bh bæ'uk. 571 Bh gu_d bai

[good bye]. 579 B *enuuf*, Bh *enæ'uf*, W *enuf*. 580 B *tæ'uf*. 581 B *sæ'ut*. 584 B *stuu*. 586 Bh *dæart* [do not, distinct (r)]. 587 *dæ'n*. 590 B *flúuer*, W *flæ'uer*. 593 B [(*mu n*) used, oec. (*mu.t*), (*met*) might, is common].

U- 599 B *ebn₅v*. 600 B *lu₅v*. 605 B *su₅n*. 607 B *bu₅ter*. U: 608 B *u₅gli*. 612 B *su₅m*. 613 B *druc₅qk*. 615 Bh *pæend paa'nd*. 617 B *sæend*. 618 B *wæ'and*. 621 B *wu₅n*. 622 B *u₅nder*. 625 B *tu₅q*. 626 B *u₅qur*. 629 B *su₅n*. 630 B *wu₅n*. 632 B *u₅p*. 633 B *ku₅p*. 634 B *thruu*. 639 B *du₅st*. U'- 640 B *kææ*. 641 B *hææ*, Bh *ææ*. 642 B *dhææ*. 643 BBh *nææ*. 645 B *du₅v*. — Wh *kjæer* [cower, (*kjæer dhi dæen* sit thee down)]. 648 B *ææ'er*. 649 B *thææzend*. 650 Wh *æbææt*. 651 W *baa't*. U': 657 B *lææn*. 658 BhB *dææn*. 659 B *tææn*. 661 B *shææer*. 662 B *u₅s*. 663 BWhBh *ææs*. 665 B *mææs*. 666 B *u₅zbund*. 667 B *ææt*, WhBh *æ't*, Bh *æ't*, W *aa't*. 668 B *prææd*. 671 B *mææeth*. 672 B *sææeth*.

Y- 673 B *mit₅*, Bh *mu₅t₅*. 677 B *dræ'i*. Y: 686 B *bæ'i*. 691 B *maand*. 699 B *riit*. — Wh *spæ[r* [to spear, inquire]. Y'- — Wh *kjæt* [a kite]. Y': 709 B *fæ'ier*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — W *merk₅t* [market]. O. 761 B *lúed*. 767 Bh *ne'iz*. — Wh *kje'it* [quoit]. U. 796 Wh *blæ'u* [old people say (*bl'u*)]. — Wh *tjæ'un* [a tune]. — W *ori* [hurry]. — juur [hair, old *huur* head covering, uncertain origin]. 808 B *par it dææn* [put it down], *par'im* [kick him].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — W *pleen* [plain]. 830 W *treen*. — Wh *tjien* [chain]. 850 B *doons*. E.. 867 BWh *tæ*. 874 B *re'iniz* [almost always in pl.]. 890 Wh *bies* [pl. for cows]. 893 B *flæær*. I.. and Y.. 898 W *nais*. 901 Bh *fáin*, Wh *faan*. O.. 924 *tjais*, *tjæ'is*. 925 Wh *ve'is*. 932 B *umæent*. 934 B *bæænti*. 939 B *kluus*. 947 BWhW *bæ'il*. 948 B *bæ'ulz* [for the game only, a ball is (*baa'*)]. — Wh *ræ'u* [a roll or pad], *ræ'alar* [a roller]. 955 B *dææt*. U.. 963 Wh *kæaat*. 965 BW *e'il*, B [also] *ail*. 968 B *áister*. 971 Wh *flæ'ut'* [old people say (*flúut'*)].

VAR. iii. CHORLEY AND LEYLAND cwl.

constructed from wn. by TH. in

C Chorley (10 ne.Bolton).

L Leyland (leelen) village. The dialect of L. Moss is said to be much 'broader,' see also the third interlinear cs., p. 332.

F Farrington (2 n.Leyland). Differences said to exist between L and F—

1. (*aledi kúet*, *su₅nde kúet*), both at F, second only at L.
2. (*eelstúv'nin*) hailstoning F, (*eelin*) L.
3. (*A*)m nót ez wos ez dhii F, I am not as worse (*ill*) as thou, (*badli*) L.
4. (*A*)v welt it F, (*wild*) L, I have wheeled it.
5. (*egíen*) F, (*agje'n*) L, again.
6. (*re'it*) F, (*rit*) L, right.

W Higher Walton (2 se.Preston).

Ex. *man* (et :daren dher)'z *noodher mæn ner a's'ez*, at Darwen there's neither men nor horses. *wife* (*næ'u*, *ber dher's fælez en tæts*), no, but there's fellows and tits, a very common word for small horses, properly small birds.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 54 L *want*. 55 W *as*. A'- 74 C *toothri* [two or three, a few]. 76 L *túed*. 81 F *lúen*. 84 L *múer*. 85 *súer*. A': 101 L *òk'*. 104 L *rúed*. 106 C *brood₅er* [broader], L *brood*. 110 L *nóut'*. 115 F *úm*. 118 L *búen*. 130 L *búet*. 131 L *gúet*.

Æ- — L stərz [stairs]. Æ: 177 C ɛdha'tnəs [in that way]. Æ'-
186 F bréid bré'id. 192 F míen. 193 C tliin, 'tlién. 198 C līt. 200 F
wíet. Æ': 211 L gree. 216 W díel.

E- 233 CL spe'ík. 235 C we'íver [weaver]. — LF ɛ'ít. 251 CF me'ít.
— F ma'uer [mere, lake]. E: 261 C se'. 265 F st're'ít.

EA: 328 L kóud. 336 L fò. EA'- 349 L fáu. EA': 350 L déud.
— W kriúm [cream]. — W stíem [steam]. 365 W nàr [nearer]. 366 L
gre'ít gret. 368 L díeth. — L da'u [dew, this should give (fa'u) for 349].
EI- 372 C aa' áa'v. EO: 392 C jənd, du'stə lív jənd rood ən [dost thou
live along that road?]. 394 CL jənd. 399 F brit. EO': 426 C íe'ít.

I- 440 C wík. 449 F giit [got], L gjet'n [gotten]. I: 458 L mít.
459 L rit. 466 C tɹáilt. I'- 494 F táim.

O- — C brək'n [broken]. — L uun [oven]. O: 527 L bóut. 528 C
thə'ut, L thóut. 531 F dóu't'v.r. 544 LF dhén [for until (ù lívəd wí u'oz dhén
ù went tɹ :prest'n), she lived with us till she went to Preston]. — W tɛma'rn
[to-morrow]. O'- 555 L shuun [shoes]. 558 L láuk'n. 559 L mu'dher.
560 L skáu. 564 L suun. O': 569 L bük. 587 L dù'n. 590 C fláuer.

U- 599 F ɛbuun. 606 C dər. U: 636 C for' [(táu mál for' nər wíer
'AA lív) two miles further than where I live]. U'- 650 C ɛbá'vɛt. U':
655 C fá'v [ugly]. 657 C braa'n. 658 CF daa'n. 663 L á'as. 667 L á'at.

Y- 673 L mít. 681 F biznez. 682 C láit' [few]. Y: 700 L wəs'.
Y': 709 C fá'ier [(A kɔrn bit t' fá'ier) I can't beat, i.e. light, the fire, (r)
"quite prominent" in (kɔrn)], L fɛ'ier.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — C stərt [to start]. O. 761 L lúəd. — F dægz [dogs]. U.
798 C kwíer. — CL ɔri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — C t'reel [trail]. E.. 885 L varɛ. O.. — C sáil [soil].
— C raa'nd [round]. — F súert [sort]. 940 L kúrt. 947 C báil, bó'íl. —
C ta'rn [turn].

VAR. iv. BLACKBURN cwl.

B Blackburn (:blegbɜrn), wn. by TH. in 1878-9, see also dt., p. 339.

Ex. (ɪ)s sɪtɪ ɛ lɪt'l too, ɪz dhat ɛ :səmz), it's such a little taw, is that of
Sam's.—(aa, bɛt ʒə kɑ'rnt), aye, but you can't.—(i káum à't wí
ɛ'ít'ín sandwítʒɪz, wən ɪn ɪz and), he came out with eighteen sand-
wiches, one in his hand.—(i)z smak'ín ɪz líps at ɛm naa', ləd), he's
smacking his lips at them now, lad.

Bf. Blackburn, according to Fielding, given in io.

Hs. Haslingden (7 se.Blackburn), wn. by TH.

Ex. (:dʒaən ɛ :tʉ:mz ɛ :dɪks ɛ t' :túəd :óil), John of Thomas's of Richard's
of the Toad Hole farm.—(gu t' rúəd ɛt' kroo)z flɛ'ukh'n), go the road
that the crow has flown.

Hd. Hoddlesden (4 sse.Blackburn), see also dt., p. 339.

S Samlesbury (:səmzberi) (6 w-by-n.Blackburn), complete wl. in io. by Wm.
Harrison, Esq., F.S.A., native, which I have rendered into pal. with the
help of B. and Hd., omitting medial lengths and the use of (i a'u) which
will be replaced by (ii, uu), and also not marking any dental (t, r, d, r), for
these points were of course not indicated.

W Whalley (3 ssw.Clitheroe). A few variants for this place furnished by S.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S beck. 4 B teek, S tek. 5 S mek. 6 S med. 7 S seek. 8 S ɛv.
9 S bi'ɛv. 10 S ag, heeg hécɛg. 11 S maa. 12 S séɛg. 13 S nécɛg

[common]. 14 S draa. 17 S laa. 19 S teal. 20 S leem. 21 S neem. 22 S teem. 23 S seem. 24 S sheem. 25 S meen. 26 S [(wiz'n, ged les en les) used]. 27 S neev [(wastrel, pous) wastrel, pouse, used]. 28 S e'er. 31 S lat. 32 S bath [to foment]. 33 S reedher [usually (liifer)]. 34 S la'st. 35 S aal. 36 S thaa. 87 S klaa.

A: 39 S kuum. 40 S kom. 41 S theqk. 43 S and. 44 S land. 46 S kand'l. 47 S wander [(ra'mb'l) ramble is most used]. 48 S [not used]. 50 S tqz. — Hs kan te [can't thou]. 51 S mon. 52 S [not used]. 54 BS want. 55 S a's. 56 HsS wesh. 57 S a's.

A: or O: 58 B fer ier [from here], S free. 59 S la'm. 60 S loqg [(u,qg) rather than (oqg, aqg) was expected]. 61 S vmaqg. 62 S straqg [vare eeb'l, vare kant, often used]. 63 S [(thraqg, kraad) used for a throng]. 64 S raqg. 65 S soqg. 66 S thoqg [(lash) often used].

A'- 67 BS gúv, Hs gu_{in} [going], dhi gu_n [they go]. 69 B naa, HdS nóu. 70 S túb. 71 S woo. 72 BS úv. 73 S súv. 74 S tun. 75 S strúek. 76 S stúed. 77 S lórd. 79 S oon. 80 S a'ledv. 81 BfS lóin. 83 S múen. 84 S múer. 85 S súer. 86 Hs úets. 87 S klúez. 88 S [(dres, dón iz klúez) used]. 89 S búedh. 90 S bloo. 91 S moo. 92 S noo. 93 S snoo [daan too) down fall, often used]. 94 S kroo. 95 S throo [(thru_t) often used]. 96 S [(set) used]. 97 S sool. 98 S noon. 99 S thru_t. 100 S [(set) used].

A': 101 S úek. 103 S a'ks [but see spear, after 699]. 104 BS rúed. 105 S rúed. 106 S brúed breed. 107 S lúef. 108 S dúef. 110 BS nóut [nought], S nod [not]. 111 S óut. 112 S [(kant) often used]. 115 B oom, BS úem. 116 S úv. 117 B wa'n, du₁t' túen [do the t'one]. 118 S búen. 121 S gúen. 122 BS núen. 124 S stúen. 125 S oonli [(nobet) often used]. 127 S úes. 128 HdS dhuuz. 129 S gúest [(bögert) often used]. 130 S búet. 131 S gúet. 132 S ot. 133 S rúet. 134 S úeth. 135 S klúeth. 136 S oodher. Æ- 138 HdS feedher. 139 S dree. 140 S theel. 141 S neel. 142 S sneel. 143 S teal. 144 BS egien. 145 S sleen. 146 S meen. 147 S breen. 148 B fā_r. 150 BS lúest. 152 B wa_ter, S weeter. 153 S saterdi.

Æ: 154 B báik, bak. 155 S thak. 157 S reev'n. 158 S after. 160 S eg. 161 BS dee. 163 S [(i wór kru_dld daan) he was laid down]. 164 S mee. 165 S sed. 166 S meed [(las) often used]. 167 S deel [(klu_f) clough, often used]. 168 S ta'le. 169 S wen. 170 S a'rest. 171 S baarli. 172 BS gres. 173 S [(wór) used]. 174 S esh. 175 S fast. 178 S nat. 179 S wód. 180 S bath [as also 32]. 181 S pad.

Æ'- 182 HdS sív. 183 S tré'itj. 184 S líed. 185 S riid. — B spre'id [spread]. 186 S bre'id. 187 S líev. 188 S nee [(wini) much used]. 189 S wee. 190 S ke'i. 191 S íel u_{op}. 192 S míen. 193 B tle'in, S kle'in. 194 S oní. 195 B moní. 197 S tñiz. 199 S bleet. 200 S wiet. 201 S iíd'h'n. 202 S íet.

Æ: 203 S spiitj. 204 S diid. 205 S thred, [to thread (thried)]. 206 S red. 207 S niid'l. 209 B never. 210 S klee. 211 S gree. 212 S weg. 215 S tóut. 217 S iitj. 218 HsS shiip. 219 S shiip. 221 S fier. 222 S [jiuer : jóer], rhymed to (óer) over, by Waugh is used, from old *houre*, head-covering, not related to hair]. 223 B dhier dñe'ijer [see p. 344, No. 223], S dhier. 224 B wa_r, HsS wier. 225 S flesh. 226 S múest. 227 S wiit. 228 S swiet. 229 S breth. 230 S fat.

E- 232 BS bre'ik. 233 S spe'ik. 234 S ne'ied. 235 S we'iv. 236 S feever. 238 S edj. 239 S seel. 241 S reen. 242 S tween. 243 S plee. 244 B wiil. 246 i. S kuuin. 247 S wéen. 248 S méeer. 249 S wier. 250 S [(kös) curse used]. 251 S me'it. 252 S ket'l. 253 S net'l. 254 S ledher. 255 S wedhur.

E: — BIlS fótj [fetch]. 258 S sedj. 259 S wedj. 261 S see. 362 BS wee. 264 S [is il, is badli, vare bad, used]. 265 B s'tre'it. 267 S [gev in, giv u_p) used]. 268 S [(óudust) oldest used]. 270 S i. beles, ii. balí. 272 S elm. 273 S men [(felez) much used]. 274 S bentj. 276 S thiqk. 277 S driéntj. 278 S wentj. 280 S ílev'n. 281 S leqkth. 282 S streqkth. 283 S meri. 284 S thresh. — Hs baal'n [barn]. 285 S kres. 286 S are. 287 S bez'm. E'- 289 S joo. 290 S ii. 291 S dhii. 292 B máí, S mií. 293 Bf wéí, S wii. 294 S fid. 296 S biliiv. 298 S fil. 299 S griin. 300 BS kiip.

301 S jær. 303 S swiit. E': 305 S e'i. 306 S e'it. 307 S [not used, replaced by (naar)]. 308 S niid. 309 S spiid [(bat, much used)]. 310 S iil. 311 S ten. 312 Hs iier. 314 S iurd. 315 S fiit. 316 S nekst.

EA- 317 S flee. 318 S gaap *gæp*. 320 S kîer ['tent, much used].

EA: 321 S saa. 322 Hd lakjh [said by a man who died about 1873], S lakh. 325 S waak. 326 S oud. 327 S boud. 328 S koud. 329 S [lap] used]. 330 BSHs oud. 331 S soud. 332 BS toud. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 335 BS oo aa. 336 S foo. 337 S woo. 338 Hd koo. 340 S jærd. 343 BS warm. — B sha_{rp} [sharp]. 345 S dær. — BHs pà_{rk} [park]. 346 S jæt.

EA'- — HdHs jaa, Hd aa [yea]. 347 B e'id, S iud. 348 S ii. 349 S fiu.

EA': 350 BS diud. 351 S liud. 352 S red. 353 S briud. 354 S shief. 355 S diéf. 356 S liéf. 357 S dhoo. 359 S niiber. 360 S tiem. 361 S bién. 362 S slee. 363 S tjiep tjep. 365 S naar. 366 S gret. 367 S thriét. 368 S dieth. 369 S sloo. 370 S raa. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 S dheé. 374 S nee. 375 S reez. 376 S beet. EI: 377 S sterk. 378 S week. 379 S [(he'i) often used]. 381 S sween. 382 S dhær.

EO- 383 S sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S biniith [(u_{nder}) is often used]. 386 S jiu. 387 S niu [(bran niu) often used].

EO: 388 BS milk. 389 S júek. 390 S shu_cd. 393 S biænd ['faar] for far often used]. 394 B jænd. 396 S waark. 397 S súerd. 399 B brit, S briit. 400 S iernest. 402 S laarn. 403 S fór. 405 S aarth. 406 S ierth. 407 S faard'n.

EO'- 409 S bií. 410 Hs úu⁵, S uu. 411 B thráí, S thrii. 412 S shuu. — Bf kraa'd [to crowd]. 413 S dev'l [th_æ'nd lad]. 414 BfS flíi. 415 S láí. 416 S dier daar. — B sháu⁵t [shoot]. 417 S tjíu. 418 S bríu. 420 S foór. 421 S foorti.

EO': 423 S thií. 424 Hd ru_{kh} [said by a man who died about 1873], S ru_i. 425 HsS liit. 426 S fe'it. 428 S sii. 429 S fiind. 430 S frend. 431 S biér. 432 S foort. 433 S brest. 434 S bet. 435 BfS joo. 436 S triú. 437 S triuth.

EY- 438 BfS dií. EY: 439 S tru_cst.

I- 440 S wik. 441 S siv [(sáil) used]. 442 S divi. 443 S fráide. 444 S stiil. 446 Bf n'ín, S náin. 449 B gjet'n [gotten], S ged. 450 S tiuzde. 451 S [(stít) stitch used].

I: 452 S j'i. 454 S wítj. 455 S [(kaar) cower used]. 457 S mu_t. 458 B nit, S niit. 459 S riit. 460 S we'it. 461 S [(griit daan) used]. 462 HsS siit. 464 S wítj. 465 B su_{ty}, BS sitj. 466 Hd tja_{ald}, S tja_{ild}. 467 S wald. 468 HsS tjild_{er}. 471 S timber [(wu_cd) often used]. 472 S shriek [wiz'n, ratj'n] sometimes used]. 473 S bláind. 474 S [(t' pil'n) the peel, used]. 475 S t' wand. 476 S báind. 477 Hd fá_{and}, S fáind. 478 S gráind. 479 S óist. 481 S fígger. 482 B iz. 484 S dhis. 485 S this'l. 486 S jést [(béerm) much used]. 487 S ju_csterde. 488 BS jæt.

I'- 490 S [(naar) used]. 492 B sáid, Hd sâad. 493 S draav. 494 B táim, Bf tóim, S taam. 496 S diern. 497 S eráiz [(gæd u_cp) used]. 498 S ráit. 499 S [(klók) used].

I: 500 S laak. 501 S waad. 502 Bf f'iv, S faav. 503 B v_láiv [alive], S laaf. 504 Hd nâí, S naaf. 505 S waaf. 506 S wu_{mun}. 507 S wimín. 508 S maal. 509 S waal. 510 Bf m'ín. 511 S waan. 513 S wáiv. 514 S áis. 515 S waaz. 516 S wizdem. 517 B jút_{rii}, S víu.

O- 520 S boo. 521 S fôil. 522 BS op'n, Hd op'n. 523 S úep. — B v_fúer [afore]. 524 S waarld.

O: 526 S kaaf. 527 S bôut. 528 B thóut. 529 S bróut. 530 S róut. 531 B dón_ter i loo [daughter-in-law], HsS da_nt'ur, S dóuter. 532 BS kóil. 533 S du_l [gaamles] used]. 534 BS óil. 536 S góud. 537 S muud. 538 S wad, B wadn't [would not]. 539 S bool. 540 S jli. 542 S bôut. 545 S op. — B skúer [a score]. 547 S búerd. 548 S fúerd. 549 S úerd. 550 S wæard. — B madherd [murdered]. 551 S staa_{rm} [(blu_csteri blu_csterds) stormy]. 552 HsS kaarn. 553 S aarn. 554 S kraas [for the adj. (kaqkærd) cankered is sometimes used].

O'- 555 Hd shuu⁵n, S shu_cf. 557 S tuu. 558 B lùk, S lu_ck. 559 BHdS

mu *dher*. 561 S *bluum*. 562 S *muun*. 563 S *mu_undv*. 564 BHs *súun*, S *suun*. 565 S *núez*. 566 B *enu_udher*, S *u_udher*. — B *g_{roon}* [grown].

O': 569 S *b_uk*. 570 S *t_uk*. 571 S *g_ud*. 572 S *bl_ud*. 573 S *fl_ud*. 574 S *bruud*. 575 S *st_ud*. 576 S *wedensde*. 577 S *buu*. 578 S *pluu*. 579 Hs *en_uu*, S *enuu*. — Hs *fl_uk'h'n* [flown]. 580 Hd *takh* [said by a man who died about 1873], S *t_{af}*. 581 S *sóut*. 582 S [not used]. 583 S *tuul*. 584 S *stuu*. 585 S *bruum*. 586 S *duu*. 587 S *du_un*. 588 S *muun*. 589 S *spuun*. 590 S *fl_uer*. 591 S *múer*. 592 S *swáer*. 593 S [man used]. 594 B *bút*, S *buut*. 595 S *fu_ut*. 596 S *ruut*. 597 S *su_ut*. 598 S *suuth*.

U- 599 S *ebuun*. 600 S *lov*. 601 S *faal*. 602 S *suu*. 603 B *ka_um k_{am}*, S *k_{am}*. 605 S *su_un*. 606 S *d_{aa}r d_uer*. 607 S *bu_uter*.

U: 609 S *fu_ul*. 610 S *wu_ul*. 611 S *bu_ulk*. 612 S *su_um*. 613 S *dr_uqk*. 614 S *aand*. 615 S *paand*. 616 S *graand*. 617 S *saand*. 618 S *waand*. 619 Hd *fa_un*, S *fu_un*. — Hs. *bá'en* [boun, going]. 620 S *gr_un*. 621 S *w_un*. 622 S *u_under*. 625 S *tu_ugr*. 626 S *u_ugger*. 628 S *u_un*. 629 S *su_un*. 630 S *w_un*. 631 S *thorzde*. 632 BHsS *u_up*. 633 S *ku_up*. 634 S *thruu*. 635 S *wath*. 636 S *faar*. 637 S *tu_ush*. 638 S *bu_usk*. 639 S *du_ust*.

U'- 640 Bf *k_ue_u k_{ja}a*, S *kaa*. 641 S *aa*. 642 S *d_haa*. 643 B *naa'*, S *naa*. 644 S *duu*. 645 S *b_uu*. 647 S *u_ulet*. 648 Bf *aa'r*, S *aar*. 649 S *thaazend*. 652 S *ku_ud*. 653 S *bu_ud*.

U': 655 S *faa*. 656 S *raam* [following the regular analogy, and not 'ruum']. 657 S *braan*. 658 B *daa'n*, S *daan*. 659 Hs *tá'en*, S *taan*. 660 S *baar*. 661 S *shaar*. 662 S *u_uz*. 663 B *á'as á's éus*, S *aas*. 664 S *laas*. 665 S *maas*. 666 S *u_uzbunt*. 667 B *à'r*. Bf. 669 S *u_unku_uth*. 670 S *buudh*. 671 S *maath*. 672 S *saath*.

Y- 673 B *mu_uty*, S *mit_u*. 675 S *dráí*. 676 S *láí*. 678 S *din*. 679 S *tjóert_u*. 680 S *bizi*. 681 B *bíznez*. 682 S *lít'l*, *smoo*.

Y: 683 S *má'd_u*. 684 S *brá'd_u*. 686 S *báí*. 677 S *flaat*. 689 S *bld*. 690 S *kaand*. 691 S *maand*. 693 S *sín*. 694 Bf *wart_u* [to ache]. 696 S *b_{er}th*. 697 S *b_{er}i*. 698 S *m_{er}th*. 699 S *riit*. — S *spar spi_uer* [speer, used for ask]. 700 S *wor*. 701 BHdS *fst*. 703 S *pít*. Y'- 705 S *skáí*. 706 S *wáí*.

Y': 709 BS *fé'ier*. 711 S *láis* [(t_uks) more common]. 712 S *máis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 S *bad* [(nóut) often used]. — Hs *báqk* [bank]. 733 S *sk_uer* ['fríit'n] used]. 734 S *daarn* [oftener (mend)]. — B *st_urt* [start]. 737 S *m_uet* [konrad, *bu_ut*] used]. 740 S *w_uev*. 742 S *l_uzi* ['lídher] frequently used]. E. 743 S *skriim* [skrák often used]. 746 S *brídh*. 747 S *endeever*. I. and Y. 757 S *tíin*. 758 S *garl* [las] often used]. O. 761 S *lúed*. — H-Hd *dog* [dog]. 767 Hs *nóiz*. 768 S *kúek*. 769 S [(muudewarp), used]. 772 S *ba_unfaar*. 778 S *efúerd*. — B *lóz* [lose]. 780 S [(d_uírd), jolt used]. 783 S *paaltri*. 785 S *laand_u*. 787 S *saas*. 788 S *flaat*. 790 S *gaan*. U. 805 S *kru_udz*. 808 Hs *pu_ut*, S *pu_ud*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 S *fees*, W *fíus*. 811 S *plees*, W *plíus*. 814 S *mees'n*, W *míus'n*. 816 S *feud* [d_uklaín wí'z'n wí'dher]. 819 S *re_ud_u* [(tantrémz) occ. used]. 824 S *tí'ier*. 826 S *eeg'l*. 827 S *e_uger*. 834 S *shee*. 835 S *riéz'n*. 836 S *síez'n*. 837 S *lúsh*. 838 S *tríet*. 840 S *tí'em_uber* [raam] room often used]. 850 S *d_uns*. 851 S *ant*. 852 S [(brat) used]. — B *ra_ur*. 853 S *baarg'n*. 859 S *tí'es*, W *tí'us*. 860 S *peest*, W *píust*. 861 S *teest*, W *tíust*. 863 S *tí'aaf* *tí'aav*. 864 S *b_ukeez*. 865 S *faat*. 866 S *púer*.

E.. 867 HdS *tee*. 869 S *víel*. 874 S *reen*. 878 S *sal_uerí*. 881 S *sens* [also (*gr_umshen*)]. 884 S *aprentes*. 888 S *saartín*. 889 S [(st_up) used]. 890 S *bíust* [pl. (*bíus*)]. 891 S *fíest*. 892 S *nevi*. 893 S *flaar* [púes, for posy, often used]. — Bf *àr* [hour]. 894 S *diseev*. 895 S *riseev*.

I.. and Y.. 897 S *dilaat*. 898 B *náis*, Hd *ná_uas*, S *naas*. 901 S *faan*. 902 S *maan*. 904 S *váílet*. 905 S *raat*. 906 S *vaaper*. 908 S *advaas*. 909 *briiz*. 910 S *djáíst*. 911 S *s_ustern*.

O.. 913 S kúetj. 914 S bróitj. 916 S u_nn_en. 917 S rúeg. 918 S [(week) weak used]. 919 S óintment [(SAAY) often used]. 920 S póint. 925 Hs vó.s. 928 S aans. 929 S kaakember. 932 S ernaant. 934 S baanti. 939 S klúes. 940 BHdS kút. 941 S fuu. 944 S alaad [allowed]. 946 S maal. 948 S bool [?: (bæ'ul)]. 949 S maald. — Hs ta'rn [turn]. — B dja'rn [journey]. 952 S kúers. 954 S ku_eshen. 955 B daa't, S daat. 956 S ku_ever. 959 S [(tæk) take used].

U.. 963 S kweet. 970 B dju_est.

VAR. V. BURNLEY CWL.

From the following sources:

B Burnley (:barnli), wn. by TH. especially from the family of Fielding, who dictated the Burnley cs., p. 332.

Ex. (wə'te)r te adlin', what art thou earning?—(á'x lu_e q v_e te leekin fá'r'), how long are you playing [out of work] for?—(A kilz em aal wi t're'idin on em), I kill them all with treading on them.—(A m bá'an te gu en gjet sheevd), I am boun [starting] to go and get shaved.—(A sii d'e r i k' krótt dhis m'a'rnin esáid v a r fúeks), I saw her in the croft this morning, aside of our folks.—In reply to asking the way to a certain street, (Jo)n fáind it t' gu_e dá'lan dhis fást opn_in, en dhen gu_e st're'it daa'n), you will-en find it to go down this first opening, and then go straight down.—(not ka'm wáil náin etlók'), not come while [=until] nine o'clock.

B' Burnley, from a wl. in io. by Mr. Healey, native, only a few supplementary words are given.

C Cliviger (:tlivitjer) and oce. (:tlividjer) Valley (2 se. Burnley) and extending to Holme (4 se. Burnley), wn. by TH.

Ex. Mother to child, (dha'd e'it 'mii' ev a wer meed v spáis), thou wouldest eat me if I were made of spice.—(uu)z bra't ez v su_p v)th b_et_er súert), she's brought us a sup of the better sort.—(ù tlapt v_e tlook dá'an en ù never jerd on)t fr_e dhad dee te dhis), she clapped her cloak down and she never heard of-it from that day to this.

W Worsthorn (:warstha'rn) (2 e. Burnley), wn. by TH. from a native b. 1818.

Ex. (íi ed ez ugjet v dig'in), he had us agate [astir] of digging.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — W aa¹ [A letter]. 4 B teen [taken]. B' tak. 8 B e'v [have, emphatic]. 10 B eeg [obs. g]. 12 B' [occ.] seeg. 21 B neem. A: 39 B ku_em kúu'm. 40 B' kúem. 50 B' taqz. 51 W má'lin. 54 B want. 55 B' as. 56 B wesh. A: or O: 63 B' thraq. 64 B' raq. A': 67 B gúe. 69 B nóu. 70 B' túe. 73 B súe. 76 B' túed. 81 B lóin. 83 B' múen. 84 BW múer. 85 B' súer. 86 B' úts. 87 BB' tlóiz. 89 B' búeth. 91 B' maa. 93 B' snaa. 94 B' naa. 95 B' thraa. 97 B' sóul. A': 101 B' úek. 104 BB' rúed. 106 B' brúed. 107 B' lúef. 108 B' dúef. 113 B' wu_el. 115 B' wom. W woom. 118 B'W búen. 121 B' gúen. 122 B noon. B' núen. 124 W stúen. 127 B' ús. 128 B' dhúez. 129 B' gúest. 130 B' búet. 131 B' góit. 133 B' rúet. 136 B oodher. 137 B noodher.

Æ- 144 W egien. 150 B' liest. 152 B wa_eter. Æ: 161 B dee. 172 B gars. — B lat [late]. 181 B' pad. Æ'- 182 BB' síe. 183 B' te'itj. 184 B' líed. 187 B' líev. 190 BB' kje'i. 191 B' jel. 192 B' mien. 193 B' klíen. 194 B' oní. 195 B a'nni [how many?], B' mani. 200 B' wíet. 202 B' jet. 205 B' thriid. 216 B' díul. 223 B' dhíer. 224 B' wíer. 226 B' múest. 228 B' swíet. 229 B' bríeth.

E- 231 B t'th [as] gi m_et' th or'ndj. 232 B' bre'ík. 233 B spe'ík. 234 B' ne'id [(p_od'n) kneaded]. 235 BB' we'iv. 238 B' edj. 247 B' ween. 249 B' wíer. 250 B' swíer. — B e'it [eat]. 251 B' me'it. E: — W

fəʃ [fetch]. 265 B s'trɛɪt. 270 B' i. bali, ii. bali. 284 B' thresh. E'- --- W ii [letter E]. 290 B ä. 296 B baliiv. 300 B kiip. 301 BB' ɟər. E': 305 BB' e'ɪ. 306 B' e'it.

EA- --- B shəv [shave]. 317 B' flɪ [flee] means frighten, properly to put to flight]. EA: 324 B [from elderly people] ekht. 326 B' kɔnd. 328 B' kɔnd. 330 B ɔnd, old. 333 B' kAAV. 334 B' AAV. 345 B' daar. 346 B ɟɛet [older pron. ʃɛt], B' ʃɛt. EA'- --- BW iɛ [yea]. 347 B ied e'ɪd, BB' ʃe'd. EA': 350 B' diəd. 351 B' liəd. 353 B' bried. --- W kriem [cream]. 360 W tɛm. 361 B'W biən. 363 B' tɛp. 365 C niər. 366 BW ɟart, B' ɟrɛt. 368 B' diəth. EI: 378 B' week. EO- 384 B' ev'n. EO: 389 B' ɟuk. 395 B ɟu.ɟ. 396 B' waark. 397 B' súerd. 402 B' laarn. 405 B' aarstúen [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 B' uu. 413 B' dev'l. 414 B' flɪ. 420 B fəuər. EO': 423 B' thii. 424 B [from elderly people] ru.ɟh. 425 B' liit. 437 B' tɾiuth. EY- 438 B' dii.

I- 444 B' stii. 446 B nán. 448 B' dhiez. I: 452 B a [mostly], a. 458 B' niit. 459 BB' re'it. 462 B sit. 475 B wind. --- W máisti [misty]. I'- --- B lɪkənd [liked, desired, also] láik. 494 B táim.

O- --- B uun [oven, as (sɪndər-ɔʊnz, pɒt-ɔʊnz, pɒt-ɔʊnz) cinder or coke ovens, pottery ovens]. O: --- B fag [fog]. 531 B dóu'tɛr. 534 B ói. 535 B fúek. 544 B' dhɛ'in, dhén. --- B a's [horse]. O'- 558 B luuk. 559 BB' mɔ dher. 560 B skɔu'l [only half pouted] skuul. 562 B' muun. 563 B' mɔndi. 565 B' núez. O': 569 B' bɔu'sk. 571 B' ɟu.ɟ. 572 B' blɔ.ɟ. 573 B' flɔ.ɟ. 577 B' buu. 580 B' tɔf. 586 B' dúent [don't]. 588 B' nóin, B' nuun. 589 B' spóin, B' spuun. 591 W múer.

U- 603 BW kəm [pp. (kəm)]. 606 B' ɟər. 607 B' bu'tther. U: 615 B pə'and, pá'and. 616 B' pá'and, B' ɟrá'and. --- W bá'an [boun, going]. 619 B' fɔn. 620 B' ɟru.ɟ. 634 B' thruu. U'- 643 B' nà', BW ná'ɟ. 650 C ɛbá'ɛt. U': 658 B' dá'an. 667 B' á'ɛt' éat. 671 B' má'ath.

Y- 673 B' mɪtɟ. 677 C' dɾái. Y: 684 B' brɪɟ. 691 B' máind. 694 B' wɜrk. 700 B' waar. 701 B' fərst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W lál'id. E. 749 B' lɛft. I. and Y. 757 B' tiini. O. 761 B' lúvd. --- B' tɪag [clog]. --- B' ɟag [dog]. 767 B' nóiz. --- B' spúert [sport]. --- C' shá at [shout]. U. 804 B' dɾu.ɟk'h'n [very often with (kh)].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 867 B' tɛ. 885 B' vari. --- W sàrmən [sermon]. --- W sàrvənt [servant]. 890 B' biəst [pl. (biəs)]. 891 B' fiəst. 893 B' flá'ar. --- B' á'ar [hour]. O.. 913 B' kúutɟ. 914 B' bróitɟ. --- B' dɾɛ'n [join]. 935 B' k' utrɪ. --- B' á'dher [order]. 939 B' tlós. --- B' rúest [roast]. --- B' túest [toast]. 940 B' kóit. U.. 963 B' kwát.

D 23 = n.NM. = northern North Midland.

This forms the borderland at the extreme n. of the M. div., adjoining the N. div. in La., but preserving much of the character of D 22. This applies to the mainland district. But the Celtic Isle of Man seems to have acquired its English chiefly from La., and hence I include it under D 23, making the mainland Var i. and the island Var. ii. Of course the English of the Isle of Man is not an independent English dialect. It is entirely imported and indeed recently acquired, the Celtic Manx not having entirely died out. But I could find no better place for it than this.

VAR. i. THE FYLDE, LA.

Boundaries. Begin at Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood) on the n. coast of La., and go ne. and e., passing just n. of Wyersdale (6 sse. Lancaster) and Abbeystead (2 e. Wyersdale) to the b. of La., and then follow this b. to the Hodder and pursue that river to the Ribble, which follow to the sea, and then go n. round by Fleetwood to Cockerham.

The n. b. from Cockerham is rather conjectural, as I have no information immediately n. of it, but it cannot be very far from right, and it is only a little to the n. of the boundary of Amounderness and Lonsdale hundreds. At Wyersdale the pron. belongs rather to D 23 than D 31, that is, is rather m. than n. La. It cannot be supposed that pron. follows the co. b. precisely, but in the absence of direct information I am obliged to assume that it does.

Area. m. La. being the whole of the hundred of Amounderness, with a small portion of the s. of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and that part of the hundred of Blackburn which lies n. of the Ribble. The last portion is doubtful from want of information. Mr. Bellows, writing to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, says, on the one hand "the Fell dialect," that is, the N. dialect, extends as far s. as Longridge Fell (11 ne. Preston), and on the other hand that "the Fylde dialect covers all the country between the Wyre and the Ribble, and up to the Cocker as far e. as the railway," we shall see that it is quite distinct at Goosenargh (6 n. Preston), which is 3 miles e. of the railway, "and then, modified, right to the foot of Longridge Fell, Goosenargh, and Claughton" (:tláit'n) (8 n. Preston, and about one mile e. of the railway). Mr. Bellows also says, "s. of Chipping (10 ne. Preston) comes in the low Lancashire dialect (Blackburn, Bolton, etc.)." This is not distinct, and in the absence of better information, I think the area I have assigned the most probable.

Authorities.—See County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || systematic, ° informants' orthography.

La. † Abbeystead, ° Blackpool, † Cockerham, ° Fylde district, † Garstang, † Goosenargh, † Kirkham, † Poulton, † Preston, † Wyersdale.

Character. Var. i. This m. La. district is a transition from the M. to the N. div. Much of D 22 has disappeared. The exceedingly characteristic verbal pl. in *-en* is generally supposed, even by dialect speakers, to be lost, and certainly seems to exist only in some common phrases. But it will be found in the Poulton es. below, par. 2 (*du_n dhv?*) do-n they, par. 7 (*wət'en jaa thi_k?*) what do-n you think? par. 13 (*du_n jə noo?*) do-n you know? And in the Goosenargh es. par. 2 (*wi_n núen ən'ez fərgjet'n*) we have-n none of us forgotten; par. 7 (*du_n jə thi_k?*) do-n you think? par. 13 (*du_n jaa noo?*) do you know? Also in the Poulton phrases 17 (*an jə bín*) have-n you been, and 19a (*ja noon*) you know-en, with Mr. Lawrenson's attempt to account for the double use of (*noon, noo*) p. 358, No. 19. These shew that the verbal pl. in *-en* still exists in an almost evanescent and not very recognisable form. TH. heard one example from a Wyersdale farmer at Lancaster: (*wín dhv lét dhv gu íntə :wái:vrzd'í*), will-en they let thee go into Wyersdale?

The chief mark of distinction between D 23 and D 22 to the feeling of the natives of the Fylde is the treatment of the U' words, as shewn in Poulton phrases

5, p. 357. That is, in D 23 the normal form is (áu), as in Chapel-en-le-Frith D 21, avoiding the (aa aa¹ ææ áæ) of D 22. But this is also the same as about Lancaster, and characterises Lonsdale s. of the Sands. It is therefore here a transitional form.

But TH. finds (AA¹) to be "a distinctive sound in the Fylde." Writing in 1876 he says: "At present I hear it as a higher position upon the normal (A)." He states that at that time he had known the sound for 16 or 18 years from natives of the Fylde, but had not previously analysed it. In connection with this there is another sound he hears in this district which he writes (o₁) in the cs., in (ó₁nd tó₁nd) old told, that is, EAL words like those in which (AA¹) occurs in (AA¹ fAA¹ kAA¹) all fall call. The (ó₁u) diphthong is also written in (ó₁ut dó₁u tēr) ought daughter, and the (AA¹) in (lAA¹) law. Now it is difficult to conceive that (a¹ o₁) should differ materially from each other or from (o), and probably I should have appreciated both sounds as (o) and written (óud tóud óut dóu tēr) ool fool kool loo). What the real sounds were which had the effect of higher (A) and lower (o) to TH. it is impossible to say. I have, however, followed his writing. But I would call attention to the Leyland *koo* call, (tō) fall, (kóud) cold, p. 346, and to the Blackburn (oo), p. 348, all given on TH.'s authority in D 22, and to a similar treatment of (AA) in Hexham. Nb. It is sometimes very difficult for an Englishman to distinguish (oo, AA), and Prince L.-L. Bonaparte (*supra* Pt. IV. p. 1303, col. 1) appreciates the Italian *o aperto* as (o₁) when accented and (o) when unaccented, shewing the very slight difference which he attributed to the signs. This (o₁) occurs also in D 23 in the forms (tō₁l kō₁l) foal coal, p. 359, which in D 22, Blackburn variety, appear as (tōl kōl) and similarly (ōl) hole, p. 348. These examples tend to confirm my suspicions. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte also for a long time did not distinguish (o₁ o). It is much a matter of appreciation.

The fractures (a'u or áu) and (i) so common in D 21, 22, 25, are here written simply (uu ii), though TH. is careful to say that there generally is a slight initial fracture, see notes to Poulton cs. pars. 1 and 4, p. 356. It is to be observed that (úu íi) or (ú₁u í₁i) occur in the N div. D 31, and that the form of the fracture in D 23 may be an intermediate one.

The (r) when not before a vowel again occasions difficulty. TH. notes that it was decidedly 'strong' at Poulton. The precise meaning he attached to this term is not clear, but his remarks in Poulton cs. notes to par. 1, *carcs*, shew that it was not a degree of strength of trill, but of a buzz similar to those of (r, R r_c). It is therefore possibly (r), p. 293.

There is a remarkable form (dù d' for *did*, see Poulton cs. notes par. 4, p. 356, and also (sa'ur) sure, and (dæ'u) dew. The guttural (khi) is still found among old people, but is fast perishing.

The characters generally are:

A = (ee) as (*neem seem*) name same.

A' = (úv) as (túvd úek) toad oak.

ÆG, EG = (ee) as (*dee wee*) day way.

Æ' = (íe) as (líed íet) to lead, heat.

E = (e) or (e'í) as (spe'ík) speak.

E' = (ii) or nearly (i) as (gríin) green.

EAL = (AA¹) or perhaps (oo).

I' = (ái) as (sáid) side, never (aa).

O = (ó₁i) or perhaps (óí), a form of (úv), but O: is generally (o).

O' = (uu) or an unknown approach to (úu), written (ú₁u).

U = (u_o) as in D 22.

U' = (áu) as (dáu) down.

This really differs from D 22 only in the treatment of U' and occ. I'. For particulars see illustrations.

Illustrations. Mr. Bellows, the printer, of Gloucester, first wrote out a cs. for Poulton from Mr. Lawrenson, to send to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, but as Mr. B. had not a sufficient knowledge of phonetic writing, I prevailed upon TH. to see Mr. Lawrenson himself. The

result was all that could be wished, and the palaeotypic transcript of the *cs.* is given below. TH. also stayed some time with the Lawrensons, and thus obtained from them a set of phrases, see p. 357, and words, now put into a *ewl.*, p. 358. The same year, 1876, he was also fortunate enough to obtain a *cs.* for Goosnargh, which for easy comparison is given below in double columns with the Poulton version. This shews that in the *e.* of Amounderness hundred the dialect was identical with that in the *w.* Mr. Kirk (who dictated the Goosnargh version) also furnished a considerable list of words. These, exclusive of the *cs.*, are recorded in the *ewl.* together with some *wn.* by TH. at Kirkham. The hundred of Amounderness is thus well represented, and as already stated the small portion of the hundred of Blackburn *n.* of the Ribble is here assumed to be practically the same, as an inference from Mr. Bellows's remarks.

TWO *CS.* IN PARALLEL COLUMNS.

1. Poulton-in-the-Fylde (:púut'n ðth :fáild. 13 *wnw.* Preston), *pal.* in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. T. Lawrenson (:la'rens'n . b. in 1833, general dealer, of that place, native, and accustomed to use the dialect daily with his customers.
2. Goosnargh (:gáuzner' (5 *nnw.* Preston), *pal.* in 1876 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Edward Kirk, editor of the *Eccles Advertiser*, Manchester, b. 1832, native, who spoke the dialect till 1858, and was closely connected with the district till 1863. Mr. Kirk has so much altered the *cs.* that it was impossible to give the two versions interlinearly, and hence they have been arranged paragraph by paragraph in parallel columns.

On the (r) see Poulton, notes, par. 1, p. 356.

POULTON.

0. wái :dʒən)z nɐ'dáuts.
1. wɛl, ðm ɛn dhii mɐ búedh laf ɛd dhiz n'úuz ɐ m'áin. úe kjíerz? dhat's noo'dher íer ner dhíer.
2. nat m'oni men dii fer bi'in laft át, du_on dhe? wɔt shɛd mɛk'ɛm? ít)s nat vare láiklɪ, iz'id?
3. ɛd ɔni reet dhis ís)f fakt ɐ'th mater, su ɔ₁ud dhi n'óiz, ɛn bi k'raat dhen áiv du_on. árk'n.

GOOSNARGH.

0. wái :dʒən)z nɔ dáuts.
1. wái, m'án, dha mɐ grɪn' ɛz árd ɛn ɛz lɔq ɛs tɐ láiks, ɛn búedh ɔn'jɐ puu⁵ jɛr fɛsɛz ɛz lɔq ɛz ɐ b'árn dúer ɛk' ɛt wɔt áiv tɔ₁ud jɐ, fr)ɔ₁ut's áiv kjíer. ít)s áá¹ n'ó₁ut tɐ mɪ needher wee jàrd grɪn'in.
2. dhíer)z nɛbet ɐ vare túethri fúek dii wɪ bi'in grɪnd át. áiv)st thɪqk wɪ)n núen ɔn)ɛz fɛrgjɛt'n th)ɔ₁ud wu_omen ɛt :bleghren ɛz wɛr laft át, ɔn lívd m'oni ɐ jíer ɛt áftɛr. díer)a mii! wɔt)s dher í laf'in tɐ mɛk fúek dii thɪqks)tɐ? du_os)t thɪqk ɔ₁ut ɐ)th súert)s láiklɪ tɐ [hap'n í dhái táim?
3. biliiv mɪ ɛr biliiv mɪ ná't, ít)s ɐ fakt wɔt á¹)v tɔ₁ud jɐ, súe ɔd dhi dɪn ɛn bi k'raa't tɪn á¹ tel)ít dhi áá¹. lu_o)dhe.

4. *ái*)m sàrt'n *ái* íerd)em see—*su*)m e)th fúek ez went thrú *a*'th thiq fre th farst dherselez—dhat *ái* dù_od sá'uér enu_of.

5. dhed)th *ju*)qkst lād issel, e grēt lād náin jier ó₁ud, níú is faderz *tu*)q es suun ez ú íerd im spē'ík, dho id wes se k₁éier en sk₁éiek'in, en *ái*)d t₁rist im te tel)th t₁ruuth *óni* dee, ái wá'd.

6. en)dh ó₁ud wu_omen ersel el tel *óni* *on* je ez lafs, en tel je st₁re'it of tū, wádháut *óni* bōdher, iv je'l nābet ash er, dhat ù wíl.

7. ed *óni* reet ù tó₁ud it mī wen ái asht)er, túethri táimz úer, ù dù_od, en ù ó₁ut nat te bī raq *on* sítj e pó₁int ez dhis, wāt'en jaa thi₁qk?

8. ez *ái* wes see'in, ù)d tel)je búedh áu, wíer en wen ù fu_on)th d₁ru_oqk'n pig *u*)z e kaa'z er *u*)zben.

9. ù swíer ù sī im wí er *oon* iin, lái)in st₁retjt et)th fu_ol leqkth e)dh gráund, in iz gu_od su_onde kúet, t₁lōs esáid e)dh áus dúer, dáun et)th ka'rner e jōnd lōen.

10. ì wez wáinín ewee, ù se'z, fer aa' th wá'rd láik e mart t₁áild, er e līt'l las frēt'in.

11. en dhat ap'nd ez a'r en er dó₁uter i laa' ku_om thruu)th bak jārd fre i₁qin th)wit tlúez áut te d₁rái *on* e wesh'in dee,

12. wáil)th ket'l wer bó₁ilín, wōn fáin su_omer aftēnuun, nābed e wik)s'n ku_om thā'rzde.

13. en du_on) je noo? *ái* never gīt te noo *óni* múer dhen dhis e dhat bíznez *u*)p te tudee, es sá'uér ez mái neem)z :djak

4. *ái*)m sàrt'in en sá'uér *ái* íerd em see—dhat)s *su*)m e)th fúek, *ái* mīen, ez went thruu aa' th bōz'lgjaq *on*)t dherselez, dhat *a*' dù_od es seef ez egz iz egz.

5. es)th *ju*)qkst sū_on issel, e big'ish mak ev e lād náin jier ó₁ud, níú is fadh'erz vó₁is in e krak, iv it wá'r se k₁éier en sk₁éiek'in, en *a*' dār t₁ru_ost im te spē'ík)th t₁ruuth *óni* dee, dhat *ái* dār.

6. en)th ó₁ud wu_omen ersel, uu)l tel)je d₁u_ost mīt)th best *on* je ez iz laf'in, en weent ù tel je st₁re'it en aa'. dhu_or)z nō tuu weez ebáut a'r: jaa nābet aks)er, weent ù tel je?

7. *óni* wee ù līt mī ev it rīt enu_of tū er thrii táimz óer ù dù_od dhāt, en ù ó₁ut'n)te bī fār raq e sítj e pó₁int ez it, du_on)je thi₁qk ù shū_od?

8. wēl ez *ái*)r see'in, 'uu)d tel)je, wen en wíer en áu en aa', ù fu_on)th ó₁ud swalekín thi₁q ev)e *u*)zben ev a'rz.

9. ù swíer ù sī im wí er *oon* iin, lái)in e)th fū_ol ratj e)th griin swārd, in iz su_onde kúet, níerli óerni'nst th)áus dúer, dáun et)th bēnd e)th lūen jōn.

10. ì wer fráinín en wáinín, ù se'z, ez níer ez nō₁ut láik e mārđ t₁áild ez iz badli e bīt, er)e līt'l las i)th pet.

11. *on* aa' dhis' ap'nd e)th wesh'in dee ez ù en dheer :djemz wáif wer ku_omín thru)th bak fó₁ud fre i₁qin th)tlúez áut,

12. wáil)th teeket'l wer bó₁ilín fer)th aftēnuunz d₁riqkín, wōn greedli fáin su_omerz aftēnuun—let)s sī, it'l bī d₁u_ost e wik sen' e thā'rzde.

13. *on* du_on jaa noo? *ái* never lānt enu_odher wá'rd *on*)t fre dhat dee te dhis', es sá'uér ez mái neem)z :djak :sheperđ, en *ái*)l

:sheperd, en *ái* dò)nt want te noo noodher, nà dhen!

14. en su *ái*)m gu_oin úem te mi su_oper, gu_od nít, en dò)nt bi sè shàrp te kroo úer v bədi egjéin, wen i taa'ks v dhís dhàt en)dh u_odher.

15. i_z v wèk fuul ez preets wídháut ríez'n. en dhat)s mí last wàrd. gu_od nít.

bi haqd iv a' kjeer eedher, sè náu!

14. *ái*)l bi pàikín of' úem náu te mi su_oper. sè gu_od nít, en never dhii bi in v ərí egéin te təl də r ər v tʃap, wen i)z telín is teel.

15. i)z nəbət v vərə shalə fuu^s es preets háut i nooz wət fà'r. dhat)s aa'. gu_od nít.

Notes to Poulton cs.

1. *well*, omitting neighbour, which Mr. L. says is not used after *well* in addresses, nor, so he said, would the Christian name or other familiar word, as (ma'n, làd). But TH. observed when familiar acquaintances came into Mr. L.'s shop, he would say: (we'l, :tu'mez; we'l, :rəbət), etc.—*thee*, there is the usual employment of *thou*, as on p. 337. As to the vowel, it is “very nearly pure (ii).” There is sometimes a slight fracture, but it does not reach (i) as in D 21. It might be (i_i) or (iⁱi), but as TH. is contented with writing (ii) after making the above remark, I follow him.—*cares*, (r) generally when not before a vowel, is “moderately strong, but in *cares prayer*, etc., it is considerably stronger,” says TH., “the end of the tongue being somewhat retracted, and approaching, but not reaching, the cerebral (x) of the sw. of England.” This would give (r, r_o), and this must be borne in mind, though only (r) is written, see D 21.

2.—*not* (nat), less frequently (nət), not many, or lyte (láit) = few.—*die* (dii) or (di_i).—*do they*, the (du_on) is an example of the verbal pl. in -en, which is nearly extinct in this district.

3. at (əd).—*this is the fact*, (f) for the assimilated to the following (f).—*quiet*, observe (aa) as in D 22, Bolton.—*till* (dhen), possibly an alteration of (tín) rather than of *then*.

4. *through*, TH. says that the sound is not quite pure (uu, ù), but might be

written (ú₁u) and might reach (úu). He, however, contents himself with this note, and writes (uu), saying “sometimes there is a slight fracture,” the lips being “rather opener in the first element, and closing to the normal (u) in the second.”—*did*, the form (dù_od) here, and in Goosnargh, is remarkable, it recalls the old *lust list lest*, *suster sister*, *gult guilt*, *hulles hills*, *put pit*, etc., see *suprà* Part I. p. 298.—*sure*, the form (sə'uer) is strange.

6. *and the old*, (dh) is used for the definite article as well as (th), with the general rule, (th) before consonants and (dh) before vowels or silent *h*. But this rule is not exact, as shewn by (v)dh gráund) in par. 9, and by numerous (th) before vowels in the G. version.—*ask*, or (aks).

7. *asked*, or less frequently (aks t).—*ought not to be wrong*, or (ó₁út te bi rit) ought to be right.—*what do-n you think*, another instance of the verbal plural in -en.

8. *pig*, sometimes (bíest).—*husband*, the (n) was lengthened, but is weaker than in an accented syllable; this is not written.

9. *lane*, (lúen) would descend from either Ws. form *laine lone*.

10. *a marred child*, that is, a spoiled child.

13. *do-n you know*, another example of the verbal pl. in -en.—*want*, or (wənt).—*neither* or (oodher) either.

Notes to Goosnargh cs.

1. *man*, *thou*, greetings and use of *thou* as on p. 337.—*pull*, perceptibly, but not much protruded lips.—*pull your faces as long as a barn* ‘heck,’ or weather-board at a barn door to keep out the rain.—*for aught as I care*—all nought, the vowels (o₁, a¹), which are

practically identical and probably = (o), have been considered on p. 353.—*neither* (noodher) also used.

2. *two or three*, few. *we have-n none of us*, instance of verbal pl. in -en. *Blackburn* (:blegbrun).—*afterwards*, perhaps literally *that after* = *after that*.

3. *quiet* (kɪaa't), obs. (aa').—*till* (tin).—*look thou!*

4. *maze*, or gypsy-track, see Peacock's n.Li. glossary under Boswell.

5. *father*, either (fadh'er) or (fa'd'er).—*squeaking* or (skweekin).

6. *just meet the best of you, meet* means precisely, exactly.—*ask*, (ash) used by elderly people.

7. *do-n you think*, an example of verbal plural in *-en*.

8. *I was*, the (ái)r stands for *I wor* (ái wer).—*and all*, too, also.—*swallowing*, the form (swalukin) seems to preserve the original guttural ags. *swolgen*.

9. *reach* (ratɪ), hence stretch.—*green sward*, called (griin súerd) by elderly

people.—*Sunday coat* or (tɪ dher kúet) the other coat, a workman being supposed to have only two, working and bettermost.

10. *frining and whining*, whimpering and whining.—*badly*, ill.

11. *their Jim's wife*, Mr. Kirk says *daughter-in-law* is not used, but Mr. L. at P. uses it.—*fold*, courtyard.

12. *gradely*, very, truly, properly, completely.

13. *from that day to this*, or (fre dhen' tɛ náu) from then to now.—*Jack* or (:djən) *John*.—*either*, or oodher.

14. *piking off*, taking myself off.—*to tolder over*, this word is not in the glossaries, but its meaning "to crow over" is clear.

POULTON PHRASES.

from Mr. Lawrenson's family, noted by TH. : those marked * were taken from the aunt, b. 1797.

1. (A do)nt fiil i guòd fet'l), I don't feel well.
2. (uu)z varɛ kant), she's very well and lively, used of old people only.
3. (ar)tɛ gu'ín tɛ íet dh)uun tɛdee?), art thou going to heat the oven to-day?
4. (bríq)th kaðɛr íer), bring the cradle here [the common word, but (krɛd'l) is also used].
5. (ái)m báun dáun)th táun, tɛ báí ɛ ráund páund ɛ bu_ɔ_tɛr, ɛn fɔtɪ ɛ ku_ɔ_pfe ɛ sa't water), I am boun (i.e. going) down the town to buy a round pound of butter, and fetch a cupful of salt water. [This is a sentence concocted by Fylde (:fáild) people and pronounced by them as above, to laugh at the s.La. people who come to Blackpool, and who are accused of sayin (A)m gu'ín daan t' taan, tɛ báí ɛ raand paand ɛ bu_ɔ_tɛr, ɛn fɛtɪ ɛ ku_ɔ_pfe ɛ sa't weeter).]
6. (i)z ɛ greedli gu_ɔd ma'n, ɛn dhát)s ɛ greedli bad ɛn, greedli il), he's a really good man and that's a really bad one, really ill.
7. (dɔf' dhi tlúez,—kúet), do-off [=take off] thy clothes,—coat, not applied to shoes.
8. (i)z gjet'n dh)AAMZ ɛn dh)ɔrindɪ), he has got the alms and the orange.
9. (ím ɛs kips ɛ shɔp ɛníst máin), he that keeps a shop over-against mine.
10. (as)tɛ ɛd dhi brɛ'íkfest), hast thou had thy breakfast [for (ɛd) over the Wyre, at Pilling (6 n.w.Poulton), they use (ɛn)].
11. (iv)ít [ʔ th kooɛv] gjets ewee frɛm)f fru_ɔnt ɛ dh áus, ít)s i)th rúed), if it [ʔ the causeway, paved space] gets away from the front of the house, it's [said to be] in the road.
12. *(ái)m bɔd mɪdlín), I'm but middling, in health.

13. *(ja)r e vast gret wáil efúer jáu kəm), you're a vast great while afore you come. [Observe (kəm) not (ku_m).]
14. *(th) kùth s̥trúek mi), the cold struck me [the (th) not quite certain].
15. *(it)s vast plezent if fók bī wiil), it [the weather] is [vastly] very pleasant if folk be well. [Obs. subj. mood.]
16. *(ái sàrft t' pigz en sàrft t' kAAVZ), I served [regular word for attended to, applied to domestic animals] the pigs and served the calves.
17. (an jε bín badli AA dee dhén' ?), have you been ill all day then? [Obs. (an) verbal pl. in -en.]
18. (wə)den jε want ?), what do-en you want? [Obs. verbal pl. in -en.]
19. a. (ja noon dhi)z dhēm u_odher thiqz), you know-en there's those other things [something rather remote, pointed out by (noon), Mr. L. thinks]. b. (wel ja noo A)m láik tē gu tē)th t̥jert̥), well, you know [something present, and hence (noo) not (noon)], I'm like [am obliged] to go to the church. [It is not at all likely that Mr. L.'s opinion about this distinction is well founded. The verbal pl. in -en had, he thought, died out, and he was probably endeavouring to account for a particular case.]

WYERSDALE, La. (6 se.Lancaster), dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mr. John Gornal, Border Side Farm.

1. náu jε sì, t̥japs, ái)m rē'it ebáut dhat līt'l las ku_omín frē th skuul.
2. shu)z gu'in dáwn t' rúed dhúer, thrúu t' rod geet, on t' left and sáil.
3. kənsərn it! it)s g'a'n s̥trē'it u_op tē)t rəq dúuer.
4. wíer shē)l ap'n fáind dhat d̥ru_oqk'n diēf wíz'nd fēle kAAD :təm.
5. wí AA' noo im vare wíil.
6. mái wòrd! bet wènt th óad t̥jap suun làrn ɐr nət tē du it ɐgjeen, pûer dhiq'.
7. sì jε! íz'nt it t̥rúu?

Notes to Wyersdale dt.

1. *school*, or (jən skuul).
3. *it's gone*, or (t̥áild)z gə'n), child has gone.—*wrong door*, or (rəq' áus).
4. *happen*, or (ten tē wA'n), or (vare láik).

THE FYLDE (:fáild), La., cwl.

From the following sources.

P Poulton, wn. by TH. in 1876, from the family of Mr. T. Lawrenson, of Poulton, and a visitor there, a working man, b. 1821. Those marked * were from an aunt, b. 1797, and illiterate. The (uu, ii) were not quite pure, see notes to Poulton cs. p. 356.

K Kirkham (:kɔrkəm), (S w-by-n.Preston), wn. by TH.

G Goosnargh (5 nne.Preston), wn. by TH. from dictation of Mr. E. Kirk, see also es. p. 354. Garstang (:gjaa'stɪn) is said to have the same pron.

W Wyersdale, wn. by Mr. TH. in 1881 added here for comparison. The preceding dt. shews that (ai m) and not (ai z) is used, and that (th) occurs for the def. art. These keep the dial. away from D 31.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 P ev. 14 G draa¹. 18 P pankeeks [pancakes]. 19 G teel. 21 W neem. 23 K seem. A: 40 G kəm¹. 43 P and wɔdaut dh ɛtɪ [hand without the II]. 44 G land. 51 P ma'n [used for husband, see 297], W mən. 54 P want, want. — G kɛt [cat]. A: or O: 64 W roq raq.

A'- 67 G guɪn [going]. 69 W noo. 76 G túnd. 81 W lûen. 82 G wənst. — G súep [soap]. — G rúep [rope]. 86 W ûets. A': 101 P úek. 104 PG rúnd. 106 P brúnd. 107 PG lúef. 109 [W older speech (lâer la'kher) lower]. — G dɔ'ul [a dole]. — G fúem [foam]. 115 GW úem. 117 K wa'n, G elúen [alone]. 118 G búen. 122 W núe, núen. 124 GW stûen.

Æ- 138 W fadhər fadər. — G ladhər [ladder]. 140 G eel. 144 *P egiéin. 146 G meen [see 457]. Æ: 161 GW dee. 172 W grəs. — K ká'rt, kə'rt. 181 P pad. Æ'- 182 P sɛ. 184 W líed. 185 P riid. 192 K mien. — mien [mean adj.]. 194 *P ɔni. 200 W wíet. 202 P íet. 210 G tlee. 211 G gree. 221 P tier. 222 G íuer [this is probably not the same word as hair, written *houre* and various other ways in Prompt. Parv. p. 249 and 252, meaning 'head covering,' or 'cap,' ags. hūfa, and is probably only the hair of the head, not horsehair for ex.]. 223 K dhíer, W dhíer. 224 W wíer.

E- 231 P th dh t', G th t' [no (dh)]. 233 W spe'rk. — P e'it [eat]. E: — K re'itɪ [reach]. 261 W see. 262 GW wee. 270 ii P beli. 274 G bensh. 277 G d'rensh. 278 G [not used, replaced by (las')]. E'- 290 W i. 297 P feli [used also for husband, see 51]. 299 G griin, W grín. E': — P briar [briar]. 314 W ierd. — G táit [tight, (tii it táit) tie it tight].

EA: 322 W laf. 326 K ɛ'ud, PW ɔnd. 328 *P th)kúth [the cold sub.]. 335 PG aa¹. 336 PG faa¹. — P amest [almost]. 338 PG kaa¹. — P sa't [salt]. EA'- 347 P e'id, W e'id. — lɛp [leap]. EA': 350 W diud. 355 P dief. 359 KG nɛber. 360 P tium. 361 P bién. 363 P tɛap. 366 P gret, W gert. — da'u [dew]. 370 G roo. EI- 372 *P ái. EO- 387 G núu. EO: 392 K jan. 396 GW wark [sb. see 694]. — kjàrv (carve). 398 G stàrv. 399 G brit. 402 W larn. 403 K fà'r, fæ'r. EO'- — G t'ri [tree]. — PG tɹék [choke]. 417 G tɹa'u. EO': 423 K th'ii th'ii. 424 W [older speech] rúkh. 425 G lit. 435 *P ja jáu. 437 W tɹáuth. EY- 438 W dii dii.

I- 446 G náin. 448 P dhierz. I: — P bard [bird]. 457 G mit en meen [might and main]. 458 GW nit. 459 P rit, W re'it. 462 G sit. — G bi'ind [behind]. 487 W ju'stɛr dɛ. I'- 492 G sáid. 494 W táim. I': 501 G wáid. 506 P wu'men. 513 G wáier. 517 G váuu.

O- — PG smúk [smoke]. 518 G bədi. — P uun [oven]. 521 P fɔ'íl. — P efúer [afore] — P kúet [a cote, as a dove-cote]. O: — P frag [frog], G frɔg. — G fɔg [fog]. 529 P bró'ut. 531 W dóu't'ɛr. 532 G kɔ'íl. 541 W wənt. — PW skúer [score]. 550 PG wa'rd. — G ma'r'der [murder]. — P tema'rn [to-morrow, TH. noticed the (r) as 'rather strong']. O'- 555 W sháu. — GW fódher [fodder]. 559 W mu'dher. 560 K skuu. 562 G mu'nth [month]. 565 G núez. O': 575 K stù d. 579 W enu'f. — F puu [pool, nearly pure (uu)]. 587 GW dùn. 588 W nuun.

U- 600 G lùv. 603 *P kəm, K kamin, G ku'min, kəm. 605 KGW sù'n. 606 W dûer. U: — K puu³ [pull, inclined to (páu³)]. 612 G sù'm. — G wu'ndɛr. U'- 640 W [pl.] kái. 645 *P ebuun. U': 658 P dáun. 663 W áus.

Y- 674 W dùd. Y: 686 P báí. — P shùf [shelf]. 694 P wark, wartɪ [in sense of ache], G wark [verb, see 396]. — G wari [worry]. — G wa'rm [worm]. Y': 709 G fàier. 712 G máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 W lād. 718 K t^{reed}. 736 W las. I. and Y. 758 W gærġ.
 O. 763 G room. — PG dæg [dog], G (dog). — GP tlag [clag], G (tlog).
 — P mu_gki [monkey]. U. — P tūn [a tune]. — G kār [a cur]. — G
 ori [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 *P plēs [TH. asks whether the vowel were formerly deeper (ē) than now (ē)]. — G pœ [pay]. 824 W tjeer tjeer. 830 K t^{reen}. 841 W t^{rans}. — G sleet [slate]. — G plect [plate]. — P koose [causeway]. E.. 867 PK tee. 890 W bies [pl. cows]. I.. and Y.. 901 G rāin. O.. — PG rūest [roast]. — PG tūest [toast]. — G ruez [rose]. 940 P kūt. 941 P fuul [nearly pure]. 947 P b_gil. — fār, far [fur]. — P taa'rn [turn]. 954 *P wa_gshen. U.. 965 P o_gil. — PG A'rt [hurt].

VAR. ii. THE ISLE OF MAN.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists, under the following names, where † means obtained by TH.

Ma. † Kirk Christ Lazayre, † Kirk Christ Rushen, † Kirk Patrick, † Peel.

Area. In March, 1879, the Rev. W. Drury, vicar of Kirk Braddan (2 w. Douglas, Ma.), wrote to me: "The Manx peasantry are remarkable for their good English. Indeed, it has often been observed by Englishmen resident in the island, that their accent is much more correct than that of the English peasantry generally. The Manx language is fast getting out of use, but still in many parts it is very generally spoken. It will not be what we call extinct, for two or three generations yet." The English, therefore, extends over the whole Isle, but it is an English spoken by foreigners, and, as is the case with Welsh-English, is not entirely book-learned, but more or less tinged with the neighbouring dialect.

Character. The dialect is mixed. It is by no means the remarkably "good," that is, "received," speech, which Mr. Drury seems to imagine, possibly from intercourse with the better educated. The use of *I am* in the form (a)m separates it from D 31, which uses (a)z *I is*. The use of *the* (dhv) as the def. art. again separates it from D 31, which uses (t'), but also separates it from D 23, Var. i., which uses (th) and occasionally (dh) before a vowel. This *the* is, however, almost the only important mark distinguishing Var. ii. from Var. i., and the use of (dhv) is of course strictly inculcated in the schools, so that it was to be expected. The U' words have one of the diphthongs (ə'u, ɜ'u, ou, á'u), at any rate it varied in the pron. of the informants examined, but there was no approach to the (úu) of part of D 31 lying to the n. of s. hoos line 6, and though the small part of D 31 s. of this line uses (ou) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands and (áu) in Lonsdale s. of the Sands, the Isle of Man, or D 23, Var. ii., is separated from both by *I am* and *the* for *I is* and *t'*. Var. i., however, has (áu), which is nearly reached in the (á'u) of Var. ii. There is no approach to the peculiar sw.La. (aa¹, æe) for U'. I' words have (ái, áí) in both Vars. i. and ii. The words

with A-, A:, A', Æ, Æ', E, E', EA, EA', EO, EO', and probably U, are treated substantially alike in both varieties. TH. appreciated and wrote (*u*), but the palaeotyping was done in Manchester, where (*u*) is general, and most of the persons interviewed had been in Manchester some time. Hence the Manx sound may be (*u*), although (*u*) is here recorded. Hence phonetically it is impossible to regard the speech of the Isle of Man as anything but a variety of m.La., having numerous points of agreement and only one point of real difference—the treatment of the def. art. *the*; for the absence of the verbal plural in *-en*, already nearly extinct in Var. i., can scarcely be considered in Var. ii.

Illustrations. Mrs. Roscoe, of Kensington, a native of the Isle of Man, having given me an introduction to Miss Cannell in Manchester, TH., who lives there, very carefully pal. her version of the dt., and subsequently he discovered other natives of the island, residing in Manchester, whose account of the pron. at home, assisted by that of friends who came over, he was also enabled to pal. Thus I have obtained three dt. and several wn. from the n. m. and s. of the island, shewing slight differences, but substantial agreement. As the speech is no true dialect, the localisation of the differences has no dialectal value, and the interlinear presentment of the three dt. points them out at a glance. But the occasional use of (t) for (th) especially before (r) in the n. and m. of the island, and the regular (th) in the s., should be noted. Thus in the n. and m. we have (troon t're'd t'ret t'rii t'ruu) thrown thread threat three through, and in the n. (tik tiq t'artiin) thick thing thirteen. This is in some respects comparable with Orkney and Shetland habits.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

L. *Kirk Christ Lazayre* (2 w. Ramsey, on the ne. of the I. of Man), dictated by Mr. T. Curphey, joiner, b. 1853, who was brought up there, but had resided several years in Manchester, when this was pal. in 1881, and revised three times in 1884 by TH.

P. *Peel*, above the middle of the island on the west coast, dictated in 1881 by Mr. F. Kaye, joiner, native, b. 1853; having resided several years in Manchester, he took the opportunity of having it revised by his sister, about 25, and a friend of hers, about 19, residents in Peel, who came to Manchester for a few days in 1884, and the dt. given, as thus revised, was pal. by TH.

R. *Rushen* (:ru-shen), the most s. parish in Man, dictated to TH. (in Sept. 1881, and revised March, 1882) by Miss Cannell, head schoolmistress at St. Margaret's Day School for Girls, Whalley Range, Manchester, then about 27, and Miss Cubbin, also a schoolmistress in Manchester, then about 30, both natives.

- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|--------|---------------|-------|-------------|
| 1. <i>Lazayre.</i> | ná'u ái see, | bô'iz, | ju sì | ná'u dhut áim | rə'it | vbə'ut |
| <i>Peel.</i> | wel, | bô'iz, | ju sì | dher a)m | rə'it | vbə'ut |
| <i>Rushen</i> | wel, | bô'iz, | ju sii | dher a)m | rə'it | nə'u vbə'ut |

L dhat	lil	gjəl	komen	frəm)dhə)skuul	jən.də.r.
P dhat	lil	gjəl	komen	jan.də.r	frəm skuul.
R dhat	lil	gjè[əl	jan.dər	komen	frəm skuul.

2. L shi'z gòen də'un dhə)rôed dhîer t̪ruu dhə)red
 P shi'z gòen də'un dhə)rood dhêér t̪ruu dhe red
 R dhêér shi'is goon də'un dhə)rood, thruu dhə)red

L gjét, ɔn dhə)lef and sáid v̪(dhə)rôed.

P gjét, ɔn dhə)lef an sə'id v̪(dhə)rood.

R gjét ɔn dhə)lef ha'n sə'id.

3. L lùk, bôiz, dhə)tjái'l ez)gá'n rə'it uɔp t̪v̪(dhə)rəq
 P wél shúer enuɔf, dhə)tjə'il ez)gá'n st̪r̪e'it uɔp t̪v̪(dhə)rəq
 R aa shúer enuɔf dhə)tjə'il v̪ gán' st̪h̪r̪e'it uɔp t̪v̪(dhə)dóer

L dæ'uer.

P [hə'us.

R v̪(dhə)rəq hə'us'.

4. L whîer shi'l meebi fáin dhat d̪ru_qken d̪éf
 P kwîer a'm thi_qken shi'l)ap'n fáin dhat d̪ru_qken d̪éf
 R an' mèvi shi'l fáin dhat d̪éf d̪ru_qken

L pûer lùken f̪el̪er v̪f)ɔ:təma's.

P ôul k̪r̪eet̪er :təmi.

R blə'i ɔv)ɔ:təmes.

5. L wì AAL noo [Hì'm verì wè'l.
 P wì AAL noo'em wè'l enuɔf.
 R wì AAL noo him wè'l enuɔf.

6. L wònt dhə)á'ul f̪el̪e suun làrn)er nət t̪v̪(du)et ɛgjeen, pûer
 P wònt dhə)ôul f̪el̪e làrn)er nət t̪v̪(du)et ɛgjeen, pûer
 R wònt dhi'ə'ul f̪el̪e làrn)er nət t̪v̪(du)et ɛgjeen, dhə

L t̪iq!

P t̪jə'il!

R ba'kh!

7. L sì! iz'nt)et rə'it wət A)wəs)seen?
 P wè'l nə'u! iz'n)et t̪r̪ə'u?
 R luk'! iznet t̪r̪ə'ù nə?

Notes to Lazayre dt.

1. *about*, or (v̪b̪e'ut).—*little* or (lit'l).
 3. *right*, sometimes (st̪r̪e'it).—*door*
 or (hó'us).
 4. *maybe* or (praps) *perhaps*.
 6. *learn*=teach, or (t̪el ɛr) tell her.
 —*thing*, or (t̪jái'l, child).
 7. *what I was saying*, or (wət A)t̪â'ul
 ɔv) what I told you.

Notes to Peel dt.

1. *that*, the form (dh̪et) converted
 into (dh̪er) before a vowel.
 4. *happen*, or (praps, mee'vi) *perhaps*,
maybe.

Notes to Rushen dt.

1. *that*, see note to Peel.—*boys*, mates not used in the dialect.
2. *gone*, or (*gôn*).
4. *hly*, a good-for-nothing, lazy, do-less, etc., creature, or (*wès'trel*) waistrél, apparently a Manx word.
6. *the bach*, the little thing, apparently a Manx word. *bach* = little in Welsh.

ISLE OF MAN cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Mr. T. Curphey, who dictated the Lazayre dt., and his wife, who was born and lived chiefly near Peel; from Mr. F. and Miss Kaye and Miss Leece for Peel; and Miss Cannell and Miss Cubbin for Rushen, in addition to the words in the dt.

L Lazayre (:lezéer). P Peel. R Rushen (:ru'sh'en).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 L néem, P neem nee'm, R neem. A: 43 P han an. 46 P kjand'l. 51 R mæ'n. A'- 73 P soo. 86 L ôgts. 87 L klooz. 99 P t'roon. A': 104 L rôed. 115 L ôem. 117 P wa'n. 124 L stoön.
 Æ- 138 LR faadhër [when used, generally (*dee*) dad]. 148 P fier. — P heren [herring]. 152 L waa'ter, P waa'ter. Æ: 161 LR dee. 172 P gres. 179 P kwat. Æ'- 182 P see. 183 PR teetj. — P stierz [stairs]. 200 L whiet whiët, P wheet kweët, PR whët. Æ': 205 P t're'd. 222 P hier. 223 P dhêr. 224 P whiër, R whêr.
 E- 233 L speak. — P eet. 252 L kjed'l kjet'l. E: 261 P see. 262 LP wee. 265 L st're'it. — P fiil [field]. E'- 290 R hi. 299 LR grin. E': 312 P hîr. 314 PR hârd.
 EA: 322 R lâf. 326 L á'ul. 328 L kâ'ul. 331 L sâ'ul. 332 LP tá'ul, P tó'ul. 334 P êpni [halfpenny]. 336 P faal. EA'- 347 L [h'e'd, R hêd. EA': 361 L beenz. 364 R t'ap. 366 L grêet, R greet. 367 L t'ret.
 EO: 394 L jôn'der, P jandher. 402 P lârn. — L sis'ter, P sisther. EO'- 411 LP t'rii. — LP t'rii [tree]. EO': 436 R t'ræ'u. 437 R t'ræ'uth. EY- 438 LR dáí.
 I- 440 L wik'. 442 P iben. I: — L tik [thick]. 458 P nâ'it. 464 P kwitj. 466 L t'p'il, P t'p'il. 480 L tiq, P thiq. 487 P jistherde. I'- 492 L sâid. 494 LPR táim. 498 L râ'it. I': 504 L nâ'if. 505 LP wâ'if. 514 P âis.
 O- — P sha'f'l [shovel]. — P t'root [throat]. O: — R shrub. 531 R daa'ter. 540 P hâen. O'- 555 P shuu. 562 L muun. 568 L brodher. O': 571 P gu'd. 584 L stuul, P stùd'l [little stool]. 587 LP dû'n. 588 R nuun. 590 L flæ'uer.
 U- 605 LR sù'n. 606 L dæ'uer, P dûr. 607 P bu'ter. U: 612 R su'm. 613 L d'ru'qken. U'- 634 L t'ruu. 640 L kâ'u. 641 L âu. 650 LP ebâ'ut. U': 654 P shrs'ud. 657 L brâ'm. 658 P da'm. 659 L t'â'un, P t'â'un. 663 L [hæ'us hóus. 667 P é'ut. 668 L prâ'ud.
 Y- 677 L drâi. 682 P lîl. Y: 691 L máind. Y'- 707 L t'ar'tiin.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L là'r. — L prîrezs, P prîdezs [potatoes]. I. and Y. — P whip kwip'. O. 791 LP bôî boh. U. — P lûmp [lump].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 L plêes. 824 L t'jêr, P t'jêr. 830 P t'reen. 841 P t'jans, R t'jans t'jans. — L paged [packet]. E.. 867 LP tee. — P la'ter [letter]. — P sârv [serve]. — P periket [petticoat]. I.. and Y.. 898 P nâ'is nâ'is. 901 L táin. O.. — P t'roon [throne]. 935 P ku'nt'ri. 939 L klôs. 950 L su'ber. U.. 970 LP d'jûs.

D 24 = e.NM. = eastern North Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on the n. at the b. of La., at a point 4 ne.Colne, La., and following the s. *tee* line 5 go across the deanery of Craven, Yo., between Skipton in Mid Craven and Keighley in South Craven, keeping nearly due e. to about Burley (8 n.Br Bradford), where the n. *theeth* line 5 joins the s. *house* line 6. Turn along this line 6, following the Wharfe to Harewood (7 nne.Leeds), and then deflecting to the se. pass e. of Thorne (6 ne.Leeds), Aberford (8 ene.Leeds), Sherburn (11 e.Leeds), and Gateford (14 e.-by-s.Leeds), where the line turns nearly s., through Huddesley (15 ese.Leeds), w. of Snaith (11 e.Pontefract and w. of Thorne (8 ne.Doncaster), and e. of Doncaster to the n. point of Nt. Then follow the b. of Yo. past Nt., Db., La., till reaching the starting-point near Colne, La.

Area. The whole of the s.Yo., comprising the great industrial centres of Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Barnsley, Sheffield, and Rotherham on the w. and s., with the country towns of Wakefield, Pontefract and Doncaster on the e. A most diversified country. The w. parts inhabited by a great manufacturing population, rejoicing in their dialect. The e. parts populous, but not manufacturing.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List, under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., § per CCR., || systematic, ° io.

Yo. || Armitage Bridge, ° Barnborough, † Barnsley, † Birkenshaw, § † Bradford, ° Brotherton, † Calverley, ° Campsall, ° § Dewsbury, * † Doncaster, ° East Hardwick, † Elland, § † Halifax, † Haworth, ° Holmfirth, ° § || Huddersfield, ° † † § Keighley, § Leeds, † Manningham, ° † Marsden, † Osset, † Ripponden, ° Rossington, § Rotherham, || Roundhay, ° Saddleworth, || † Sheffield, † South Oram, † Thornton, ° † Tickhill, † Upper Cumberworth, † Wakefield.

Characters. In such a wide and varied region there must necessarily be considerable differences. I have found it best to distinguish nine varieties. The Western Group containing Var. i. Huddersfield, and Var. ii. Halifax, in many respects greatly resembles the adjoining parts of La., and has particularly the verbal pl. in *-en*, mildly but clearly developed, the article (th) occ., and (uu) hoo=she, more or less used, (shuu) the general s.Yo. form for *she*, also occurring. The North Central Group consists of Var. iii. Keighley, Var. iv. Bradford, Var. v. Leeds, Var. vi. Dewsbury, in which the peculiar character of the district is most developed, but there are diversities, and Dewsbury has affinities with Halifax as well as Keighley and Bradford. These names of large manufacturing towns are used, but of course the real dialect is heard in the surrounding villages. The South Central Group, containing Var. vii. Rotherham and Var. viii. Sheffield, is distinctly related to the adjacent Db., D 26, and has evident traces of the verbal pl. in *-en*, of which there are none in the n. central group. The Eastern Group consists of Var. ix. Doncaster and the whole e. slip, has Nt. affinities, evinced by a great absence of fractures, the (áu) treatment of U', and the absence of (shuu) she.

The particulars of each of these groups are given further on. The main character of the whole group centres at Leeds, and

reducing it to the smallest and most distinctive elements, we may take

O, O'=(óí, úí) as in (óíl, spúin) hole, spoon.
 U'=(éú, aa) as in (éús, aas) house.

Somewhere in D 24 the use of (u_o), which is a mere transitional sound between (a) and (u) (see p. 292), ceases, and (u) alone is used, and of course for some intermediate distance between the borders of the (u_o) and the (u) regions there is a mixed region in which both may be heard. The difference between (u_o), u has escaped most observers, and I am obliged to take the authority of TH. exclusively. CCR. probably was quite unaware of (u_o) as distinct from (u), and hence gives (u) only. TH. made several journeys on purpose to discover where the change occurred and where the mixed forms prevailed, but his observations were necessarily incomplete, because he was able neither to examine places enough, nor people enough in each place, to determine with any amount of certainty what was the prevalent usage. Still his observations, as I have stated, are my only guide, and hence the following results obtained from his note-books are valuable. I make 4 classes.

1. only u heard at Skipton, D 31, and in D 24 at Keighley, Haworth, Thornton, Bradford, Calverley, Halifax, South Otram, Elland, Ripponden, Osset, Sheffield.
2. prevailing (u) but some (u_o) noticed at Wakefield, Doncaster, Tickhill, Fillingley, Nt. but halt in Yo., and even in D 30 at Hull and Hornsea.
3. prevailing (u_o) but some (u) at Marsden, Upper Cumberworth, and Barnsley.
4. only u_o heard at Manningham (close by Bradford in the midst of an u region, and hence possibly because too few people were observed, see p. 389, l. 18., and Thorne in D 30.

My own information derived from other sources gives (u) only and entirely ignores (u_o). It is as follows :

CCR. Skipton, Keighley, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, including Barnsley, where TH. found prevailing (u_o), and Rotherham.

Mr. Stead, Hull and Hornsea in D 30.

Dr. J. Wright, Windhill (2 n. Bradford).

Dr. Sykes, Doncaster.

Prof. Parkes, Sheffield.

Where this information conflicts with TH.'s it only shews that both (u_o), u are heard or that my informants did not discriminate them. But the exclusive hearing of (u_o) at Manningham, almost a part of Bradford and surrounded by Shipley, Idle, Calverley, Bradford, Thornton, where (u) alone is heard, shews that TH. was unfortunate in the persons observed, and that at any rate his observations were not extensive enough. Marsden (between Huddersfield and Oldham, La., and hence in an (u) region), which has altogether a La. character, seemed at first to have exclusively (u_o), but TH. on making a second special visit, found that while (u_o) was almost universally used, cases of transition from (u) to (u_o) occurred in old speakers, and occasionally (u) itself remained, shewing that (u_o) was a recent development.

Under these circumstances I shall assume that (u) is used in all D 24, but that there is frequently an intrusive (u_o) on the borders

of La., Db. and Nt. This practically assumes the b. of Yo. as the s. b. of (*u*), but does not assume any n. b. for (*u*_o), that is, it assigns no precise area to the mixed use of (*u*, *u*_o). It is quite possible that the sound of (*u*_o) in the s., as in D 28, 29, may in future years pass over into (*æ*), and that the (*u*_o) in the n., as in D 21, 22, may spread even into Yo., preparing it for a similar change of (*u*) through (*u*_o) into (*æ*). The spread of education and the (at least attempted) inculcation of rec. pron. in schools may produce even greater changes within a century. Here, however, we have only to discover so far as possible existing habits, and must leave the future to take care of itself.

Illustrations. Through the kindness of CCR., author of the *Leeds* and *Mid Yorkshire Glossaries*, I obtained eight glossic versions of my cs. for this neighbourhood. These when written were very carefully considered by me, and all points of doubt were queried, giving rise to many interesting communications from CCR. For better comparison I give seven of these cs. interlinearly, so that the eye can at once observe the differences. The eighth, which gave the refined town speech of petty traders at Leeds, I have reduced elsewhere to a comparison with received speech, but I have added a new eighth, given me by Prof. Parkes, for Sheffield. These interlinear versions are placed first. Afterwards I consider each variety separately, giving first an introduction containing some dt. which I have recently obtained and a portion of a cs. from TH. and also a dt. from Dr. J. Wright, which are important checks on CCR.'s work. These relate to Upper Cumberworth Var. i., Elland Var. ii., Keighley Var. iii., Windhill and Calverley Var. iv., and Barnsley Var. vi. Then the notes on the corresponding cs. and dt., and finally a cwl. made up from the lw. and wl. that may have been furnished me by CCR. or other informants for further illustration of the variety in the neighbourhood of the chief centre. In the case of Leeds itself I give a remarkably complete cwl., carefully written in glossic by CCR. himself, with some wn. by TH. from Calverley, near Leeds. I give also an incomplete wl. compiled from Mr. Banks's Wakefield Glossary. The last variety, Doncaster, is illustrated by a tolerably full cwl. pal. by me from the dict. of Dr. Sykes, of Doncaster, who paid me two visits for the purpose. The numerous comic publications, such as the *Bairnsia Foaks' Annual* (published at Leeds) and the *Saunterer's Satchel* and *West Riding Almanac* (published at Bradford) are neither accurate nor local enough to be of any service in such an investigation as the present. But the account of the pronunciation prevalent at the borders of these unexplored regions shews within narrow limits what the pronunciation within them must be.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR CS.

These cs. have been arranged interlinearly for ready comparison, forming a conspectus of pron. in D 24. The side numbers indicate the numbers of the varieties already explained. The notes for each version are given subsequently. As Mr. Robinson in his desire to record idioms has sometimes dealt very freely with the text, the lines do not exactly correspond, but sufficiently so to make reference from one to the other easy and rapid. The following is the meaning of the numbers of the lines.

i Huddersfield (:adhezfil), or, according to TH., (:adherstfild), and adjoining villages. See also the cwl. for Var. i. including Holmfirth, Marsden, Saddleworth, and Upper Cumberworth.

ii Halifax (:éuliteks) and adjoining villages, as Ripponden. See also the parable of the Prodigal Son in the Halifax dialect in Part IV. p. 1400, in which some of the palaeotype forms are now superseded by those here used, but this will occasion no difficulty to the reader.

iii Keighley (:kiithle) or Lower Craven. Mid and Upper Craven belong to the N. div.

iv Bradford (:bradfeth) and adjoining villages.

v Leeds and its district already described, country speech.

vi Dewsbury and its neighbourhood, excluding Wakefield, but including Barnsley.

vii Rotherham.

The above seven were written by CCR in Glossic.

viii Sheffield, written in 1875 by Mr. D. Parker, formerly President of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and Prof. of Hebrew at the Wesley College, both of Sheffield, who had been well acquainted with the dialect for 60 years, and had lectured upon it before his Society, in a systematic orthography, supplemented by notes and correspondence. Nevertheless in many common unaccented words there is an element of uncertainty in this conjectural pal. translation.

Of the Doncaster variety I can only give a cwl.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|----------------------|-------------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| 0. | i | <i>Huddersfield.</i> | wô <i>i</i> | :dʒɒni | az | no | daats. |
| | ii | <i>Halifax.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒɒni | az | no déts. |
| | iii | <i>Keighley.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒuən | ez | núe daats. |
| | iv | <i>Bradford.</i> | wat | fər | :dʒɒni | ez | núe daat. |
| | v | <i>Leeds.</i> | wat | fóv | :dʒɒni | ez | núe daats. |
| | vi | <i>Dewsbury.</i> | wət | fər | :dʒɒni | ez | nóov déts. |
| | vii | <i>Rotherham.</i> | wô <i>i</i> | :dʒɒne | ez | núe | daats. |
| | viii | <i>Sheffield.</i> | wô <i>i</i> | :dʒɒn | az) | 'nt ne | daats. |
-
- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|------|---------------|-----|----|--------------|-----|-------------|-------|
| 1. | i | wiil, neeber, | joo | en | im | me | búeth'en)jo | lef |
| | ii | wiil, neeber, | joo | en | im | me | búeth e jo | léevf |
| | iii | wiil, néeber, | jaa | en | im | me | búeth en jo | laaf |
| | iv | wiil, néeber, | jii | en | im, tii, | me | búeth e je | laaf |
| | v | wiil, néeber, | jii | en | im e óel, ji | me | búeth en je | laf |
| | vi | wiil, neeber, | joo | en | im | me | búeth o jo | leef |
| | vii | will, neeber, | jo | en | im en ool | jon | booth me | laf |
| | viii | wee, neeber, | joo | en | ii | me | búeth | laf |
-
- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------|---------|--------|-------------|
| i | et dhis níuz | e móin. | wúv | kéev? | dhat dhíe)z |
| ii | et dhis ne'uz | e mi oon. | wúv | kéev? | dhet dhíe)z |
| iii | et dhis níuz | e móin. | wúv | kéev? | dhat)s |
| iv | láik, et dhis néevz | e mi óen. | wúv | kéev? | dhat)s |
| v | láik, et dhis néevz | e mi óen. | úuv)s)t | kéev? | dhat dhíe)z |
| vi | et dhis níuz | e máin. | wúv | kéevz? | dhet)s |
| vii | at dhis níuz | e móin. | wúv | kéevz? | dhat)s |
| viii | et dhis níuz | e móin. | wúv | kéevz? | dhat)s |

- i nodher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 ii nodher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 iii n*úe*dher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 iv n*óe*dher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 v noodher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 vi noodher *íve* ne dh*íier*.
 vii noodher *íve* ne dh*íve*.
 viii noodher *íve* ne dh*íier*.

2. i mon, *ít)s* nobet e *fíu* e men et diiz
 ii *ez* nooz *ít)s* nobet e *fé'u* e men et diiz
 iii *ít)s* nobed e *fíu*, wot diiz
 iv *mun*, *ít)s* nobet e *féeu* e men et *gúez* en diiz
 v *mun*, *ít)s* nobet e *féeu* e men, et *gúuez* en diiz
 vi mon *ít)s* nobed e *fíu* e meen wot *góuez* en diiz
 vii *ez* nooz *ít)s* nobet e *fíu* wot *gouez* en diiz
 viii *fíu* men dii

- i biko's dhe)r left et, win noon dhat, du)net wi?
 ii kos dhe)r léeft et, dont ez?
 iii kos dhe)r laaft at, win nóoe, du)net we?
 iv kos dhe)r gænd at, ez núen)z baat nóovin dhat?
 v fə)bikos dhe' gænd at, adent ez *síuer* e dhat na?
 vi djust eko's dhe laft at, dhat uz nooz, du)net ez, nee?
 vii bikos dhe' laft et, doont ez?
 viii bikos dhe)r laft et, wi noo, dúent wi?

- i wat sed mak em? *ít)s* not vari
 ii wat sed mak em? *ít)s* net vari
 iii wot sed mak em? *ít)s* nut vari
 iv wat sed mak em, naa? *ít)s* nut vari
 v pre)dhe na wut sed mak em? *ít)s* nut vari
 vi wot sud mak em du)t, préee? *ít)s* nut vari
 vii wot shed mak em? *ít)s* not vari
 viii wot shed mak em? *ít)s* not vari

- i lóik*lí*, iz it?
 ii láik*lí*, iz it néee?
 iii lóik, iz it naa?
 iv láik*lí*, iz)t naa?
 v láik*lí*nz, is)t na?
 vi láik*lí*, iz it nee?
 vii láik*le*, iz it?
 viii ló'ik*lí*, iz it?

3. i jec'a-ver dhiz iz th)matez e'th tríuth e'th
 ii aa'i-var, dhíiez iz th)matez e'th tríuth e'th
 iii amsemi-ver, dhíiez iz)t' faks e'th
 iv aa'i-ver, dhíiez iz)t' réeits e'th
 v amsemi-ve, dhíiez íie)z)t' féer odments e't' tréenth e't'
 vi ee'i-ver dhíiez iz tríudh en)t' matez e't'
 vii oo'a-ve dhíiez iz)t' matez e't' trooth e't'
 viii aa'sumi-ver dhíiez iz)t' faks e't'

- i kéés, súe djust od jóe dín, frend,
 ii kees, súe djust óud jor dín, frend,
 iii kéés súe djust dhii óud te dín, frend,
 iv kéés, súe naa dhen aa)te baan te od dhi dín, frend,
 v kéés, súe djust dhi od dhi dín widh dhe, if
 vi keez en ool ubeert konsaa'n, thru)t' thrid te)l)t' niid'l, súe
 vii kees, soo djust óud dhe nóiz, frend,
 viii kees, súe djust óud jer no'iz, frend,

- i en bi kwóit wol o)v dún. éek jo na!
 ii en bi kwáit wol o)v don. éeeken néev!
 iii en bi kwéet wal o dún. aaken naa!
 iv en djust wish te wól o dúin. naa aaken!
 v dha kans)te láik, en wisht wa a dún. íiez te budz na!
 vi djust jo óud joe nóoiz frend en wisht née wól ev dún.
 néev dhen íie jo!
 vii en bi gwóit wol oo)v dún. íez)ta naa!
 viii en bi kwó'i)et wó'il AA)v dún. aark!

4. i o)m saaten ói jied dhem see —sum e dhéi fúek et
 ii óe)m síur o jied em see —sum e dhem fók et
 iii o)m síur et o jied em sée—sum e dhem fúeks et
 iv óe)m síur et a íied em sée—sum e dhéem fók et
 v ái)m séeur et a íied em sée—sum e dhem fók et
 vi ee)m síur e íied em see —sum e dhem fúeks wot
 vii ói)m saaten o íied em sen —sum e dhem fúeks et
 viii AA)m saaten et a íied em see —sum e dhem fúeks et

J

- i góed thru th)wol thiq fro th)fást e dhese'lnz —dhat
 ii went thru th)wól thiq thro th)fást dhese'lnz —dhat
 iii went thru)t' wól thiq frée)t' fást e dhese'lnz—dhat
 iv went thru)t' úel thiq fru)t' fást dhese'lnz —dhat
 v went thru)t' úel thiq thru)t' fást e dhese'nz —dhat
 vi went thru)t' úel thiq thróe)t' fást dheseenz —dhat
 vii good thro)t' wól thiq thru)t' fást dheseenz —dhat
 viii went thru ool)t' thiq thru)t' fást dheseenz —dhat

i	ói	did	seef	enuf—
ii	did	o	seef	enuf—
iii	o	did	síur	inif—
iv	i	did,	síur	inif, om i—
v	did)	i	síuerlínz	inif—
vi	e	did	síur	inif—
vii	o	did,	om) shíur	enuf—
viii	A	did,	shíur	enuf—

5.	i	et th)	juqis	sun	izse·ln,	e gret	led e nóin,
	ii	e)th	jóeqis	sun	izse·ln,	e gæt	led e náin,
	iii	e)th	juqis	suun,		e gæet	lad e nóin,
	iv	et)t'	juqis	sun	izse·n,	e gæt	lad e nâin,
	v	et)t'	juqis	sun	izse·n, et)s	e gæt	lad e náin,
	vi	et)t'	joqist	sun	izseen,	e gríut	led e nâin,
	vii	et)t'	juqist	sun	izsen,	e gret	lad e nôin,
	viii	et)t'	juquest	sun	izsen,	e gret	lad nō'in jiiir óucl,

i	nood	iz	fadhē	vóis	et wəns,	dhoo	it ·wor
ii	ne'ú	iz	fee'dher	vóis	et wəns,	dhoo	it wər
iii	níu	iz	fadher	vóis	et wuns,	dhoo	it ·wər
iv	néeu)t'		fadhē	vóois		dhAA	it ·wər
v	néeu)t'		fadhē	vóis,	et wuns,	let eláuen	it ·wóor
vi	nood	iz	feedher	vóis	et wuns,	dho	it ·wor
vii	nood	iz	fadhē	vóis	et wəns,	dho	it ·wor
viii	nood	iz	fadherz	vóis	dírektl,	dho	it ·wor

i	siken	e	kwíer	skweekin	en, en	ói)d	trust	·im	tē
ii	sitjen	e	kwíer	skweekin	en, en	o)d	trast	·im	tē
iii	sitjen	e	kwíer	skwíekín	en, en	o)d	trust	·im	tē
iv	sitj	e	kwíie	skwéekín	en, en	o)st	trust	·im	tē
v	sitjen	e	kwíie	skwéikín	en, en	a)d	trust	·im	fē)tē
vi	sitjen	e	kwíie	skweekin	en, en	o)d	trust	·im	tē
vii	sē		kwíie	en skweekin,	en	o)d	trost	im	tē
viii	sē		kwíie	en skwiikín,	an	A)d	trust	im	tē

i	spéik	th)tríuth	oní	dee,	jee,	ói	·wod.
ii	speek	th)tríuth	oní	dee,	íe,	o	·wod [·wuold].
iii	spéik)t'	tríuth	oní	déev,	íie,	o	·wod.
iv	spéik	tríuth	oní	déev,	ee,	a	·wod.
v	spéik)t'	tréenth	oní	déev,	ái,	a	·wod.
vi	spéik	tríuth	oní	dee		o	·wood.
vii	speek)t'	trooth	oní	dee,	aa mare	o	·wod.
viii	spéik)t'	truuth	oní	dee,	dhat A		·wud.

6. i en th)oud wumen use ln el tel oni o jon et lefs nîie,
 ii en th)oud wumen use ln el tel oni o joo et léefes nee,
 iii en th)oud wumen use ln el tel oni o joo et lafs naa,
 iv en)t' oud wumen use n el tel oni o je et lafs naa,
 v en)t' oud wumen use n el tel oni on je et lafs naa,
 vi en)t' oud wumen esee n el tel oni o jo wat lefs nee,
 vii en)t' oud wumen esen el tel one o jo et lafs naa,
 viii en)t' oud wumen erse n el tel oni on jo et laf naa,

i en telen jon	stréit of, tu,	bîet
ii en tel joo	street of, tu,	béet
iii en tel yo	stréit of, too,	béet
iv en tel)t je réit	stréit of, tîu, fûer out)s lat	baat
v en tel je	stréit of, tîu,	dhaaten
vi en tel jo réit	of gn ool,	widheet
vii en tel jo	stréit of, en ool,	widhaat
viii en tel jo	stréit aat en ool,	widhaat

i mîtg bodhe, if jon el nobet aksen e, oo ! wil)ent uu ?
ii mîtg bodher, if joo)l nobet aks er, aa ! wi)net sho ?
iii mîtg bodher, if jol nobet aks er, oo ! wi)nt she ?
iv mîtg bodhe, if ji)l nobad aks er, aa ! wîe nt shu ?
v mîtg bodher, en)ji)d nobed as e, uu ! wîent she ?
vi mîtg bodher, if jo)l nobed eks ur, oo ! wil)et shuu ?
vii mîtg bodhe, if jo)n nobet aks er, oo ! weent she ?
viii mîtg bodher, if jo)l nobet aks er, o'i ! wîe)nt shu ?

7. i lîestez uu teld it mii wen ói akst e,
 ii onígeets u toud mii it, wen o akst er,
 iii onírued sho teld mii it, wen a akst er,
 iv onírued shu teld mii wen ái akst er, e
 v lîeslînz sho teld mii ebaa)ten)t, wen a aast e,
 vi oní roodz shu teld mii it wen e ekst ur,
 vii one rodz shu teld mii wen o akst e,
 viii et oní reet, shu teld it mii wen a akst er,

i				en		uu	
ii	toothri	téemz	over,	u	did,	en o kónsee)ts	shuu
iii	túethri	tóimz	óver,	sho	did,	en	shuu
iv	túethri	tâimz	óur,	shu	did,	en	shuu
v	túethri	tâimz	óur,	did	she,	en a kónséet	shuu
vi	túethre	tâimz	over,	shu	did,	en	shuu
vii	túethri	tôimz	óur,	did	she,	en	shuu
viii	tuu or thrii	to'imz	óover,	shu	did,	en	shuu

- i óut nət tɛ bi raq ɐ s'ken ɐ póint ɛz dhis, wat)en
 ii óut net tɛ bi req ɐ sitɣen ɐ póint ɛz dhis, wat)en
 iii óut net tɛ bi raq ɐ sitɣen ɐ póint ɛz dhis, wat de
 iv óut nut tɛ bi req ɐ sitɣ ɐ póint ɛz dhis, st)
 v óudent tɛ bi req ɐ sitɣen ɐ póint ɛz dhis, aa)s)t
 vi óut nət tɛ bi raq ɐ sitɣen ɐ póoint ɛz dhis, wət de
 vii óut nət tɛ bi raq ɐ sitɣen ɐ póint ɛz dhis, wət)en
 viii óut nət tɛ bi raq upɐ sitɣ ɐ p'oint ɛz dhis, wət dən

- i ʒoo thiɣken?
 ii ʒo thiɣk?
 iii ʒoo thiɣk?
 iv ʒii thiɣk, naa?
 v ʒɐ thiɣk?
 vi ʒo thiɣk?
 vii ʒo thiɣk?
 viii ʒo thiɣk?

8. i wiil, ɛz ói wɛr see)in, ʔuu)d telen ʒo ool bíet it,
 ii wel, ɛz o wɛr see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒo ool béet it,
 iii wiil, ɛz a wɛr see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒo óoɐ béet it,
 iv wiil, ɛz o wɛr see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒɐ óoɐ bat,
 v wilz, ɛz a wɛ see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒɐ ɛt óoɐ enz,
 vi weel, ɛz o wo see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒo ool beet
 vii wiil, ɛz o wɛr see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒo)t úuɐl ístrɐ
 viii wee, ɛz a wɛr see)in, ʔshuu)d tel ʒo

- i ɛz tɛ jéeɐ, wíier, ɛn wen uu
 ii ee, ɛn wíier, ɛn wen u
 iii st aa, ɛn wíier, ɛn wen it wɛr ɛt sho
 iv búeth áaɐ, ɛn wen, ɛn wíier it tɣonst ɛt shu
 v búeth aa, ɛn wíier, ɛn wen it tɣonst ɛt sho
 vi konsee)n, ɛn ee, ɛn wíier ɛn wɛn it wóoɐ ɛt shu
 vii ɛs)t aa ɛn wíier ɛn wen it wor ɛt sho
 viii aa, wen, ɛn wíier, shu

- i fan th)drufen bíies ɛt uu koolz ɛr ɛzben,
 ii fan th)drufen bíies ɛt u koolz ɛr ɛzben,
 iii fan)t' druken bíies ɛt shu kooz ɛr ɛzben, ɛn óoe)t'
 iv fan)t' druken bíies ɛt shu kóoɐlz ɐ ɛzben ɔn,
 v fan)t' druken bíies ɛt she kóoɐlz ɐ ɛzben,
 vi fan)t' drufen bíies ɛt sho koolz ɛr ɛzben ɔn,
 vii fan)t' druken bíiest at she koolz ɛr ɛzben,
 viii fan)t' druɣken bíiest ɛt shu koolz ɛr ɛzbend,

- i —u wil, ói ban fo)t!
 ii —o)m béeend u wil!
 iii rigmeróul,—ái)z bi ban fe)t shu wil.
 iv —a)l bi ban on)t, shu wil.
 v
 vi —ái, e)m ban fo)t, shu wil.
 vii — o)m ban fo)t sho wil!
 viii

9. i uu thrept u soo im wi er oon iin,
 ii u thrept u soo im wi er oon iin,
 iii sho thrept et sho soo im wi er óoen iin,
 iv shu thrept et shu saa im wi er óoen iin,
 v sho thrept en went at it, et shu siid im wi er óoen iin,
 vi sho thrept et shu siid im, wi er oon iin
 vii shu swéeer et sho siid im wi er oon in
 viii shu swóoer et aa shu siid im wi er óun iin,

- i ligin stretjt jéert et wol leqth, up e)th griend,
 ii ligin stretjt et wúel leqth, up e t' gréeend,
 iii ligin stretjt aat oo iz buk en leqth, etop e t' grund,
 iv ligin stretjt slap óoel iz leqth, e)t' gréeend,
 v ligin stretjt endleq etop en t' grund,
 vi ligin stretjt eet,t' úel en iz leqth, etop e)t' greend,
 vii ligin stretjt et wúuel leqth up e)t' graand,
 viii ligin stretjt aat et ful lenth up e)t' graand,

- i i iz góid sande kóit, tlóis bi)th iies dúer óil,
 ii in iz góid sande kóit, tlóis bi)th éees dúer óil,
 iii i iz góid sande kóit, tlóis bi)t' éees dúer óil,
 iv dánd i iz sande kóit, tlóis bi)t' ées dúer óil,
 v dánd i iz gúid sander kóit, tlóiz bi)t' aas dúer óil,
 vi dánd i iz good sande kóoit, tlóis bi)t' éees dúer stéid,
 vii dánd i iz good sande kóoit, tlóis bi)t' aas dúe stúid,
 viii i iz gud sande kúuet, djust bi)t' aas dúe

- i e)th kóoene e jon leen.
 ii déen e th kóoene e jon leen.
 iii déen e t' kóoener e jand lóin.
 iv daan et bodhem e jon lóin.
 v daan e t' kóoener e jon lóin.
 vi deen et)t' koone e jon leen.
 vii daan et)kóoene e jon leen.
 viii daan et)t' kórner e dhat leen.

10. i ii wer egeet e wóinín, u sez, fer ool'th wold
 ii ii wer egeet e wáinín, u see'z, fer ool't' wold
 iii ii wer géet e wóinín, shu sez, fer óol't' wold
 iv i wer egeet e wáinín, shu sez, fer óol't' wold
 v i wer egeet e wáinín, sho sez, fer óol't' waald
 vi i war egeet e wáinín, seez sho, fer óol' wuurd
 vii i wer egeet e wóinín, she seez, fer ool wold
 viii i wer wóinín ewee, sez shu, fer ool wurd

- i ló'k e badli tjóil, er e let'el las i e jímme.
 ii lá'k e béedli baan, er e let'el las i e jímme.
 iii lóiken e badli baan, er e lítel las i e móovek.
 iv séeem ez e badli baan, er e lítel las i e móendj.
 v lá'ken e badli baan, er e lítel las in e móendj.
 vi lá'k e bedli béeen, ur e lítel lees in e jímmer.
 vii ló'k e badli tjóild, er e lítel las i e jímmer.
 viii ló'k e badli tjóild, er e lítel las e fretin.

11. i en dhat apend ez 'uu en'th dóuter)i)loo
 ii en dhet apend ez 'uu en'th dóuter)i)loo
 iii en dhat dhíer apend ez'th dóuter)i)loo en erse'ln
 iv en dhat apend ez shuu en't' dóuter)i)lóoe
 v en dhat apend ez 'shuu en't' dóuter)i)lóoe
 vi en dhat epend ez 'shuu en't' dóuter)i)loo
 vii en dhat apend ez 'shuu en't' dóuter)i)loo
 viii en dhat apend ez 'shuu en er dóuter)i)loo

- i kum thro)th bak jærd fro aqín th)wet tlúez
 ii kuum thru)th bak jéevd thru eqín th)wet tlúez
 iii kuum thru)t' bak jéevd free eqín t')wet tlúez
 iv kum thri'u)t' bak jaad fru bín eqín t')wiit tlúez
 v kam thru)t' bak jaad thru iqín t')wit tlúuez
 vi kum thru)t' bak jæod, thru eqín t')wit tlúez
 vii kum thru)t' bak jaad, thro aqín t')wet tlúez
 viii keem thru)t' bak jard, wen shu)d uq t')wet tlúez

- i jéet tē drói on e weshín dee,
 ii éeet tē drái on e weshín dee,
 iii aat fē tē drái on e weshín déee,
 iv tē drái ev e weshín déee,
 v aat fo)tē drái on e weshín déee,
 vi eet tē drái on e weshín dee,
 vii aat tē drói on e wesh'n dee,
 viii aat tē dró'i et)t' weshín dee,

12. i wóil)th ketel we bóilín fo)th tee,
 ii wol)th ketel wer egeet bóilín fe)th tee,
 iii wal)th ketel wer bóilín for)t' driqkín, e
 iv wol ketel wer géet e bóilín fe)t' driqkín, e
 v wal)t' ketel wer egeet e bóilín fe)t' driqkín, e
 vi wol)t' ketel wə bóilín fə)t' driqkín e
 vii wóil)t' ketel we bóilín fe)t' tee driqkín,
 viii wóil)t' ketel wer i bóilín fe)t' tii

- i wən fóin bróit aftenóin i sūmer nobet e wiik
 ii wən fāin briit aftenóin i somer nobet e wik
 iii wun fóin briit aftenóin i sūmer nobet sē latli e wik
 iv wun aftenóin i sūmer tām, e wik
 v wun fāin briit aftenáuin i sūmer, nōbed e wiik
 vi wun fāin briit aftenóoin i sūmer, jēt nōbed e wik
 vii wən fóin bróit aftenóin i sūmer, nōber e wik
 viii wən sunshóini aftenoon i sūmer, nobet e wik

- i sen kum)th nekst thərsdē.
 ii sen kuum)th nekst thozdē.
 iii sin kuum)t' nekst thuzdē.
 iv sin nōbet kum)t' nekst thuzdē.
 v sin kum)t' nekst thəəzder.
 vi sin kum)t' nekst thuzdē.
 vii sin kum)t' nekst thəəzde.
 viii sin kum nekst thəəzde.

13. i en, dən jo noo? ói niver laant oni máuer
 ii en, doo jo noo? o niver laant oni máer
 iii en, nóoez)te nōbet? o niver lēnd oni máer
 iv en st)nóoe naa, et a niver lēnd nout ne máer
 v en dus)te nóoe, na? a niver lēnt nout ne máer
 vi en dus)te noo, o niver laand nout ne máer
 vii en dən jo noou? o niver laand one máuer
 viii en dən jo noo? a niver laarnd núe máer

- i en dhis e dhat biznis up tən tē dee,
 ii et iud e dhet beznis up təl tē dee,
 iii dhen dhis e dhet mak e biznes up tē tēdeē,
 iv e dhat dhíe déeu up tēv tēdeē,
 v dhen dhis e dhat díu up tēl tēdeē,
 vi en dhis e dhet biznes tīl wol tēdee nee,
 vii en dhis o dhat bizenes up wóil tēdee,
 viii dhen dhis ebaat dhat biznis up tē tēdee,

i	ez shuur	ez mói neem)z	:dʒoni	:sheperd,	en	ói du)net
ii	ez siúr	ez mi neem)z	:dʒoni	:shepəd,	en	o dú)ent
iii	ez siúr	ez mi néem)z	:dʒu:n	:shepəd,	en	o du)net
iv	ez siúr	ez mi néem)z	:dʒoni	:shepəd,	nər	nóedher
v	ez siuvelinz	ez mi néem)z	:dʒoni	:shepəd,	en	a dú)nt
vi	ez shiúr	ez mi néem)z	:dʒoni	:shepəd,	en	nóedher
vii	ez shiúr	ez mo néem)z	:dʒone	:shepəd,	en	o dont
viii	ez shiúr	ez ma neem)z	:dʒak	:shepəd,	en	A dúent

i	want	te duu	oodher,	dhíi'ər	níi'e-na!
ii	want	te duu	nodher	dhíe	dhen, néce.
iii	want	te diu	óedher,	dhíi'e	badz naa!
iv	diu i want,			naas	te!
v	want	fe te diu	nóoedhe,	naa	men!
vi	duu i want	te du,		nee	dhen.
vii	want	te doo	nodher	dhíe)z	te dhen!
viii	wont		noodher	dhíer	naa!

14. i	en súe	ói)m	go'in	eggeetdz	wúem	te
ii	en súe	o m	been		úuem	te
iii	en súe	ái)z	béen	eggeetdz	úuem	naa te get
iv	en súe	o)men bi	béen		úuem	naa, láik, tel
v	en súe	a)men	fúest	te gúv	úuem	
vi	e soo	o)m	been		úuem	láik te
vii	en soo	o)m	goo'in		úuem	te
viii	en súe	A)m	gu'in		úuem	te

i	mi super.		góid	niit,
ii	mi super.		góid	niit,
iii	mi super,	lóik.	góid	niit te dhe,
iv	mi super.		góid	niit te dhe,
v	mi super,	naa láik.	gúid	niit te dhe, e pre)dhe máinds te,
vi	mi super.		góid	niit te soo,
vii	mo super.		god	nit te dhe,
viii	mi super.		gud	niit,

i	en du)net	bi se shaap	te kroo	over e bodi egíen
ii	en du)nt	bi se shaap	fe te kroo	over e bodi egen,
iii	en du)net	bi se shaarp	te kroo	óur e bodi egíen, s)t)íie
iv	en dú)nt	bi se shaap	te kroo	óur e bodi egíen
v	en dúent	bi se kin	fe te króoe	óuer e bodi egíen
vi	e dú)nt	bi se shaap	te kroo	over e bodi egíen
vii	en dont	bi se shaap	te kroo	óur e bode egíen
viii	en dúent	bi se shaarp	te kroo	óoer e bodi egíen

i	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e t)oon	en	t)udher thiq.
ii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e t)oon	en	t)odhe thiq.
iii	na?—wen <i>i</i> tooeks	e t)úuen		t)udhe thiq.
iv	wen <i>i</i> tooeks	e t)úen		t)udhe thiq.
v	wen <i>i</i> tooeks	e t)úuen	en	t)udhe thiq.
vi	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e toon	en	t)udher thiq.
vii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	o toon	en	t)odhe thiq.
viii	wen <i>i</i> tooks	e dhis dhat	en) t)	t)udhe.

15. i	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets	bívt	reezen,
ii	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets	béet	reezen,
iii	it)s e wéek	fóil	wot	prénts	béet	ríezen, dhaa)t s)uur,
iv	it)s e wéek	fóil	et	prats	dhaat	ríezen, dhaa)t núen
v	it)s e wéek	fúil	et	prénts	bidhaat	ríezen,
vi	it)s e week	fóoil	wot	preets	widheet	reezen,
vii	it)s e week	fóil	et	preets	edhaat	reezen,
viii	it)s e week	fúil	et	preets	widhaat	ríezen,

i		en s)uue	dhat)s mói	last
ii		en s)uue	dhet)s mi	last
iii		en s)uue	dhat)s mi	last
iv	baat góemín dhat, à)te?	s)uue naa dhen,	dhat)s mi	last
v		s)uue naa dhen,	dhat)s mi	last
vi		en soo	dhet)s mi	lèst
vii		en soo	dhat)s mo	last
viii		en	dhat)s ma	last

i	wəd.	góid bóí,	lad.
ii	wəd.	góid báí,	lad.
iii	wəd.	góid báí tē dhv,	lad.
iv	wəd.	fēv tē wiil,	lad.
v	wəd.	fēv dhv wilst,	lad.
vi	wurd, en o)l see,	góid báí tē joo.	
vii	wəd.	god bóoi,	lad.
viii	wəd.	gud bó'i.	

* * The *Notes* to these different es. are given under the separate varieties below.

VAR. i. HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Comprising the country to the sw. up to the La. b., Golcar (:góker), Slaithwaite (:sláwt), Marsden, and then separated by Diggle Edge, Saddleworth, Holmfirth (in a neighbouring valley), and Upper Cumberworth. The speech is well illustrated by CCR.'s es. for Huddersfield, a dt. for Upper Cumberworth, and a rather complex cwl. for Huddersfield, Holmfirth, Upper Cumberworth, Marsden (as obs. by TH.), and a few words from Saddleworth, which to a considerable extent agrees with Marsden.

Huddersfield is a large town, and necessarily contains speakers of various shades of dialect. Hence anything like perfect agreement in the several accounts of its

speech which I have collected was not to be expected. While, therefore, there is a great practical unanimity, there is considerable diversity of opinion. On referring to the owl, which contains details, it will be seen that from A- to EY there is not much diversity of appreciation, and at the same time great resemblance to D 22. The chief differences relate to I', O', U', and the short I, O, U, in the cases where they are usually treated as long.

I' is always represented by (ói) in CCR.'s cs., although he admits the form (óu), thus, (tóim tóim). Now the relation between these sounds is close. In the E. div. we found (léim) lame as a result from (léum). The Ch. (ái, D 25, seems to be the sharper sound of (æ, áæ, for (áu) in U' words. But when the form with (e) is once reached, the way is opened for numerous other changes and especially for its omission, thus, (tóim, toom), whence (taam) is an immediate alteration involving also (taam). CCR. is, indeed, of opinion that (aa for I' "is foreign to the genius of town dialect," and thinks that it does not "occur at all in (daan) dialects, but only in dum, dialects." Of course in no dialect are we likely to hear (daan) pure and simple, for both *down* and *dine*. There is a change of vowel, a mere shadowing, which is sufficient in speech, (daa'n, dean) for one and (daan, daan) for the other. This we have already met with in D 22.

O' is always very variably treated. CCR. has (góid, good, which would make his O' and I' clash. Miss Hibbard has (gúid, stúil, búit, good, stool, boot, and agrees with Messrs. Dowse and Tomlinson in (spúin, fúit, rúit, súit, spoon, foot, root, soot. However, for *hole* Miss Hibbard agrees with both CCR. and TH. at Marsden in giving (ól, ôil). But for *book, took*, Miss H. has simple (buuk, tuuk), with a long or medial vowel. We shall find similar treatment of O' in other varieties of D 24, as we have already done in D 22.

U' is also variably treated, see notes to Huddersfield cs. par. 3. CCR. considers (iiv) to be the distinctive sound in this variety, but he also occasionally uses aa, ee. Miss Hibbard has generally (éu), which CCR. says he has heard in common speech, but had been led to disregard. Now at Burnley D 22, Var. v., this was an alternative form to (á'á), and curiously TH. got (á'á, á'á, á'á) at Marsden, which would readily give (éu) or (aa), and other Marsden information gives in fact both. Upon the whole I should say the (éu) was the most prevalent form in this variety, that (iiv) was antiquated, and (aa) occasional.

Notes to the Huddersfield cs., No. i on p. 367.

0. *why* (wói). CCR. says such a word as *time* would be pronounced both (tóim) and (tóem). This is instructive as to the interchange of fractural (e) with (i), as afterwards in (kóil) from (kóel) coal. Of my other correspondents, Mr. Dowse writes *oi, woife, toim, loike*, indicating (ó'i). Mr. Tomlinson has *worle, morle, lorfe, worde*, while mile, life, wide, indicating (AA), and shewing that *r* was considered merely a means of affecting the meaning of the preceding letter, and similarly he has *skör, whör*, sky, why, but suddenly changes to *au* in *faur, lance, mauce*, fire, lice, mice, with no *r*. Miss Hibbard indicates (aa) in all cases, in her numbered word-list. These last two seem to approach CCR.'s (óu). See Var. ii. Halifax. CCR. says, "The town of Huddersfield has progressed at a very rapid rate, and there has been an influx of people from neighbouring districts. My renderings reproduce the pronunciation of people who and whose

ancestors had always lived in the district, and whose forms of speech never varied."—*you*, CCR. allows (o) generally, but finds (ó) sometimes necessary, and very prominent at Leeds. The (ó) in this cs. was specially written by him as a correction of (o).

1. *laugh* (lef). In transliterating CCR.'s glossic, I have rendered glossic *e* by (e), which sound it was originally meant to symbolize, while *ae* represented (æ), which CCR. uses occasionally. It is most probable that TH. would have heard (æ) in all these cases, being his usual vowel.—*cares* (kéevz), that is, the *r* is fully vocalised. This will be found the general writing, but CCR. sometimes admits Glossic *r*, evidently considering it more than a mere vocalisation, perhaps as Midland (r), and sometimes writes Glossic *r*, which means decidedly trilled (r). Curiously enough the Glossic *r* occurs chiefly, not always, at the end of words. It will be sufficient to write (r) as in D

22, bearing in mind that it is possibly (r) when not before a vowel. But the (r) will be omitted or vocalised when CCR. so writes.

2. *we do know that, don't we?* (win noon) we do-en know-en, not only the verbal plural in -en, but the infinitive in -en; the last is very doubtful. The verbal pl. in -en is much more certain. We have it here (wi)n for (wi dən); in par. 7 (wat)en juo what do-en you? and CCR. says the deliberate form (wat dən ju) may also be used. This greatly increases the M. character of Huddersfield speech.

3. *how-ever*, (éev) would have been the expected form for the first syllable, then (jéev) with the common prefixed (j), and finally the clipped form (jee). The representation of U' and the corresponding lengthened U and French *ou* seems to vary. We have (0. daats, 3. jee naa, 6. nīv bīet, 9. grīend īies), doubts, how, now, now, without, ground, house, and (13. nīv-naa) in the reduplication now-now. Of my other Huddersfield informants, Mr. Dowse is indistinct, writing *naav, caav, haase, maas*, which may possibly all point to

(éev); Mr. Tomlinson gives *āance, kääcumber*, ounce, cucumber, which also point to (éev); and Miss Hibbard has (ja¹, ta¹, nēv na¹, kēv, ja¹r), how, thou, now, cow, our, and (éev) in other U' words. CCR. considers (īiv) typical of Huddersfield and (éev) of Halifax.—*the matters*, the use of (th) for the def. art. as in La. seems prevalent in this variety, though (t') is most common to the e.—*hark you, now*.

5. *youngest*, sometimes (joqis).—*father's*, obs. the omission of sign of the possessive.—*trust*, the dental (t d) were designedly omitted by CCR., who says "they are not a characteristic feature." But TH. heard them at Marsden, and so still in most words.

6. *she*, (uu) and not (shuu) as is used further to the e.

11. *yard* (jərd), CCR. writes glossic *yur'd*, indicating a fully-trilled (r).

12. *thursday*, (thərsdə) or (thorsdə). CCR. writes the first with the same fully-trilled r' as in *yur'd*, but the second as untrilled *aor*. I cannot lay much store by the treatment of r, finding it so difficult to elicit.

14. *I'm going agatewards home*.

MARSDEN (7 sw.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1888 from the dict. of Mr. John Schofield (:skúfíl), b. 1804, native and life-long resident, woollen weaver, then postman till 1888, and then retired; assisted by his sister, Mrs. Hill.

1. A)se¹, ladz, jo sīn nā¹e et A)m re'it ebā¹et dhat līt¹ las kom'in thre)s' skú¹il jən dər.

2. úu)z [ú)z] gu'in dā¹en th)rúed dhier thrú¹uu dhat red jeet on th)left and saad v)th rúed.

3. sīi jə, th)tjəald)z gu'en stre'it u_op te)th raq â¹es [â¹as].

4. wēr úu)l ap'n faand dhat d_ru_oqk'n díef wíz'nd fele et dhe kAA¹l óud :təm.

5. wi AA¹l noon ìm vari wíl.

6. wíl'nt óud :təm sóin lērn er te maand bē¹er th)ne'ist taam, púer las!

7. lúuk! it)s dju_ost ez a thóut it wad bíi.

Notes to Marsden dt.

1. *school*, the vowel written (u₁) was marked as between (u, o).

2. *down*, the first element of the diphthong in (dā¹en) was marked as lying between (a¹, e) or doubly high (a).

3. *wrong house or door* (dē¹r, dē¹r), where (æ₁) lies between (æ, o).

Omitted words: 1. *so su- súv way wee*. 3. *sure enough* sí¹u¹er inu₁kh, [(u₁) between (u_o, o)]. 4. *name neem*. 6. *teach te'itj*.—*again* egjēn.

UPPER CUMBERWORTH (6 se.Huddersfield) dt.

pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of Mrs. Ann Littlewood, b. 1824, native, and 26 years resident; here (*u*_o) and (*u*) were both heard.

1. A *see*, ladz, ʒə siin nâ'v a)m réit vâ'et dhat lî't'l las ku_omîn thrə's)skóil jander.

2. shu)z gu'en dâ'en)t' rúed dhier thruu)t' red' gjeet ən)t' left and saad v)t' rúed.

3. luuk! [sii!] t' tjaald)z gu'en stre'it *u*_op tē)t' raq â'və,

4. wíer shu'l ap'n faand dhat druqk'n díef wí'z'nd ôud feli et dhe kaal :təm.

5. wí aal noon im vâri wiil.

6. wí'nt t' ôud tɔap sôn téitɔ er nôt tē du it egien, pûer thiɔ!

7. luuk! iz'nt it tríuu?

Note. Words omitted: 2. *way* (*wée*).—3. *door* (*də'uer*).

HUDDERSFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

For comparison characteristic words are here given for the following forms.

R CCR.'s es. for Huddersfield, merely a few principal words.

D Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Dowse, who had been 10 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted.

T Words from the Huddersfield wl. of Mr. Tomlinson.

H Words from the carefully numbered Huddersfield wl. by Miss Mercy Hibbard, who had lived there the first 18 years of her life.

B Holmfirth (5 s.Huddersfield) numbered wl. by Mr. Beardsell, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as the words could be interpreted, but the meaning of the numbers was probably not always rightly seized.

Mh Marsden (7 sw.Huddersfield) wn. by TH. in a special visit. The verbal pl. in -en frequent, and also in a printed specimen. Here (*u*_o) was heard.

Mb Marsden words from a wl. by the vicar, assisted by the schoolmaster, Mr. R. Bamford, here (*u*) is assumed.

S Saddleworth words from a wl. by Mr. G. H. Adshead, 40 years acquainted with the dialect, as well as they could be interpreted. As Saddleworth lies between Marsden and La., I have assumed the use of (*u*_o).

C Upper Cumberworth (6 se.Huddersfield) wn. by TH., here (*u*_o) was heard.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 D béek. 4 HT tak. 5 HT mak. 7 H sak. 10 Mb eg [this in La.]. 12 B sag [this is quite La.]. 14 H droo. 16 H doon. 19 Mh teel. 20 DS léem, Mb. leem, S loom. 21 R neem. D néem. 23 D séem, Mb seem. 24 Mb sheem. 31 Mb lat. 32 Mb bad [especially in (went v badin) went a bathing]. 35 H ool. 37 H kloo. A: 39 R kum, T kam. 40 H kúem. 42 Mh *u* n [unaccented, said three times by the same informant]. 49 R aq. 51 Mh má'n, S mən. 54 T want. 56 RTS wesh. A: or O: 58 MhC thrē. 60 HS luq. 61 TMh emaq, S emu_oq. 62 Mh s'trəq. 64 RDHT raq.

A'- 69 T nóv, Mh nee, H náu. 70 H táu. 72 H woo. 73 RH súuv, T sóv. 76 DT túed. 77 H lúerd. 80 Mh a'ledí. 81 R leen. DHTB l'in, C lōin. 84 HTC múer. 85 HB súer. 87 R tlúez, T klaaz. 88 HT klúvdh. 89 RH búeth. 92 R noo. 97 H sául.

A': 101 HMb úek. 102 R aks. 104 H rúed, Mh rúed. 106 HT brood, C brúed. 107 HB lúef. 108 HT doof, Mb dúuf. 111 H oot. 113 R wol, Mb wél. 115 R wúem, HT wəm, C wòm. 117 Mh wā'n wòn. 118 TMb

búen. 121 T gúen. 122 TMb núen. 129 T gúest. 130 T búnt. 131 H gúet. 132 Mh wát'. 135 Mh tloth. 136 D Aadhe. 137 R nodher, C noodher.

Æ- 138 R faadhe, T fadher. 144 RDT egíen, Mh ege'in. 150 H liest. 152 T water, Mh watær. Æ: 156 Mh dlád. 158 T efter. 161 R dee [in a printed Marsden specimen constantly *dee* (dii)]. 164 Mb mee. 172 T gæos. E'- 182 BMhMbC síu. 183 H teetj, B teítj. 184 B lied. 185 H ried. 187 HB liev. 190 D kái, H kee. 191 B iel. 192 HB míen. 193 HB klien. 194 RHT oni, T oni. 195 DHTMh moni. 197 H tpiéz, Mh tpiiz. 200 DH wiet. 201 B íadh'n. 202 HB íet. Æ': 216 Mh diel. 218 C ship. — Mh ɐr a)m bak' [ere I'm back]. 223 RT dhíu. 224 RT wíu. 228 DH swíet.

E- 231 R th, Mh th, [and assimilate (s-seem) the same, (A màrkt t' mīd'l) I marked the middle, the (i₁) was nearly (i), (et t' t'óp') at the top]. 232 T brék. 233 RHT spék. 234 T néid. 235 HTB wéiv. 236 HT féiver. 241 Mh reen. 244 R wiil. 247 H wien. 249 T wíier. 250 T swíier. 251 TBMB méit, C me'it. E: — C re'ík [reach]. 261 R see. 262 C wee. 269 R -se'ln. 271 CMh tel. E'- 291 R ii. 301 HT jæ. E': 305 T héi, H hee. 306 H eet. 311 Mh te'in. 312 R íe. 314 T jæd.

EA- 317 Mb fii [to skin; but (flee) frighten]. 320 R kéu. EA: 321 H soo. 322 R lef, D laf. 323 T íout. 326 RHT óud, Mh old. 328 HTMb kóud. 332 C teld. 333 Mb kool. 334 Mb oof. 335 HTMb ool. 336 HT fool. 337 HT wool. 338 RH kool. 340 H jéed, MhMb jé'rd. 342 T éerm, H a'rm. 343 TMb waarm, H wa'rm. 345 HTMb daar. 346 D jat. EA'- — Mh JAA [yea]. 347 HT jed. 348 D ii. 349 RH iiu, C ía'uu. EA': 350 HT diéd, Mh diéd. 351 T lied. 353 HTC briéd. 355 HT diéf. 359 R neeber. — Mh biem [beam]. 360 Mh tiem. 361 T bién. 363 T tíiep. 366 RH gret, T gæet. 367 H thriet. 368 HT dieth. 370 H roo, B rec. 371 B stríe.

EI- 372 Mh âi. EO- 387 R níu. EO: 388 C málk. 392 R jon. 394 Mh jander. 396 T waak. 397 T súerd. 399 R bróit, T briit. 402 HTB liern. 405 Mb aarsten [hearthstone]. EO'- 410 RS uu, D huu shuu. 412 DH shuu. 417 H tpiú. 420 H fáur, Mh fô'ur. H íoti. EO': 424 H raf. 425 DHTB liit. 426 DTB féit. 435 RD joo. 436 H triu. EY- 438 RDH dii. EY: 439 R trust.

I- 444 HT stíil [and] staal. 446 R nóin, H naan. — C Jæ's [yes]. — C pe'iz [pease]. 449 Mh gjer'æp' [get up]. 451 H séu. I: 452 D 'i, H a, Mb A. 457 T maat. 458 DHTMhMb niit. 459 D raat, T réit, H reet, Mh re'it. 461 Mh liit [in the sense of meet with]. 462 TMb siit, H saut. 465 C sitp. 466 TMb tjaald, H tpaal. 467 H wald. 468 M tpiider. 475 T waand, H waand. 479 TMb waand. — Mh ræn [run]. 487 Jastede. C Jæ'sterdi. — Mh ma'ist ma'isti [mist, misty]. I- — Mh baad [hide]. 492 Mh saad. 493 T draav. 494 R tóim toem, D tóim, TMh taam, H taam, C taam. 495 R wóin. — rAAZ [to rise]. I': 500 R lóik, T laak, H laak. 501 T waad, H waad. 502 TMh faav. 504 T naaf, B n'ef. 505 D wóif. 506 R wómen. 508 T maal, H maal, B m'el. 509 TMb waal, H waal, B wó'el. 510 R móin, Mh maan. 517 H júu.

O- 522 H ɔp'n. 523 H wɔp. O: — Mh fæg [fog]. 527 HB bæ'ut. 528 H tha'ut. 529 HB bræ'ut. 531 RDB dóuter, H dáuter, Mh dóu'ter. 532 H kóil. 533 H dæl. 534 RH óil, Mh óil. 538 H wəd. 547 H báud, Mh bæudz. 550 R wəd. O'- 558 H luuk. 559 H mæder. 562 DH máin, Mh mûin. 564 HMh sîn [B, by some error probably, writes (s'yin), and so for 571, 588, 589, etc.]. 565 H náuz. 566 H udhe, Mh u'dher. O': 569 H buuk. 570 H tuuk. 571 R góid, H gúid. 578 H plév. 579 R enaf. 581 HB sa'ut. 584 H stúil. 586 Mh dæn [=do-en, v. pl. in -en]. 587 RH dæn. 588 DHT núin, C nôin. 589 DHT spúin. 590 H háur. 593 [Mh mæn used]. 594 H búit. 595 DH fúit. 596 DHT ráit. 597 DH sáit.

U- 599 ɔbuun. 600 HB læv. 601 D févl. 602 H sév. 603 H kiam, Mh kæmn [past part.]. 604 R sūmer. 605 RH sūm. 606 RH dæv, C da'uer. 607 H bæter, C bæ'ter. U: 608 H ugli. — C shūlder [shoulder]. 612 H sūm, Mh sūm. 613 H drauk. 614 H éend. 615 H péend. 616 R grævend,

DH gréend. 617 H séend. — Mh bâen [boun = going to; (bâin), a regular alteration of (bâen), was got from Stainland (4 s-by-w. Halifax), as also kjâi cow]. 619 H tœn. 622 H nder. 629 H san. 632 R up, Mh up. 634 R thro. 639 H dœst. U'- [U', C = a'v]. 641 H ja'. 642 H ta', Mh dha. 643 R naa nîe, D naa nêu, H nêu na'. 645 H dœv. 648 H ja'er, Mh jaar [œz neemz; our names], C jiar. 650 Mh ebâ'et. 651 R bi'et, Mh bâ'et. U': 655 H fœl. 657 H brœn. 658 R dâen, H dœn, S diun [? see 659]. 659 H tœn, S tiun [? TH. heard (ta'un), and says Saddleworth resembles Stalybridge, p. 317]. 661 Hmb shœer. 663 R i'ies, DH œs, Mh â'œzez [houses], Mb œs [in Mb U' is always (œv)], S œs, C ja's. 664 H lœs. 665 DH mœs. 666 H usbund. 667 H œt, Mb jœt [printed specimen has (jaat)]. 668 H prœd. 671 H mœth. 672 H sœth.

Y- TC mitj. 675 R drœi. 676 T lii. 677 T draa. 679 H kœtj. 682 Mh lâ'it [a few], C laet. Y: 685 T brig. 686 T baa. 690 Tmb kaand. 691 Tmb maand. — C shu'ot [shut]. Y'- 705 T skaa, B skœ'e. 706 R wœi, T waa. Y': 709 T faar. 711 T laas. 712 T maas.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 H bold. 726 R took. — C pœtetiz [potatoes]. E. 743 H skriem. 744 H mas'iz. 745 H tjiut. I. and Y. 756 Mh sri'imp. 758 Mh gœrl [but (wensh) used]. O. 761 DH lœud. 785 H lœendj. 790 H gœen. 791 Mh bœi. U. 794 H dœug. 797 skweekin. 798 R kwœier. 803 H dœamp. 804 R draen. 806 H fœs. 807 H pus. 808 H put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 Mh plœs. 813 C beek'n. 835 R reez'n. 836 Mh sœzen. 840 Mh tœember. 864 R biko's. 865 H fœlt. E.. 867 Hmh tœ. 885 Mh veri vari. 888 R saaten. 889 H sœs. 890 T biœs. 891 HT fiœst. 892 H nefi. 894 H disœev. I.. and Y.. 897 H dilaat. 898 H naas. 901† R fœin, H faœn. 902 H maœn. 903 H daœn. 905 H raœt. 908 H œdvaas. 909 H briœz. 912 H raaz. O.. 913 H kœtj. — C bœif [beef]. 915 H stof. 917 H rœug. 920 R pœint. 923* Mh mœist. 928 T œœs. 929 HT kœekumber. 938 R kœœœœ. 939 RC tlœis, H klœus. — Mh raœst [roast], C rœst. — Mh tœœst [toast]. 940 HT kœ'it. 941 HR fœil, DHT fœil. 943 H tutj. — Mh tœœn ta'œrn [turn]. 952 H kœœs. 955 R daœt, H dœœt. 956 H kœœœ. U.. 961 H griœel. 963 H kœœœt. 969 H siœœr. 970 H dœœœst.

Var. ii. HALIFAX AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

An examination of the interlinear cs. (pp. 367-377) will shew that the difference between Var. i. and ii. is very small, and this difference is rendered smaller by CCR.'s statement that there are two varieties at Halifax, the one given in the cs. and the other with (œu) for U', as (œu, ebœut, dœun, œut, riœund, biœun, œus, fœul, fœœœz, siœund, thiœzen, thiœu, krœud), how, about, down, out, round Fr., boun = going, house, foul, flowers Fr., sound, thousand, though (EA'), crowd (EO'), and even (kœu) cow. CCR. finds the same in Lower Nidderdale, Yo. (N. div.), but there it does not extend to cow. Now this (œu), in the form (œv), was taken by CCR. as the principal characteristic of Huddersfield, where we found Miss Hibbard recognised (œv) only. That is, the same two forms of U', (œu) with (œv), and (œv), itself a form of (œu), occur both in Huddersfield and Halifax, and in both places (œv) or (œu) is supposed to be the older, while in both places (œv) is the present dominant form. CCR., however, says he has "often listened to the well-mouthed distinctions" (œv) Huddersfield, (œv) Halifax, "in the company of clothiers from the respective

districts." TH., in the Elland dt. on p. 384, has (naa, vbaat, daan), now, about, down, but (*saad, faand*), side, find.

In Halifax, however, this (ée) often sinks to (ee), as (*been*) boun, going, a usage according to CCR. occ. at Keighley, but prevalent at Halifax and Dewsbury, and also at Barnsley, hence it is chiefly a difference from Huddersfield and a very slight one. On the other hand, (ée) appears in many places where it would not have been expected, especially in I', (*téemz*) times, which, however, CCR. says varies with the Huddersfield (*tóemz*); but the Fr. fine becomes (*fàin*) apparently, and from Ripponden (5 sw. Halifax) TH. got (*fáiv máil*) five mile. We have also EA (*léef*) laugh, and (*béedli*) badly, a Celtic word.

On the differences of (o, o) it is needless to dwell, they may be merely an accident of writing or memory. But the important point is, according to CCR., the absence of the verbal pl. in -en, which, however, appears, possibly in error, p. 372, l. 2 (*wat'en*), see notes. Though the expression *yau naun*, you know, which occurs in the letter of 1759 cited below, may shew that it formerly existed. The definite article in this cs. varies as (th, t'), but (t') is rare and (th) the usual form.

The feminine *she* is always rendered (uu) by CCR. in Huddersfield, where Miss Hibbard only recognises (*shuu*), which in Halifax CCR. allows to alternate with (uu). The form (uu) is certainly dying out, and (*shuu*), which is characteristic of D 24, is becoming prevalent.

Mr. J. C. Clough, formerly of Aspatria, Cu., lent me some extracts from J. Crabtree's "History of Halifax," 1836, in which are two letters in the Halifax dialect, the first dated 14 Mar. 1759, and the second supposed to be in answer to it. The spelling by no means gives the sound with certainty, but from it I have made a short cwl., giving the original spelling in italics, words in the second letter having * prefixed, and then my interpretation in pal.

HALIFAX cwl. from CRABTREE.

A'- 81 *loin* lóin. 92 *nau* noo. Æ- 143 *teil* téil. Æ'- 194 *onne* oní. 195 *monne* moní. 198 *laate* lért. Æ': *deol* díel. 223 *aacto* éertuu- [thereto, in addition]. E- *sware* sweer. E: 261 *sei* séi. 263 *avei* wéi. E': 316 **neist* néist. EA- 317 *fleid* fléid [frightened]. EA' 366 *grut* grát. EO: 396 *wark* wark. EO': 435 *yaw* joo. I'- 440 *wik* wik. 459 *reight* réit. 465 *sitch* sitj. 477 *foend* fóend. I'- 492 *besaed* biséud [beside]. I': 500 *luck* léek. 505 *wocf* wórf. 509 *whoel* wóel. O- 518 *bodde* bodí. — *coyt* kóit [cote, shed]. O: 538 *wold* wuld. O'- 564 **soyn* sóin. O': 571 *gooid* gáid. 586 *doo* duu. U: 614 *haend* éend. U'- 648 *aaer* éér. 650 *abaet* ebéet, **abewt* ebút. U': 657 *braaen* bréen. 663 **hews* híus. 667 *aaet* éet, **ewt* íut. Y- 673 *mitch* mitj. Y'- — *praed* préed [pride]. O. — *loize* lóiz, *laaeze* lées [lose]. E.. 885 *vorre* vari. — *porson* paas'n [parson]. — *aares* éerz [hours]. I.. — *cro* kroo [cry, for (krôe)]. — *obleege* oblii'dj. O.. *fooil* fúil.

If my interpretation is correct, these letters confirm CCR.'s account of the pronunciation with (iu) as an older form of (ée).

With regard to the relationship between Halifax speech and Friesian, as intimated in the couplet prevalent at Halifax, which has its counterpart in the Friesian districts of Holland, see Part IV. pp. 1397–1405, where it is fully exemplified.

It is seen that the difference between Halifax and Huddersfield, and between both and the e. parts of D 22, especially when the (uu) *she* and verbal pl. in *-en* are admitted, is extremely minute. There may be more difference in vocabulary and intonation, which I have not investigated, and as CCR considers Halifax to be independent of, although much resembling Huddersfield, and to have influenced Var. iv. Bradford, and Var. vi. Dewsbury, it seems better to retain it as a separate variety. But for some time I included both Huddersfield and Halifax in the e. of D 22.

ELLAND (3 sse. Halifax) dt.

pal. 1887 by TH. from J. T. Lee, 11, Almshouses, Halifax.

1. A' *see*, làdz, je sii naa et Δ)m re'it ebaat dhat lit'l las kom'in thre)t skûil jander.

2. shu)z gu'n daan t' rûed, thruu t')red gee₁t, ɔn)t' left and saad v th) wee₁.

3. sii jander, t')lit'l thiq)z g'a'n stre'it up te)t' raq dûer.

4. wier shù mee)bi faand dhat druk'n dief il'-thriv'n fêlê et dhe KAAL :tòm.

5. wì aal noo ìm we'l.

6. wil'nt t')ô'ud màn sùin te'itj er nôt te du)it egien, pûer las!

7. luuk! iz'nt it trîuu?

Words omitted: 3. *inuf*, *tjaald*, *ôus*. 4. *tjans*, *neem*.

Notes to Halifax es., No. ii on p. 367.

2. *should*, the forms, emphatic (*wuld* *suld* *kuld*) and unemphatic (*weld*, *seld*, *keld*), are, says CCR., "mostly employed in the populous old clothing villages between Halifax and Keighley."—*is it now?*

3. *matters*, when *fact* is used, it is called (*fêeekt*).

4. *through*—*from*, the word (*thru*, *thro*) seems used in both senses; in par. 11 it is (*thru*) for *from*; probably the exact vowel varies at different times, without distinguishing the meaning except by the context.

7. *what* (ɔt) used as relative, CCR

supposes the common relative (et) to be an unemphatic form of *what*.—*she*, (*shuu*) the common s.Yo. form, see p. 296.—*about* (*béekt*) which is used for *without* in par. 6 and 15, pp. 371, 377.

7. *I conceit*, imagine.—*wrong*, (*req*) or (*raq*).—*what do-n you think*, as this is the only instance given of the verbal pl. in *-en* in this Halifax es., it may have been a slip of CCR.'s, who may have intended (*wat/ə jo thiŋk?*) *what do you think?*

13. *at* (or *under*) *the head of that business*, concerning it.

VAR. iii. KEIGHLEY.

This differs materially from the last two. *She* is now represented by (*shuu*) emphatic, and (*shu*, *sho*, *she*) unemphatic, (*uu*) has quite disappeared. There is no verbal pl. in *-en*. The definite article

is still occasionally (th), which CCR. has traced even into the N. div., but so sparingly that it is not generally acknowledged in print. The prevailing and only recognised form is (t'). Another N. sign, if CCR. has remembered correctly, is *I is*, not exclusively, but mingled with *I am*. *I'* is usually (ói), but (ái) is also heard. *O'* is very frequently (úi), but a sound which JGG., writing from Mrs. Foster's dictation, records as (éù) or (íù) in cwl. p. 388, Nos. 558, 570, may be meant for the (æ'u) of D 21, 22, 25. JGG. also occasionally hears (ú1u) (ibid. No. 569), so that the representation of *O'* is uncertain. *U'* is chiefly (aa), but CCR. heard especially (dén, éés) down, house, where JGG. got (dá'un, á'us). Mr. Brigg gives (aa) in many cases, and in others contents himself by saying 'not (uu),' thus separating it from the N. Riding of Yo. JGG.'s (á'u), obtained through Mrs. Foster, a native, is distinctly an approach to the pron. of m.Craven (Skipton, etc.), where (áu) prevails. This is the first form in which we become independent of La.; but it is not till Var. iv. is reached, that we obtain genuine s.Yo. culminating in Var. v. Leeds.

CCR. does not notice dental (t_r), but JGG. heard it from Mrs. F., who, however, might have acquired it during her n. residence, to which also her (e₁, í₁i, ú1u) may be attributed. JGG. heard *U*: as (o¹), which differs scarcely perceptibly from (u₁). As for the differences (AA oo, o ə, oo oo) I lay very little store by them. In no case are they consistently carried out, and in no case can I feel sure of the correctness of appreciation, which is at all times very difficult, and which it generally requires a very careful study of native dialect speakers to determine at all.

TH. obtained in 1887 some fragments of a cs. from a native of Keighley, a machine fitter, b. 1859. As this is quite independent of CCR., I annex it here interlinearly with CCR.'s writing of the same passages.

TH (4) A)m síuer et A ieu_rd em see —dhat A did síuer inif.
CCR o)m síur et o jéud em séev—dhat o did síur inif.

TH (6) et t' óud wamen erse·ln told je (7) túethri táimz óuer
CCR et th'óud wamen erse·ln told je túethri tóimz óuer

TH (8) et she fan' d'ruk'n biest, (7) wat de je thiik? (9) she
CCR et sho fan)t' d'ruk'n bíes wat de joo thiik? sho

TH saa im widh er AAN iin ligin daan en t' grand tlóis bi)t' aas'
CCR soo im wi er óoen iin ligin déen e)t' grand tlóis bi)t' ées

TH dæur ôil. (13) en de je naa? (11) dhat dhier ap'nd
CCR dæur óil. en nóoez)te nœbet? dhat dhíer apend

TH es)t' óud wamen en er dóuter i laa kum thruu)t' bak jàrd
CCR ez)th dóuter i loo en erseln kuum thru)t' bak jéed

TH frə iq'in)t' wɛt tlûez aat tɛ drái on t' wɛsh'in dɛv. (1) ûv
CCR frɛe eq'in)t' wɪt tlûez aat fɛ tɛ drái on v wɛsh'in dɛev. wúv

TH kje'vɛrz? (14) ʌ)m baan óem tɛ mɪ super.
CCR kéevz? âi)z bɛɛn vgeéetɛdz úuɛm tɛ get mɪ super,

TH gùd nít.
CCR lóik, góid nít.

Notes to Keighley cs. on p. 367.

2. *we-do-en know* (wɪ)n nóov), if this is correct, it implies the expiring use of the verbal pl. in *-en*: it is probably a mere slip for (wɪ nóov) we know.—*like*, the pron. (lâik) is also prevalent, and CCR. so wrote it at first, here, but not in par. 10.

3. *hold thou* (óuds)tɛ, literally hold-est thou.—*while*, for *until*, as usual in the N., though used properly in the S. sense in par. 12.

8. *as to how* (s)t aa.—*beast* (bíes), this is usually the plural form.—*I shall be bound* (âi)z bi), this is common in the regions of *I'm*, and it could not here stand for *I is*, the common N. form, but see below, par. 14.

9. *threaped*, CCR. in his Leeds Glossary makes this word entirely equivalent to *swore*, as in the phrase (iɪ,z aales thriiɛpɪn vɛɪn t'oon v t)udhɜr ɔn ɛm), he's always swearing against the one or the other of them; but Wright gives two words, *threpe*, to speak, to shout, to maintain in contradiction to another, and *threap* to urge, to beat, to cozen or cheat. It is often used for 'to talk down,' to asseverate.—*bulk* (buɪk), even in the S. (*bulk*), may be heard.—*good coat* (góid kóit), the latter originally written (kaa'it).—*house, door, hole, down*, observe (éevs, dɛɛn), where (aas daan) is given by Mr. Brigg (see cwl.). CCR. says that he never heard anything else but (éevs, dɛɛn) from the lips of old clothiers, but that these forms are not invariable. An observant native, who is not a dialect speaker, would, says CCR., from hearing, write such words as down, town, how, house, ground, time, no, as *dahn, tahn, haa, haase, grund, time, noa*, meaning (daan, taan,

éev, grund, táim, náuv); in *time* he would have no appreciation of the diphthong. CCR. thinks (éev) its most characteristic form, and says it was in general use at Keighley within his own knowledge. TH. (see p. 385, l. 6 from bottom) heard (daan).

10. *in awk*, "peevish state of temper," also a "maggot," in rec. sp. *maggot* is used as a whim or caprice.

11. *yard* (jéed), CCR. says that this (éɛ) in *yard, day, name, prate*, being also used for *U*, does indeed conflict to the eye, but nothing more. "A Keighley man could not utter the words indicated, bereft of his (éev, éɛ)." But TH. heard (jaaɪrd).—*to dry*, this particular word as (âi) and not (ôɪ). CCR. says this exceptional sound has often arrested his attention.

12. *so lately a week*, for 'so lately as a week,' a local idiom.

13. *mak*, make or kind—*there but-as now*, a peculiar local expression.

14. *I is boun*, I am going. The peculiarity is in the use of *I is* (âi)z, which generally occurs only and regularly in the N. div. in place of *I am*. CCR. here mixes *I am, I is*, in the same border dialect, and he does so likewise at Skipton, in Mid Craven, which is quite in the N. div. He says that he has "repeatedly heard these forms and seen them in the dialect tracts which some years ago were issued by the local press," and that he has subsequently verified their existence with an intelligent young farmer.—*doest thou hear* (s)t iɪv), a mere colloquial contraction.

15. *thou art* (dha)t), contracted with the vowel short.

KEIGHLEY cwl.

made up from

R CCR.'s es., only a few words being extracted.

F Mrs. Foster's wl. as pal. from dict. by JGG. Mrs. Foster was a native who had known the dialect 40 years, but at the time the wl. was taken down, had been living some years in Cu. and We. She used no (h) or (wh), but her (r) was distinct where written. There are several small niceties that CCR does not note, such as (e₁) nearly (E) for e, occasional (i₁i) for (ii) and dental (t₁r, d₁r). This wl. comprised only the first division or Ws. words.

B Mr. B. Septimus Brigg's wl. Mr. B. is a native, and sent me a complete wl. in his own orthography, which I interpret as I best can. His information applies to the town of Keighley and valley of the Aire as far as Bradford.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 B beek béek. 4 B tak. 5 RB mak, F ma₁k. 7 B seek séek. 10 F eeg, B eeg. 12 B seeg. 13 B neeg. 17 R loo, F laa. 19 FB teel. 20 F leem, B leem. 21 R néeem, F néem, B neem. 24 F shee₁m, B sheem. 31 B lat. 32 B beed. 33 B reedher. 36 F thaa. A: 39 B kom. 49 R eq. 51 F ma₁n. 54 RFB want. 56 RB wesh, F wa₁sh we₁sh. A: or O: 58 R free free, F free, B fre. 60 FB loq. 61 B emoq. 64 R raq, F ra₁q, B req. A'- 67 F goo. 69 FB nóu. 70 F too. 72 R wáw, F uu. 73 R súuw, F soo. 74 F tú₁u. 77 F lòrd. 79 R óovn. 81 RB lóin. 82 R wu₁ns. 83 F moon. 85 F sóer. 86 FB óouts. 87 R tháavz, F klóovz [B dódz used]. 89 R búeth, F bóoth. 91 F moo. 92 R nóov, B naa₁v. 93 F snoo. 94 B kraa. 95 B thraa. 98 B naa₁en. A': 101 F ook, B óvk. 104 FB róovd. 105 F ree₁d. 106 B bróovd. 107 F loof, B lóf. 108 doof. 111 FB óut. 112 B ool. 113 R wúel, F oovl. 115 R úu₁m, F oom, B óoem. 118 F boon, B bóen. 122 F noon, B nóun [and (noon) when meaning *not*]. 124 F stoon, B stóen. 127 F óoos. 130 B bóovt. 131 B góovt. 137 R núedher.

Æ- 138 F fad₁er, B fadher. 140 B eel. 141 B néeil. 142 F snee₁el, B snéil. 143 F tee₁el, B téil. 147 B bréin. 150 B lúest. 152 F wa₁ter, B water. Æ: 158 F afte₁r. 160 F eg. 161 R déev, F dee₁. 164 F mee₁. 172 F gæ₁ors. 174 B esh. 180 B báth [(ä) very short]. 181 B pāth [(ä) very short]. Æ'- 182 F sú₁v, B siiv. 183 F tú₁et₁, B téit₁. 184 B líed. 185 F rí₁id. 187 B lév. 189 F wée₁i. 190 F kée₁i, B kēi. 193 F klí₁en, B klēn. 194 B oni. 195 FB moni. 197 F tjéiiz. 199 B blíet. Æ': 210 F klee₁, B klēv. 213 F ee₁dher. 216 B díel. 223 RB dh₁er. 224 RB wí₁er. 227 F wēt. 229 B brí₁eth.

E- 233 R spéik, F spée₁ik. 235 B wéiv. 236 B féiv₁r. 239 B séel. 241 B réin. 243 [B (leek) used]. 248 B m₁ier. 249 B wí₁er. 250 B swí₁er. 251 B míet. E: 265 R stréit. 284 B thresh. E': 306 B éit. 314 R jí₁ed, B í₁erd. 315 B fit.

EA- 320 F kee₁er. EA: 322 RFB laf. 323 FB fóut. 324 F ée₁it. 326 R óud, FB óud. 327 F bóuld, B bóuld. 328 FB kóud. 330 F ód. 333 F kaaf, B kaav. 334 F aa₁f, B aav. 335 R óov, F aal. 337 F waal. 340 R jéud, F jæ₁rd. 342 F aarm. 343 F waarm. 345 FB da₁r. 346 F íiet géet, B géet. EA'- 347 B í₁ed. 348 B ii. EA': 350 B dí₁ed. 351 B lí₁ed. 352 B rí₁ed. 353 B brí₁ed. 355 B dí₁ef. 360 B tíem. 361 B bi₁en. 363 B tjép. 366 R gæ₁t. 367 B thrét. 368 B déeth. EI: 377 B stéek. 378 F wee₁k.

EO- 387 F néuu. EO: 395 R juq. 396 B waark. 397 F sá₁erd. 399 B briit. 402 RB lí₁en. 405 B aarth. EO'- 412 R shuu shu sho she [the first emphatic, the others unemphatic], B shuu. 413 B dí₁il. 420 B fó₁ur. EO': 423 B thii. 424 B raf. 425 F léiit, B līt. 426 F fæ₁it, B féit. 432 B fó₁urth. 433 B brist. 434 B bí₁et. EY- 438 RFB dii. EY: 439 R trust, F t₁ru₁st.

I- 440 B wak. 444 B stíil. 446 R nóin, F náain. 451 F sa₁uu.

I: 452 R o, a [interchangeably]. 458 RB niit. 459 F ræ'it, B réit. 461 B lit. 462 B siit. 465 R sätjen, B sätj. 473 B blind [the short (i) in these and following words is quite 'N.]. 474 B rind. 475 B wind. 477 B find. 479 B wind. 485 B thisel. I'- 498 B róit. I': 500 RB lôik. 501 B wóid. 508 F máail, B móil. 509 R wal, B wóil. 510 R móoin.

O- 522 B ap'n. O: 527 F bóut. 528 F thóut. 529 F bróut. 531 R dóuter. 532 FB kóil. 534 RB óil. 541 R wi'nt. 553 F ooren. O'- 555 F shuu [pl. (shuuz)], B [pl. shuun]. 558 F léuk, B láik. 560 F skáil. 562 FB máin. 563 F mónde. 564 FB súin. O': 569 F búuk. 570 F tíuk, B túik. 571 R góid, B gúid. 572 FB bláid. 573 F fláid. 574 FB brúid. 575 F stúid. 577 F bóu, B buu. 578 B plu. 579 RB inif. 580 B táf. 581 F sóut. 582 B kúil. 583 F túil tuul. 584 FB stúil. 588 R nóin, FB náin. 589 FB spáin. 590 F fláuer. 594 FB báit. 595 FB fúit. 596 FB rúit. 597 FB súit.

U- 600 B luuv. 606 F dúuer. U: 610 B wul. 612 F su₁m. 616 RB grund. 635 F wæorth. U'- 641 R aa. 642 F dhá'u. 643 R naa, F ná u. 645 F du₁v. 648 F óur á'ur. 650 R bét. 651 R bét [obs. this is the same as 650]. U': 656 B raam. 657 B braan. 658 R déen, F dá'an, B daan. 659 B taan. 663 R éees, F á'us, B aas. 664 B laas. 667 RB aat. 672 F sá'uth.

Y- 673 RB m'itj. 675 R dráai. 682 R litel. Y: 684 B brig. 685 B rig. 688 F búild. 700 B waar. 701 F fæørst. Y'- 705 B skii, skói.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 722 B dréin. 730 B kónter. 742 B leezi. O. 761 F lúu₁ed, B lóoud. 767 [B uses (dín)]. 769 B móudiwaarp. U. 804 R druk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 B fees. 811 B ples. 813 B beek'n. 817 B redish. 824 B tji'ier. 838 B tr'et. 841 B tjons. 847 B deendjer. 848 B tjeendj. 849 B streendjer. 850 B dans. 852 B apren. 857 R kéees. 860 B peest. 863 B tjaaf. E.. 867 F tti'e, B tiie. 869 B viiel. 885 R vari. I.. and Y.. 901 R fóin. 902 B móin. O.. 920 R póint. 925 R vóis. 939 R tlóis, B klóis. 940 RB kóit. 941 R fóil, B fúil. 947 R bóilin. 953 B kuzin. 954 B wishen. 955 R daat. U.. 963 R kwéet.

VAR. iv. BRADFORD.

There is a decided difficulty in assigning the phonetic characteristics of this variety, as distinct from the preceding or following. U' according to CCR. has two distinct sounds, never confused, (aa, éee), but the last in only a limited set of words, which he does not give; in the es., however, I find (daat naa daan baat), doubt Fr. now down without, and (gréeend béen ées), ground U, boun=going, house.

Now B. Preston, the Bradford poet, uses *daht abaht ar aght abaght* doubt about our out about, but *aance baancing taan haase maase graand daan* ounce bouncing town house mouse ground down, and he makes *shaat abaght* shout about rhyme, and also *abaght aht aat* about out. CCR. wrote to him to know if he meant different sounds by *ah agh aa*. In reply, in March, 1882, he wrote: "There are I think no rules for the guidance of dialect writers. Each one does what seems good in his own eyes. Take for instance the two words *grand* and *sand*," meaning (grand sand), not the London (grand sand), "and by lengthening the sound of the vowel as in the interjection *oh!* you get the two dialect words for *ground* and *sound*." That is (graand saand). "This long sound of the vowel occurs in *aht* and *abaght*, and we sometimes introduce the *h* and at other times double the *a*, but in either case the sound is the same." In this case U' is

always (aa), and there is no recognition of a peculiar set of words with (éev) as CCR. believes. But Mr. Preston sometimes uses *aa* for (éev), as in *fiias* (tées) face, *laakin* (léetkin) playing, *staat* (stéet) state, *fraam* (tréem) frame, *saam* (séem) seam.

From the notes it will be seen that there are some turns of phrase, and probably words, which are peculiar to this variety, but phonetically I am unable to separate it from Vars. iii. and v.

Subsequently I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of Dr. J. Wright (now of the Taylorian Institute, Oxford), a native of Windhill in the township of Idle and parish of Shipley, lying between Shipley and Bradford, who spoke the dialect in his youth and is still remarkably well up to it, while his philological knowledge, acquired during a long residence in Germany, gives him great advantages in such studies. His dialect is only a variety of that of Bradford, but there are a few slight differences.

With regard to the vexed question of the representation of U, he was absolutely unacquainted with (*u*_o) and his (*u*) was at times very deep, like (*u*₁, *o*¹). He thinks there must be a mistake in assigning to Manningham (p. 365, No. 4) any other form but (*u*). His short *o* was distinctly (*o*), not (*o*). He dictated to me a dt. and the greater part of a cwl. The words of the latter have been annexed to the Bradford words of B. Preston below, the dt. follows. The vowel system which he recognised is given at the end of the notes on his dt., p. 390.

WINDHILL (3 n. Bradford) dt.

pal. in 1888 by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. Joseph Wright, native. Windhill is a hamlet in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley.

1. *súv ái sév*, méets, *ʒ sɪ naa*, et *i)m i)t' réit* ebaat dhàt līt'l las, *kamin frə)t' skʊl* jander.

2. *shuu)z gu'in daan)t' rúed dhíer thríu)t' red géut v)t' left* and *sáid v)t' wée*.

3. *súver inif t' baarn)z v gu'en stréit up tə)t' req aas*,

4. *wíer shu)l tjons tɜ find dhat druk'n díuf wiz'nd felv v)t' néem v :təmes*.

5. *wí óel nóv im vari wiil*.

6. *wíent t' óoud tjap súin teetj ɜr net tɜ díu)t egívn, púer thiq !*

7. *líuk ! iz'nt it tríu ?*

Notes to Windhill dt.

1. *so*, in all the (*úv*) fractures the (*u*) was deep.—*I* (*ái*) accented, (*a*, *i*) unaccented, the (*i*) considered as (*i*).—*say*, in all the (*êv*) fractures the (*e*) was deep, but not equal to (*ɛ*), so I have left (*e*).—*mates*, the word is common.—*that I'm in the right*, this is the phrase, not *I'm right*. Obs. the (*i*) unaccented form.—*coming* always with (*u*) and not (*ɔ*) in this word.—*yonder*, no dental (*dəɹ*).

2. *road there*, the *r* is gentle, apparently (*r*), but sensible even when final.—*red*, I have left (*e*) as I could not hear (*ɛ*) with any certainty.—*way*, might be used here.

3. *enough*, 'enow' is not known.—*up*, here, perhaps owing to the (*p*), the (*u*) was very deep, quite (*u*_p).—*wrong*, here I think the (*e*) became quite (*ɛ*); it appears that (*-əq*) becomes regularly (*-ɛq*).

4. *chance*, and similarly (ðəns) dance. — *wizened*, initial (shr-) is used, but not the word 'shrivelled.'

5. *all*, possibly (A'el), but I thought (óel) was nearest, Dr. W. recognised (ó'el). — *know him* (nó'in), the (v) omitted when the two words are spoken close together.

6. *old*, possibly (ód) only, the first element probably lengthened in dictating, Dr. W. recognised (ó'ud), and generally used (o) when I thought he said (o).

Dr. W. recognised in his dialect 6 short vowels in *wick* (= quick, alive), *get*, *late*, *frozen*, *kiss*, but (*wík*, *get*,

lat, *fröz'n*, *kus*, *bəd*), the last word only unemphatic; 4 long vowels in *night*, *house*, *above*, *grin* (*niit*, *aas*, *əbuun*, *gæən*), of these (uu) occurs only in *above*, *shovel*, *wool* (*əbuun*, *shuul*, *wuul*), not in 'gum' of the teeth see p. 393 after No. 560; and 12 diphthongs including fractures in *head*, *name*, *eat*, *mine*, *old*, *talk*, *home*, *barn*, *dew*, *do*, *doom*, *foot*, *coal* (*ívd*, *néəm*, *éit*, *máin*, *ó'ud*, *tó'ek*, *óem*, *bávn*, *də'u*, *díu díam*, *fóit*, *kó'il*), corresponding to Ws. EA'-, A-, E-, I', EAL, A', EA, EA'W, O', O respectively. These relations are best shewn in the following Bradford and Windhill cwl., p. 391.

CALVERLEY (:KA'vələ) (4 ne.Bradford and 6 wnw.Leeds) dt.

pal. in 1887 by TH. from B. Hall, newsagent, b. 1845, absent from Calverley for 4 years only. This should be specially compared with the Windhill dt., p. 389.

1. *ái* see, *ladz*, *je sii naa vt ái*)m *re'it vbaat dhat lit'l las kumín* thrə)t' *skú'il jəndər*.

2. *shu*)z *gù'm daan t' róed dhíer thrəu*)t' *red gjét ən*)t' left and *sáid*.

3. *ái*)l *bi eqd*, *t' bàrn*)z *góen st're'it up te*)t' *ra'q dúer* [às],

4. *wíer shu*)l *ap'n fínd dhat drúk'n díef af'ld óud tɔp*, *vt dhe* *kaal :təm*.

5. *wí aal naa im vari wíil*.

6. *wíent* [wí'et] *t' óud* [tɔp] *sòin te'itɔp er nət te díu it egien*, *púer bàrn* !

7. *lə'uk* ! *izn't it trə'ou* ?

Notes to Calverley dt.

1. *school*, but *hole*, *coal*, *coat* (ôil, kôil, kôit), and (skôil) *coal* was also heard.

2. *down*, also *room* (raam), the U' asserting itself. — *way* is (wêv). — *through*, the (ə'u) inclined to (óu).

3. *I'll be hanged for sure enough* (síuer inif).

4. *shrivelled* not used, but (shr-) pron. as (shrimps, shróud), the last probably an error for (shraad).

6. *soon*, at another time it was dictated (súin), the long O' becoming (úi), the short O becoming (ôi).

7. *look*, the (ə'u) inclined to (óu).

Notes to Bradford cs., p. 367.

0. *no*, two forms of the negative (núv, nóu) occur systematically in this variety, and are casually heard in the neighbouring localities and up to Dewsbury, Var. vi.

1. *too* (tiu). — *like* = as it were, a constant qualification of any statement. — *news* (néezz), CCR. first wrote (nē'u) here, and in par. 2 *few*, and seems to think it more correct for Bradford.

2. *few*, see par. 1, *new*. — *they are*

grinned at, CCR. omitted (r) here. — *we are not, without knowing that*, a singular phrase, *us* for *we*, with the verb in the sing., and applied either to sg. or pl., (vz núen)z *us none* is; (*baat*) *without*, as usual.

3. *so now then art thou bound to hold thy din, friend, and just wish-thou until I [have] done*. CCR. says this peculiar construction is only heard at Bradford; another example is (*ser*)it

tə daan), set it thou down. He also cites (goo e tu) t baan láik go if thou art boun [going] like, as a peculiar Bradford version of 'go if you're going.'

4. *am* I, the unaccented pronoun, pronounced (i).

5. *great* (gæt) for the usual (gæst).—*father's voice*, observe short vowel in *father* and absence of possessive 's.—*I shall trust*, Dr. Gill 1621 (suprà part IV. p. 1250b) interprets (áist) as I will and (dhóust) as thou wilt, (hiist, jóust, dhéist) he you they shall, calling it the sign of the future, but gives no explanation; *is to* seems possible.

6. *before aught is late*, that is, immediately; the word (lat) is "a peculiarity chiefly of the Bradford district, as (dha)t óu-er lat tē léek, (thou)art over late to play, (dha)l bi lat tēv)t mǝln) thou'lt be late to the mill." Obs. a manufacturing *mill* is always (mǝln). TH. found (lat) at Marsden and elsewhere.

7. *how)is)it ye think now?* This gives my own conjectural interpretation of the (st), which CCR. cannot explain, though he says it is common.

8. *all about*, the use of (bat) with a short vowel, and the absence of the object of *about*, are, says CCR., common peculiarities. Similarly (lat) for *late*, par. 6.—*found* (fan) or (fun).—*beast*, I think (biest) with (t) is the usual singular form.—*she*, unemphatic, is (shu, shu, sho), see (shu) immediately.

9. *slap*, having fallen slap down, and so stretched to the uttermost.—*ground* or (plat) plot, here CCR. inserted the phrase (in muk en miit) in muck and might, as he rendered it. But he withdrew it, wishing, however,

to note the pron. (miit) in this and the neighbouring districts among broad dialect speakers, but the meaning of this *might* is not clear in connection with *muck*.

10. *maunge*, a fit of ill-humour; 'maungy' is explained in the Leeds Glossary as 'ill-natured, ill-tempered, and peevish,' applied to children.

11. *happened* or (tjɔnst) chanced.—*daughter*, (dóuthər) also, this should imply that the other form is (dóu,tə.r).—*yard*, occ. (jéed).—*from* [having] *been hanging*.

12. *while* [the] *kettle were*; obs. the omission of the def. art. Similarly (aa)l set dhə ketel on if tē)l stéev en ev dhí driqkín, I'll set thee [the] kettle on, if thou'lt stay and have thy drinking. Observe that (dhə) could not be the def. art. which is never used in this form. Here (dhə) means *thee*, and the def. art. is omitted.—*afternoon*, a second form (afthənôin), possibly (-núin), probably shews that there had been a dental (t).

13. *dost)thou know*, the *s* and *t* are pronounced rapidly, and *dost thou* is represented by a passing hiss.—*do* or *business*, the pron. (déeu) is very singular.—*up to today*, in the rural part of the district (tuv) is heard, but this is impossible in the town.—*now hearest thou*, here (st) has another interpretation, suggested by CCR.

14. *good night*, this (góid) seems to be an error for (gúid).—*again*, both (vgíven, vge'n) are used.

15. *without*, here (dhaat) is used instead of (baat), which is employed in the next line.—*thou'rt not without gauming* [understanding] *that*

BRADFORD AND WINDHILL CWL.

Unmarked words deduced from B. Preston's *Dialect Poems*, which are generally praised for their dialectal accuracy; the original spelling in italics followed by my interpretation in pal. is annexed: mere dialect words are disregarded. Mr. Preston's orthography is on the whole very careful, and I have seldom been at a loss for the interpretation, but see p. 388. It will be found that this cwl. in the main agrees with CCR.'s cs.

W marks words pal. by AJE. from the dict. of Dr. J. Wright, of Windhill; at the end of Preston's words, ' & W ' means that Wright used the same form.

C Calverley (:kaa'vɛl) (6 wnw. Leeds) words pal. by TH. from a newsagent, native, b. 1845; ' & C ' after Preston's and Wright's words means having the same sound.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 1 W sáv. 3 W béek. 4 W tak. 5 mak mak, W mak. 8 ev ev. 12 W séeg. 17 W [not used]. 18 W kéek [wheaten bread, (bried) being used for

oat bread]. 19 W téel. 20 W léem. 21 W néem. 24 W shéem. 31 *lat* lat & W. 33 *rayther* reedhur, W réedhur.

A: 39 W kóm kam. 41 W theek'n. 43 W and & C. 44 W land. 45 W [not used]. 49 *hing* iq, C eq. 56 *wesh* wesh, W wesh. 57 W [not used]. — *gate* gat geet [gat, got]. A: or O: 58 W fræ, C thre. 59 W lam. 60 W leq. 63 *threng* threq. 64 *wreng* req, W req, C raq. 65 *seng* seq.

A': 67 W gu'en [going], C gū-in. 69 W név, adv. 70 *toa* tiv. 72 W úv. 73 *sou* sáv & W. 74 W tiv. 76 W tívd. 82 W [not used]. 84 *moar* múr & W. 86 W úets. 87 W klávz. 89 *boeth* búeth. 92 *knaw* noo, W nóv [may be (na'v)], C naa.

A': 101 W ú₁ek. 102 W aks, as [pt. (ast)]. 104 W rá₁vd, C róed. 105 W révd. 106 W brévd. 108 W dà₁ei. 110 *nut* nat, C nat. 111 *owt* óut. 113 W úel. 115 *hoam* úem, W óem ú₁em. 118 W bú₁en. 119 C góen. 122 i. *noan* náv, ii. *noa* náv, W nú₁v. 124 *stoan* stú₁en, W stú₁en. 127 W [not used]. 133 W révt. 136 W Aadhur.

Æ- 138 W faadher. 140 W éel. 141 W névl. 142 W snévl. 143 W tévl. 144 C egien. 146 W méen. 147 W bréen. 148 W févr [& also used for fair = a market]. 149 blévz. 152 *watter* water, W water. 153 W seturde.

Æ: 154 W bak. 158 W after. 161 W dév. 162 W [not used]. 164 W mév. 165 W sed. 166 W [not used]. — *dlass* dlas [glass]. 177 *at* vt, C vt [conjunction], dhat [pronoun].

Æ': 182 W sín. — *reycht* reitjt [reached]. 183 C tē₁itj. 184 W lívd. 187 W líev. 189 W wéi. 190 W kéi. 194 W òni [(ev òni òn)i òni òn)i ?] have any of you any on you ?]. 195 *mony* moni & W. 197 W tjiiz. 202 W íet.

Æ': 203 W [not used]. 205 W thrívd. 208 *iver* iver. 209 *niver* niver, 210 *tluy* tlee, W klév. 211 W grév. 223 *theur* dhíer & W, C dhier. 224 W wier & C. 226 W múvst.

E- 231 *t* t' & C. 232 *brek* brek & W. 233 *speyk* spéik & W. 236 W févver. 238 W edj [as 257]. 239 W sévl. 241 W réen. 242 W [not used]. 243 W plév [the regular word is (lévk)]. — *beer* bívr [bear endure]. 247 W gaan [grin]. 248 W míer. 250 *sweear* swíer & W. — *heytin* é₁tin [eating], W éit [eat]. 251 *meyt* méit.

E: 257 edj [as 238]. 260 *lig* lig [used], W lév [of hens]. 261 W sév, C see. 262 W wév, C wév. 263 W ewév. 265 *streyt* stréit & W, C stj₁re'it. 266 *weel* wiil & W, C wíil. 269 *mesen* misin [myself]. 286 W are. 287 W biiz'm.

E'- 289 *je*. 290 *i* v. 292 *mi* mæ. 293 C wi [unaccented], we wv. 294 *fiid* [I did not record whether (ii) here and below is pure, probably not]. 298 W fiil. 299 W griin. 300 W kiip.

E': 305 *hey* héi, W éi. 306 W éit. 307 néi. 308 W níid. 311 W ten. 312 W íer. 314 *eard* ierd & W. 315 *fit* íit & W.

EA- — *shap* shap [shape]. 320 W kévr.

EA: 321 W so'v. 322 W láf. 323 W févt. 324 W e'it. — 'se sh'l [shall]. 326 *owd* óvd & C, W óvd [I heard (óvd)]. 328 *covd* kóvd, W kóvd kóvd. 330 *hod* ód & W. 332 W [(teld) used]. 333 W kó'ef. 334 *awf* oof, W ó'ef. 335 C aal, W ó'el. 336 W fó'el. 338 C kaal, W kó'el. — *aad* hard aad [hard]. 342 W aarm [or (áaem)]. 343 W waarm [or (wáaem)]. 344 C bàrn, W báaen [occ.]. 346 C gjêvt, W gíet.

EA'- 347 *head* íed & W. 348 *ee* ii. 349 W fe'u [I was not quite satisfied with this analysis, it was often like (fə'u₁u); he considered *dew* = (de'u), C fə'u. EA': 350 *deead* dívd & W. 351 W l'vd. 352 W red, C red. 353 *breed* brívd & W [but for oaten bread only, see No. 18]. 355 W dívf, C dívf. 357 *thau* dhoo [W not used]. 359 W névber. 360 W tíem. 361 W bíen. 363 W tjívp. — *lowse* lóus [loose]. 366 W gaat. 368 W dívth. 371 W stra'v.

EI- 372 W ái. 373 W dhév dhv, C dhe. 374 W név.

EI: 377 W stévk. 378 *wake* weék wéik, W wéék. 380 *thame* dheem dhéim.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 384 W ev'n. 386 W e'u [rhymes to 349, and no (j) prefixed]. 387 W níu.

EO: 388 W mílk. 390 *sud* sud svd. 392 W jond. 396 W waark. 397 W sívd [present form, an older one is (sward)]. 402 W líen [no (r) heard]. 406 W íuth.

EO'- 409 W bii. 410 W [not used]. 411 W thrii. 412 W shuu. 414 W lii. 420 W f'æver.

EO': 423 W thii. 425 *leet* liit & W. 426 *feyt* féit & W. 427 C bii. 428 C s'ii. 430 W frend. 433 W brest. 435 C je [unacc.]. 436 W tréu.

EY'- 438 *dee* dii & W. EY: 439 trust.

I- 440 W wiik. 444 W stii-j'íl [ladder-hole]. 446 W náin. 447 W er [unacc.] & C. 449 W get. I: 452 *ah* aa, W ái, a, i [see dt., p. 389], C ái. 453 W wik. 457 *meet* miit & W. 458 *neet* niit & W. 459 *reyt* reit & W, C re'it. 465 W s'itj. 466 W [not used]. 468 W t'ilder. 472 W shriqk. 473 *blynd* blind. 475 W wind. 476 W bind. 477 *fynd* fáind [past tense *fan* fan], W find & C. 479 W wind. 482 C iz. 485 W ths'l. 489 C it.

I'- 490 *be* bi. 492 W sáid, C sáid. 494 W táim. 496 W áiern. I': W lárk. 503 W láif. 504 W náif. 505 W wáif. 506 W wamen. 511 W wáin.

O- — W shuul [shovel]. 519 *uwer* lip *uwer* lip [over or upper lip]. 521 W f'íl. 522 *oppen* op'n & W. 523 *hoap* úep. — *afoar* efáer [afore]. 524 *worl* world, W wáald.

O: 526 *coff* kóif. 527 *bowt* bóut & W. 528 *thowt* thóut & W. 529 *browt* bróut & W. 530 *rowt* róut & W. 531 W dónter. 532 *koil* kó'il & W. 534 *hoil* j'íl & W [used for prison]. 535 *fowk* fók. 536 W góud. 541 C wient wíet. 543 C on. 547 W báerd. 548 W [not used]. 549 W [not used]. 552 W kóern [or (kaa'ern)]. 553 W óern [or (aaern)]. — W kus [kiss].

O'- 555 W shiu. 556 C te [unemph.]. 557 W tiu. 558 *lew* luke liuk & W, C læ'uk. 560 *skooil* skáil & W & C. — *goom* [Dr. Wright says that Preston pronounces (*gíam*), as also (*díam*) doom]. 562 *mooi* múin & W. 564 *sooi* súin & W, C sóin súin. 565 *noas* núez & W. 566 *uther* udher.

O': 569 W biuk. 570 *tuk* tuk, W tiuk. 571 *gooid* gúid & W. 572 W blúid. 579 *eniff* inif & W [W the form *enow* is not known]. 582 kúid. 583 W túil. 584 W stúil. 586 *dew* diu & W. 587 *doin* dúin, W du'n. 588 *noin* núin. 589 W spúin. 591 W múer. 593 [W (*mæn* mud) used]. — *tooth* túth. 594 *boit* báit. 595 *fooit* fáit & W. 596 *rooit* ráit & W. 597 *sooit* súit & W.

U- 599 *aboon* ebuun & W. 601 W faal. 602 W saa. 603 *cum* kum & W & C. 605 W sun [not distinguished from 629]. 606 *doar* dúer, C dûer, W díuer.

U: — *baan* baan [going]. — *pool* puul [pull]. 610 W wuul [with a long vowel]. 612 *sum* sum & W. 614 *haand* aand & W [in W not used for a dog, except as by way of insult]. 615 *paand* paand & W [=20s.], W pund [=16 oz.]. 616 *graand* graand [CCR. has gréeend]. 619 W fun. 620 W grun. 625 *tung* tuq & W. 626 W uqer. 629 W sun. 632 W up [almost (*uip*) see dt.], C up. 633 W kúp. 634 W thriu, C thra'u. 639 W dust.

U'- 640 W kaa. 641 *hah* aa & W. 642 *thagh* thaa dhaa. 643 *nah* naa. 647 W aal. 648 [emphatic] *are* ar aar, [unemphatic] *wur* wer, *wæ'se* hate *warsen* we all *wur* meet wíiz eet *wæ'se'n* wí ool *wur* miit [we] should hate ourselves with all our might]. 650 *abaht* *abaght* ebaat, C ebaat [see p. 388, l. 2 from bottom]. 651 W baat. 653 *bud* bud & W, bud [unaccented] W.

U': 654 *shraad* shraad. 655 W faal. 656 *raam* raam & W & C. 658 *dahn* daan & W & C. 659 *taan* taan & W. 663 *haase* aas & W [CCR. has (*ées*)]. 665 *maas* maas & W. 667 *aht* aat *aght* aat & W. 671 W maath.

Y- 673 *mich* mítj & W. 674 W did [never (*díd*)]. 679 W tjaatj. 682 C lit'l. Y: 684 W brig. 685 W rig [a man's back]. 694 W wark. 697 *berry* beri. 699 W riit [distinct from 459]. 700 W waar. 701 W farst. Y'- 705 W skii. 706 W wái [(wot fa) more used]. Y': 709 W fáir. 712 W máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 C lad. 722 W dréen. 726 *tauk* took, W tó'ek. 728 W sham. 732 C ap'n. E. 745 W tjaet. I. and Y. 756 W shrimp & C. 758 W [not used]. O. 761 W láud. 766 W m'iderd [much used]. 769 W máuldwarp. — *poyt* póit [a pot, pusher, poker]. 783 W [not used]. 788 W [not used]. 789 W [(no)reeshen] used]. 790 *gaan* gaan. — *draand* draand

[drown]. U. 793 W *ug* [to carry in the arms]. 794 W *djug*. 799 W *skul*. 804 C *drek'n*. 807 W *pus*. 808 W *pat*.

III. ROMANCE.

A .. 810 *it faas i't fées* [in the face], W *fées*. 811 W *plées*. 813 W *béek'n*. 820 W *gév*. 822 W *mév*. 830 W *trén*. 835 W *riz'n*. 836 W *séz'n*. 840 W *tjémmer*. 841 W *tjéns*. 842 W *pléek*. 847 W *dééndjer*. 849 W *strééndjer*. 850 W *déns*. 852 W *apren*. 860 W *péust*. 861 W *téust*. 865 *faút foot*. 866 W *páer*, C *pûer*. — *faveur fâver* [favour, resemble].

E .. 867 W *tiv*. 869 W *viel*. 874 W *reen*. 875 W *féent*. 877 W *éer*. 885 *varry vari* & W & C. — *earbs iurbz jaabz*. 888 W *saartin*. 890 W *búst* [pl. (*bústs*), not (*bívs*), and used for cows]. 893 W *flaar*. 895 W *risiev*.

I .. and Y .. 898 W *náis*. 901 W *iáin*. 903 W *dâner*. 910 W [not known]. 912 W *ráis*.

O .. W *kútj*. 916 W *unjen*. 917 *roag rúeg*. 918 W *fiéb'l*. 920 W *póint*. 923* W *mó'ist*. 924 W *tjó'is*. 925 *vó'is*. 926 W *spó'il*. — *saand* [a sound]. 928 *aance aans*. 929 W *kaakemer*. 939 W *kló'is* [and also sb.]. 940 *coyt kóit* & W. 941 *fooil iúil* & W. 942 W *batjer*. 943 W *tatj*. 945 W *vaa* [used only as threaten]. 950 W *saper*. 952 i. W *kaars*, ii. W *kúers* [as a race course]. 953 W *kuz'n*. — *pesht pesht* [pushed]. 954 W *wishin*. 955 *daht daat* & W.

U .. 965 W *ó'il*. 968 W *ó'ister*. 969 *suar síuer* & W.

VAR. V. LEEDS AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

CCR. being a native of Leeds, familiar with and speaking the dialect from infancy, his account of it is of great interest. Of course it is in the villages and not in the town that peasant speech is heard. In the town a peculiar attempt to speak rs. is made by the smaller tradesmen, of which an account will be given on p. 396.

The Leeds variety, which is the most important and characteristic, extends over all the ne. part of D 24. It reaches on the w. to Churwell (3 ssw. Leeds) and Kirkstall (3 nw.), but not to Pudsey (5 w-by-s. Leeds), which belongs to Bradford, but the pronunciation scarcely differs perceptibly from Leeds. On the e. it includes Aberford (8 ene. Leeds) and Sherburn (12 e. Leeds). On the s. it extends to Wakefield, with numerous but unimportant differences, as is shown in a special cwl. Pontefract is similar to Wakefield, U' being generally (aa), but often becoming (âu). In Variety ix. Doncaster, for which a separate cwl. will be given, (áu) is the regular form. Although Dewsbury is only 5 w. Wakefield, it speaks differently, see Var. vi.

This variety is well illustrated, not only by the interlinear cs. which shew how little Leeds differs from Bradford, but by an almost complete cwl. kindly filled in by CCR. in glossic, here transliterated. This cwl. will have to be compared with a similarly extensive cwl. for Mid Yorkshire, with which CCR. was equally familiar from childhood. In transliterating CCR.'s Glossic, I have retained *u* and also used (e) for the glossic [e], where probably I should now hear (ɛ). But CCR. occ. distinguishes gl. [e, ae] = (e, ɛ), which shews his own feeling. The fractures (éev, úiv, óov, úue, úui) seem to have superfluous length in their first element, but as CCR. sometimes distinguishes the length of their first

element, I have felt bound to follow his indications. Here, however, in stating the characters, I shall use a short first element for convenience. For minute particulars reference must be made to the cwl.

A- generally (éɐ), as (néɐm) name, a following G or W induce (óɐ) as (sóɐ) a saw.

A: is generally (a), in a few cases (e), as (theɔk) thank. The A: or O: words in NG have all (eq), as (leɔ) long.

A'- and A': have regularly (úɐ, as (úɐts) oats, but a following G and W induce (óɐ, as (óɐn) own, (króɐ) to crow, and sometimes (óu), as (óu) to owe, (lóu) low.

Æ- is generally (éɐ), especially where followed by G, as (snéɐl) snail, for which (sníl) is also used, but in (fadhɐ watɐ) father water it becomes (a).

Æ: is generally (a), but followed by G is (éɐ), as (aftɐ déɐ) after day.

Æ'- as a rule gives (éi), as (téitɪ) teach, but varies as (íɐ, ii), as (síɪɐ) sea, (tɪiiz) cheese, and we have even (oni) any.

Æ': is also variable within generally the same limits.

E- is often (éi), as (néid) knead, (éɐ, as (réɐn) rain, and (íɐ), as (wíɪɐ) to wear, but sometimes remains (e), as (brɛk leðhɐ) break leather.

E: is regularly (e, ɛ) and has few variants.

E'-, E': are regularly (ii).

EA- has (éɐ).

EAL as usual has peculiar forms implying an original form AL, as (óud) old, (óɐl) all.

EA' has generally (íɐ), as (líɪɐd) lead metal, but a following W induces (óɐ), as (stróoɐ) straw.

EI is generally (éɐ), as (éɐɐl) to hail a person.

EO as usual varies much, but (líɐn jɪɐn) learn yearn are uncommon; EOR is generally (aa).

EO' is mostly (ii, íɐ), but varies a good deal. The form (shuu) she is said to be derived from Ws. *seó*, but may after all come from Ws. *heó*.

I- is generally treated as I'.

I: is generally (i) even in blind, rind, to wind, bind, find, but singularly enough *grind* becomes (grund).

I' is regularly (ái ái), not (ái).

O is regularly (ɔ), but roal, coal, hole, have (ói); a following H or L induces (óu) in (thóut) thought, (bóult) bolt.

O' changes regularly into (úui) as (kúuil) cool.

U becomes regularly (u) even in pound ground, but is (aa) in hound, sound = healthy, a wound.

U' is regularly (aa), as (daan) down.

Y before R gives rise to ɔ, ɛ in (bɔθ bəri mɔθ fɔst) birth bury mirth first.

For consonants initial *h* vanishes, and *r* not before a vowel also generally vanishes or can scarcely be recognised: *t*, *d* preceding a vowel and after a short vowel becomes very vulgarly *r*, see notes to cwl., p. 400, No. 449. With this compare the use of (r) for (d) in *har*, *hare*) *hadde* in Low German, see first line of examples 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, etc., in Part IV. pp. 1378-1380, and in numerous other places. The final *-ture* has its older form *-tur* (-tɐ, -tɐ), and not the modern *Š.-chur* (-tɐɐ), as (píkɐtɐr), not (píkɐtɐr) picture.

On comparing the Varieties iv. and v., Bradford and Leeds, the differences are scarcely perceptible. The following may be noted:

B	dáin	óɐm	síɐr	thrín	fɪn	dhɛsɐ-lɪnz	skwéɛk	tríuth	aks	áaɐ
L	dæn	ái m	síɛr	thrɔ	thrɔ	dhɛsɐ-nz	skwéɛk	tréɛuth	as	aa
	done	I'm	sure	through	from	themselves	squeak	truth	ask	how

B	gréeɐnd	wɔld	dóutɐr	kúɪm	eqín	wíit	wɔl	fóin	déɐn	fóɪl.
L	grund	waald	dóotɐr	kam	iqín	wit	wal	táɪn	dɔn	fóɪl.
	ground	world	daughter	came	hanging	wet	while	fine	do	fool.

These differences are of no account whatever. The reasons for separating iv. and v. must therefore be sought in the different use they make of certain words and phrases, of which some specimens are given in the cs., but which otherwise lie beyond the scope of this investigation.

LEEDS REFINED FORM.

The petty shopkeepers of Leeds speak a refined form of speech, which cannot properly be called a dialect, but is an attempt to speak rs., continually frustrated by dialectal tendencies and youthful habits. CCR. was so good as to translate the cs. into this town speech. It is so far from being a genuine dialect that I do not think it right to print it, but it may be worth while to note the dialectal remnants it contains.

The U' and I' words have (áu, ái), the short U remains (u), the (r) final disappears, *she is* (shu 'shæ, (t') remains for *the*, (h) disappears, (wh) becomes w. And in addition the following pronunciations are used, each referred to its paragraph in the cs.

0. (wat) what.—1. (both laf) both laugh, short (o) being common, (oo níedhæ) who neither.—2. (noo ónli dont méek nat) know only don't make not.—3. (áusame vð dhíæz ónd) however these hold.—4. (əd foks thrú a) heard folks through = from I.—5. (juqíst griet spíæk) youngest great speak.—6. (óud ool vðhánt ónli) old all without only.—7. (lístweez tóud ast túethri óve 'shæ) leastways told asked two or three over 'she.—8. (wíer a'l fə t) where I'll for't.—9. (lee) in *faul* kórt tlóuz dóesten) lying full coat close door-stone.—10. (wəld, póul, world poorly.—11. (dóorter kéem) daughter came.—12. (tíæ) tea.—13. (launt shóer dont want) learned sure don't want.—14. (took) talk.—15. (ful wəd) fool [and observe (*faul*) full in 9] word.

I have received specimens of refined speech for York also, but the above specimen is probably enough.

Notes to Leeds cs., p. 367.

1. *and all*, merely equivalent to also, or, etc.—is *to*, seems the proper interpretation of (st) here.

2. *few*, (íeu néeu) are used here as at Bradford.—*for because they're grinned at*.—*had'nt us sure of that now*, the grammar is shaky; CCR considers (ad'nt) to represent (art not), but *art not us* seems impossible; and *hadn't* seems inexplicable. CCR says the phrase is more common in Bradford than in Leeds.—*likely*, CCR introduces this adv. in *lins* several times as here, par. 4 and 13 (*siwelinz*), 7 (*líeslenz*).

3. *oldments* or items.—*so just thee hold thy din with thee, if thou canst, thou like and whiskt until I (have) done*, peculiar idiomatic phraseology according to CCR, but not in frequent use.—*hearest thou but) as now, but* seems to be *but as*, and to mean *only*.

See cs. to Var. iii. end of par. 13, p. 376, and note, p. 386.

4. *through* used for *from*, the form (fru) is considered childish at Leeds, but is heard at Bradford, (frum) would not be understood, but (fruun) is possible; there is here an attempt to use (thru) for through and (thru) for from, but (thru) is used in both senses in par. 11, p. 374, so that this breaks down.—*did I*, obs. enclitic form (i) for *I*.

5. *great*, the short gæt, gat) in this sense is not so frequent as the long (gæat) taken as gart)—*father voice*, the possessive *father's* is little used, observe short (a).

6. *without* (dhaaten), the (en) as in Ws. wíhútan, compare par. 7, p. 371, (vbaaten).—*ask her*.

7. *how is it you think?*

8. *at all ends*, in every particular.

9. *Sunday*, although final (r) is generally omitted in Leeds, it seems to be added with a real trill to week-day names, see *Thursday*, par. 12, p. 375.

10. *world*, (waald wæld) are both used.—*maunge*, see Var. iv. notes, p. 391.

13. *do* (*dū*), business or concern.

14. *and so I must forced to go*, the construction is difficult, meaning 'I must go, I am forced to go.'—*keen*, with short perhaps medial (i), or (shépp) sharp.

15. *without reason*, or, to use a common expression, (*bidhaat góoemín óoet*) without understanding aught.

LEEDS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD cwl.

written in glossic by CCR., transliterated by AJE.

* before any number of a word refers to a following note, pp. 400-1.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *béek*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 6 *méed*. 7 *séek*. 8 *ev*. 9 *biéevn*. 10 *óov*. 11 *móov*. 12 *sóov*. 13 *nóov*. 14 *dróov*. 15 *óov* [awful]. 16 *dóovn*. 17 *lóov*. 18 *kéek*. 19 *téel*. 20 *léem*. 21 *néem*. 22 *téem*. 23 *séem*. 24 *shéem*. 25 *méem*. 26 *wéem*. 27 *néevn*. *28 *éevr*. 32 *béerdh*. 33 *reer·dhæi reer·dhæi*. 34 *last*. 35 *óovl*. 36 *thóu thóov*. 37 *tlóov*.

A: 39 *kam*. 40 *kúem*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *and*. 44 *land*. — *wand* [he wound]. 46 *kanel*. 47 *wandæ*. 48 *saq*. 50 *teqz*. 51 *man*. 53 *kan*. 54 *want*. 55 *as*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *as*.

A: or O: 58 [replaced by *through* (*thru*), see notes to cs., p. 396]. 59 *lam*. 60 *leq*. 61 *emeq*. 62 *streq*. 63 *threq*. 64 *req*. 65 *seq*. 66 *theq*.

A'- 67 *gúv*. 69 *núv*. 70 *túv*. 71 *wúv*. 72 *wúv*. 73 *súv*. 74 *tuu*. 75 *grúnek*. 76 *túved*. 77 *lóved*. 78 *ôu*. 79 *óovn*. 80 *alide*. 81 *lón*. 83 *múven*. 84 *múvæi*. 85 *súvæi*. 86 *úets wúets*. 87 *tlúvez*. 88 *tlúvedh*. 89 *búveth*. 90 *blóov*. 91 *móov*. 92 *nóov*. 94 *króov*. 95 *thróov*. 96 *sóov*. 97 *sóvrl* [*sóovrl* has been heard from individual old people]. 98 *nóovn*. 99 *thróovn*. 100 *sóovn*.

A': 101 *úvek*. 102 *as aks*. 104 *rúved*. 105 *réed*. 106 *brúved*. 107 *lúvæf*. 108 *dúvæf*. 109 *láu*. 110 *nut*. 111 *óut*. 112 *éel*. 113 *úvel*. 114 *múvæf*. 115 *úvem*. 116 *úvem* [seldom used]. 118 *búven*. 121 *gúven*. 122 *núven*. 123 *nóut*. 124 *stúven*. 125 [used only in refined speech and then called] *úvenli*, [in dialect they use] *nóvut*. 126 *úvæi*. 127 *úvest úvæi* [seldom]. 128 [used only in refined speech, otherwise (*dhem*)]. 129 *gúvest*. 130 *búvæi*. 131 *gúvæi*. 132 *úvæi*. 133 *réet*. 134 *úeth*. 135 *taat* [used, but this is clout, from *Ws. clút*]. 136 *óv·dhæi óv·dhæi óv·dhæi*.

Æ- 138 *fadhæi fadhæi féev·dhæi féev·dhæi*. 139 *dréev*. 140 *éevl*. 141 *néevl*. 142 *sníil snéevl*. 143 *téevl*. 144 *eg·íven eg·éevn*. 145 *sléevn*. 146 *méevn*. 147 *bréevn*. 148 *féevæi*. 149 *bléevz*. 150 *lívest* [often without (t)]. 151 [not used]. 152 *water*. 153 *setævæ*.

Æ: 155 *thatj*. 157 *réevven*. 158 *aftæ*. 161 *déev*. 163 *léevd*. 164 *méev*. 165 *sed*. 166 *méevd*. 167 *déevl*. 168 *talæ*. 169 *wen*. 170 *éavist* *aavist*. 171 *baali*. 172 *gras ges gæes*. 173 *wor* [used, generally written (*war*)]. 174 *esh*. 175 *fast*. 178 *nat*. 179 *wat*. *189 *béevd*. 181 *path*.

Æ'- 182 *súv*. 183 *téitj tétj*. 184 *líved léid lèid*. 185 *ríid*. 186 *bríev·dh breed bráid*. 187 *líev* [sb. (*lèiv*)]. 188 *nèi*. 189 *wèi*. 190 *kèi*. 191 *íivl*. 192 *múven*. 193 *tléin* [vb. (*tlúven*)]. 194 *oni*. 195 *moni*. 196 *wor*. 197 *tjiiz*. 199 *blíet*. 200 *wíet wíet wíet* [the last rare]. 201 *íiedhen*. 202 *íiet*.

Æ: 203 *spíitj*. 204 *did díid*. 205 *thríid*. 206 *red*. 207 *níid'l*. 210 *tléev*. 211 *gréev*. 212 *wèi*. 213 *éev·dhæi éev·dhæi*. 215 *tóut*. 216 *dúvæf* [the v. is (*dèil*)]. 217 *íietj* [in refined speech, but seldom used]. 218 *ship shíip*. 219 *slíp shíip*. 221 *fíiv*. 222 *éev*. 223 *dhíiv*. 224 *wíiv*. 225 *flesh*. 226 *múvest*. 227 *wit wet*. 228 *swíet swíet swíet* [the last rare]. 229 *bríev·th*. 230 *fat*.

E- 232 *brek*. 233 *spéik spèik*. 234 *nèid néeid*. 235 *wéiv*. 236 *fíivæv*.

237 tɪlbléem. 238 edj. 239 séel. 240 léem. 241 réem. 242 twéem [when read, not used]. 243 pléem [when read, otherwise (léek) lake used]. 246 kwíin [queen], kwíen [quean]. 247 wíen. 248 méem. 249 wíe. 250 swíe. 251 méit méit. 252 ketul. 253 netel. 254 ledhe. 255 wedhe.

E: 257 eg. 258 seg sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lig. 261 séem. 262 wéem. 264 éel. 265 stréit. 267 jild. 268 [not used, (òdis) oldest, said]. 270 belus beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 beqk bɪqk. 275 [replaced by stiɪk]. 276 thiɪk. 277 drensh. 278 wensh. 280 eleven. 281 leqth. 282 streqth. 283 mari. 284 thresh. 285 kres. 286 arv. 287 biizem. 288 let [often (léer) before a vowel].

E'- 289 jii. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 295 bred. 296 bliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kip kiip. 301 iiv. 302 mit miit. 303 swit swiit.

E': 305 èi. 306 éit èit. 307 nii [only used by "old-charactered people"]. 308 niid néid. 309 spiid. 310 il. 311 ten. 312 iiv. 313 aaken éeken. 314 iivd. 315 fit fiit. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 fléem. 319 géep. 320 kéem.

EA: 321 sóov sid. 322 laf. 323 fout. 324 èit. 325 wóovk. 326 ôud ôud. 327 bôuld bôud. 328 kôud. 329 fôuld fôud. 330 ôd. 331 seld. 332 teld. 333 kóovf. 334 ôovf éeuf. 335 ôovl. 336 fôovl. 337 wóovl. 340 jéud jéud jaad. 342 éem éeem. 343 waam. 345 dar. 346 géemt.

EA'- 347 iivd. 348 ii [(iin) pl. and also sg.]. 349 féem.

EA': 350 dhéd. 351 liud. 352 red. 353 briéd [bréid] is dialectally vulgar and rare. 354 shíef shéif. 355 díef. 356 líef. 357 dhíe [rare]. 359 néeber. 360 tiem téim. 361 blien. 362 sléem. 363 tɪep tɪep. 365 nív. 366 gət [gríet] refined. 367 thríet. 368 díeth. 369 slóov. 370 róov. 371 stróov.

EI- 372 áai. 373 dhéem. 374 néeem. 375 réeem. 376 béert.

EI: 377 stéevk. 378 wéevk. 379 éeul. 381 swéem. 382 dhéem.

EO- 383 seven. 384 even. 385 binéaidh [considered affected, and (undenéidh) gen. used]. 386 jóa. 387 néu niu.

EO: 388 milk. 389 jéek. 390 sud. 393 biɪond. 396 waak. 397 súuud. 398 staav. 399 briit. 400 ünist. 401 jien. 402 liien. 403 faar. 405 aath [some old people (éeth)]. 406 iuth. 407 faadin. 408 néen [refined (níu)].

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 shuu shu sho shə shə. 413 divel. 414 flii. 415 lai. 416 diiv. 417 tjén tjə'a. 418 bréu [refined (brii)]. 419 jáuer. 420 fôuv. 421 fôti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 lit [short (i), not (i)]. 426 féit [short diphthong]. 427 bii. 428 sii. 429 fiind. 430 frend. 431 biiv. 432 íovet. 433 briiust. 434 bet. 435 jii [in gen. use, (juu) refined, used in addressing superiors]. 436 tréem [refined (trii)]. 437 tréeth [refined (triieth)].

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 trast.

I- 440 wik [(i) not (i)]. 441 siv. 442 áivin. *443 fráide. 444 stâil. 445 éei. 446 nân. 448 dhíev. *449 get. 450 téuzde tiuzde. 451 sêu sôn sôn.

I: 452 áai aai. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 máit [generally, (miit) by individual old people]. 458 mit. 459 reit. 460 wéit wéit. 461 liit. 462 siit. 464 watj. 465 sitj. 466 tɪáld [when read, the spoken word is (baan)]. 467 wáild. 468 tɪáldrɪn [when read, the spoken word is (baanz)]. 471 timex. 472 shriɪk. 473 blind. 474 rind. 475 wínd. 476 bánd. 477 fiind. 478 grund. 479 wind. 481 fiɪq. 484 dhis. 485 thisel. 486 jiiest jést. 487 jéstede. 488 jət.

I'- 490 bài báai. 491 sâi [some old people say (si)]. 493 dráiv. 494 fáim. 496 áieren. 497 ráiz. 498 ràit. 499 biit'l [in fine reading, (black) in dialect].

I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 náif. 505 wáif. 506 wámen. 507 wámin. 508 máil. 509 wal. 511 wáin. 512 spáiv [(stiip'l) often used]. 513 wáiv. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 jéu.

O- 520 baa. 521 fôil. 522 open. 523 úuup. 524 wəl waald [both equally used].

O: 526 kof. 527 bôut. 528 thout. 529 brout brout [also (brauq braq)]. 530 rount. 531 douter. 532 kôil kôoil kôil. 533 dal. 534 ôil. 536 gôul. 537 môud maald. 538 wad. 539 bôul. 540 ôlin. 542 bôult bôult. 545 ap. 547 bûued. 548 fûued. 549 ûued. 550 wad wad wæd. 551 stôoem. 552 kôoen. 553 ôoen. 554 kros.

O': 556 shuu [pl. (shûuin)]. 556 tûue [but (tul) most usual]. 557 tin. 558 liuk. 559 mudher. 561 bluun. 562 mûuin. 563 munde. 564 sûuin. 565 nûuez. 566 udher.

O': 569 bûik. 570 tûuk. 571 gûid. 572 blûid. 573 flûid. 574 brûid. 575 stûid. 576 wedenzde. 577 baa. 578 plaa. 581 sôut. 582 kûuil. 583 tûuil. 584 stûuil. 585 bruun [the broom brush is (biizem), No. 287]. 587 dun. 588 nûuin. 589 spûuin. 590 flûuer. 591 mûuer. 592 swêeu [used, but it is a different form]. 593 mun [is the form used]. 594 bûuit. 595 fûuit. 596 riuit. 597 sûuit. 598 sûuidh.

U- 599 vbuun. 600 luv. 601 faal. 602 saa. 603 kum. 605 sim. 606 dûue. 607 bûte.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 wul. 611 bulék. 612 sam. 613 druqk. 614 aand. 615 pûnd. 616 grûnd. 617 saand. 618 waand. 619 iûn fan. 620 gru n grûnd grûndid. 622 under. 625 tuq. 626 uqe. 628 nun. 629 sun. 630 wun wan. 631 thæzde. 632 up. 633 kûp. 634 thruu. 635 woth. 636 faadher faader [but this is another word]. 637 task. 638 busk. 639 dust.

U': 640 kaa. 641 aa. 642 dhaa. 645 dav. 646 bôu [subst. (baa)]. 647 aal. 648 aa aar. 649 thaazen. 652 kud. 653 bud bød but bët.

U': 654 shraad. 655 faal. 656 râum [(raam) is less used]. 657 braan. 658 daan [and also down, the feather]. 659 taan. 660 baa[er] [r very often dropped]. 661 shaar. 663 aas. 664 laas. 665 maas. 666 uzbën. 667 aat. 668 praad. 669 unkaath. 670 bûuidh bûidh. 671 maath. 672 saath.

Y- 673 mitj. 674 did. 675 drâi. 676 láai. 678 din. 679 tjetj. 680 bizi [if read, but (threq) No. 63 regularly used]. 682 litel.

Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bâi baa. 687 flâait [seldom used, *flite* to scold, also so, but often *flit*]. 689 kâind. 691 mâind. 693 sin. 696 beth. 697 bari. 698 meth [very often short, and a mere snap]. 699 riit. 700 waas. 701 fæst. 703 pit. 704 viksen.

Y': 705 skâi skâai. 706 [never used, replaced by (wot fœ)]. 707 thætii'n. 708 âiv. Y': 709 fâiv. 711 lâis. 712 mâis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 djee'ed. 718 tréevd. 719 tadpôul. 720 feg. 721 feg. 722 dréevn. 723 déeeri. 724 bôould. 725 séevl. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 fréevm. 730 kantø. 731 wanten. 733 skéevr. 734 daan. 736 las'. 737 méevt. 738 préevt. 739 [not used]. 740 wéevv. 741 méevz. 742 léevzi.

E. 743 skriem. 744 mez'iz. 745 tjetit tjetit. 746 brüedh. 747 indeve [little used]. 748 unfligd [unfledged]. 750 beg. 751 pûet.

I. and Y. 753 tik'l. 754 pig. 755 filbet. 756 shrimp. 757 tâini. 758 [replaced by (las)]. 759 fit.

O. 761 lûud. 762 ûuekem. 763 râuem. 764 kod'l. 766 môûded. 767 nôiz. 768 kôuk. 771 fond. 772 bæn-fâir. 773 dæqi. 774 pûuveni. 775 buubi. 777 shop. 778 efûued. 779 ôouts. 780 djos'l. 781 bødhe. 782 pâlhe [rare]. 783 paaltri. 784 baans. 785 laandy. 786 daas. 787 saas. 788 flaat. 789 raa. 790 gaan.

U. 792 skwab'l. 793 ug. 794 dping. 795 shrug. 799 skul. 800 skul. 801 ram. 802 rum. 803 dpamp. 805 kradz. 806 fas. 807 pas. 808 put [varies to (pur) before a vowel].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 éevbel. 811 pléevs. 812 léevs. 813 béevken. 814 méevsen. 815 faks. 816 fêevd. 817 redish. 818 éevdj. 819 réevdj. 821 dléev.

822 méev. 823 béev. 824 tjéev. 825 wéev. 826 iéev. 827 iéev. 828 éevgiu. 829 géevn. 830 tréevn. 831 distréevn. 832 méev. 833 péev. 834 shéevz. 835 ríezen. 836 shíezen. 837 líesh. 838 tréit tréit. 839 béev. 840 tjéevmer. 841 tjons. 842 pleqk. 843 bransh. 844 trensh. 845 éevshunt. 846 tjenle. 847 déevndj. 848 tjéevndj. 849 stréevndj. 850 dons. 851 ont. 852 apren. 853 baugen. 855 karit. 856 péev. 857 keevs. 858 bréevs. 860 péevst. 861 téevst. 862 séevf. 863 tjéevf. 864 bikos. 865 falt. 866 páev.

E.. 867 tiiv. 868 djéev. 869 víel véil. 870 bínti. 871 egrii. 873 fréev. 874 rêin. 875 féevnt. 876 déevnti. 877 éev. 878 saleri. 879 fiméev. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 dandilâren. 884 prentis. 886 frâiv. 887 klaadji. 888 saaten. 889 sties. 890 bíies [often so used in the singular] bíiest. 891 ííust. 892 nevi. 893 haax. 894 distiev. 895 risíiev. 896 [not used].

I.. and Y.. 897 dílit. 898 náis. 899 nis [short (i), not (í)]. 900 préev. 901 fâin. 902 mâin. 903 dâin [not used in conversation]. 904 váielet. 905 ráijet. 906 váiper. 907 [not used]. 908 advâis. 909 briiz. 910 djâis djâisin. 911 sistren. 912 râis.

O.. 913 kâvetj. 914 brâvetj. 915 stuf. 916 unjen. 917 ráueg. 918 fibel. 919 ôintment. 920 pôint. 921 êkúéevnt. 922 bushil. 923 môist. 924 tjôis. 925 vôis. 926 spôil. 927 truqk. 928 aans. 929 kaakumv. 930 lóoin. 931 djangl. 932 emaant. 933 frant. 934 baanti. 935 kuntri. 936 faant. 937 kâk. 938 kôevn. 939 tlôis. 940 kôit kôit. 941 fânil. 942 butj. 943 tutj. 944 vlaa. 945 vaa. 946 móoil. 947 bôil. 950 supv. 951 kûp'l. 952 kôves. 953 kûzen. 954 kushin. 955 daat. 956 kuvv. 957 implôit. 958 fréev. 959 konvéev.

U.. 960 kwéev [only used in the name of the place, Bridlington Quay (:bælinten :kwéev)]. 961 grâuil. 962 méuz. 963 kwâijet. 964 siuit. 965 ôil. 966 irint [iréut) old people]. 967 siut [(séut) old people]. 968 ôistv. 969 siuv. 970 djust. 971 flíut [(fléut) old people].

Notes to Leeds cwl. p. 397.

Referred to in the wl. by * before the number of the word.

No. 28. On final r, CCR. says, "Though permissible, yet, in all cases, the (r) is discarded to a far greater extent in Leeds than in the Mid Yo. dialect." Hence in this cwl. it is represented by (x), the permissive (r); but whether when heard it is the real trilled (r) or the M. (r), I do not know. I suspect the latter.

180. *bath* is used only in fine speech; *bath*, the utensil, would not be thought of in connection with (te ev v béevd) to take a bath, but would be associated with washing.

443. *Friday*, "in all the days of the week r is often heard as an additional letter; some speakers habitually employ the r in this way."

449. *get*, the (t) becomes (r) before a vowel, and the (g) is strongly post-aspirated, as (ghéevr up). CCR. finds this peculiarity in the following words:

1. in *at*, *sat*, *chat*, *what*, *spat*, *cat*, *hat* [past tense of *hit*].

2. in *et*, *let*, *get*, *set*, *met*, *wet*, *et*

[past tense of *eat*, as, he eat it, ate it, is called (éevt)], (i her)it).

3. in *it*, *hit*, *sit*, *flit*, *split*, *little* (lîir'l), *bit*.

4. in *ot*, *got*, *sot*, *shot*, *blot*, *spot*, *slot*.

5. in *ut* and *oot*, *but*, *stut*, *mutty* (mîuri) = calf, *glutton* (glîuren), *foot*, *shut*.

This change also takes place with words in d.

6. in *ad*, *glad*, *swaddy* (swîari) = soldier, *bad*, *shadow* (shîare), *dad*, *mad*.

7. in *ed*, *wed*, *led*, *bled*, *shed*, *fled*, *sled* = a slipper.

8. in *id*, *lid*, *slid*, *bid*, *hiddy* (hîri) = to hide, *smiddy* (smîiri) = a smithy, *did*.

9. in *od*, *ho'd* (hîr) = hold, *sod*, *nod*, *plod*, *shod*, *modern* (mîoren).

10. in *ud* and *ood*, *mud* (mîur) = might vb., *good* (ghîur), *stood*, *huddle* (hîrel), *budding* (bhîurin), *sud* (shîur), *should*.

CCR. considers these forms to be

the product of lazy, corrupt habits [the post-aspiration is anything but lazy]. They are, he says, the vulgar or the vulgar who chiefly resort to them. Compare the hearing of *potatoes* in D 10, p. 147, as (*téeriz*).

To this list CCR. adds another of

words in *-ture*, usually pronounced with (*tu* in rs., all of which end in *-tu* or rather *-te* at Leeds, such as *koltu*, *ventu*, *kaptu*, *pastu*, *drestu*, *fiatu*, etc., culture, venture, capture, pasture, gesture, future, etc.; and similarly (*síezu séizu*) seizure.

WAKEFIELD CWL.

Compiled from Mr. William Stott Banks's *List of Provincial Words in use at Wakefield*, 1865. Mr. B. uses a tolerably systematic orthography, from which, with the help of previous investigations, I have been able to give an approximative pal. representation of the pron. as gathered rather from his examples than his headwords, which may be compared with the Leeds cwl. I have retained (r) final as it is not marked to be silent by Mr. Banks, and TH. says that he heard it as a decided consonant in all cases, presumably (r. Of course this cwl. is very incomplete, but it suffices to shew that, if I have rightly interpreted, there are a number of minute differences between Leeds and Wakefield, quite as much as between Rotherham and Sheffield, although the general character remains identical. The author's orthography is prefixed in *Italics*, with Roman letters to represent his *Italics*, as *reight*, shewing generally by *h* a written unspoken *h*, by *eigh* (E'i), by *ow* (óu), etc. H wn. by TH. from which I extract a few differences.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *baak* béek. 4 *ta tee*. 5 *maa mak* mév mak. 6 *maad* mévd. 10 *haag* ag. 13 *naug* névg. 18 *cauke* kéuk. 19 *taule* téel. — *gam* gam [game gam'leg game leg]. A: 55 *ass* as. A: or O: 61 *ameng* emeq. A'- 67 *gou* góv. 69 *noa* nóv, H *noo*. 71 [*wa*e worth *th*eh wEE wARTH dhE] woe be to thee]. 74 *toathre* tóethri [two or three], *tu'nee* tu'nis, "we say *thrip'nee*, *fip'ne*, and so on". 76 *tooad* túvd. 89 *boath* bóeth. 92 *kna*w nAA. A': 102 *aks* aks. 103 *akst* akst. 104 *rooad* rúvd. 106 *brooad* brúvd. — *laady* lévdi [lady]. 108 *doaf* dóvf. — *frowt* fróut [for aught]. 115 *hoam* óem. H *úem*. 121 *goan* góven. 122 *noun* nóven. 124 *stoans* stóenz. 125 *o'ndy* oonli [meaning lonely, otherwise (nóbet)]. 130 *bo-at* bóort. 136 *aurther* Aadher [more frequent than 213]. 137 *naurther* NAADher [more frequent than 214].

Æ- 138 *fa-a'ther* féedher, H *fadher*. 145 [*slafter*hahse slatter aas]. 152 *watter* water. Æ: 161 *duah* dée [daahtalwark (dée-telwaark) day-work]. 174 *esh* esh. Æ'- — *reich* réitj rak rak [reach]. 183 *teich* téitj. — *lean* lien [lean]. Æ': 209 *nirver* níver. 213 *aather* eedher [see 136]. 214 *naather* néedher [see 137]. 223 *thear* dhíer. — *heeath* íeth [heath].

E- 233 *speik* spéik. 237 *blaan* bléen. 241 *raan* réen. — *steil* stéil [steal]. 245 *méil*. — *eit* éit [eat]. 251 *meit* méit. E: 256 *ratch* ratj. 269 *sen* sen. 285 *resh* kresh. E'- 289 *ye yeh* jii je ["*eh*, this sign is to be sounded like *er* in *serv'd*"]. 290 *ii* v. 291 *th*eh thee dhíi. 293 *w*eh we wii [*we'me* bahn (wii)m baan] we are going]. E': 306 *heit* he'it.

EA: 323 *fowt* fóut. 326 *owd* óud. 330 *hod* od. 324 *hawf* Aaf. 338 *car-el* ka'el, H *kaal*. 344 *barn* barn. 345 [*athersaah* (a dhier sa, I dare say]. 346 *gaate* yate géut jeet. EA'- 347 *heed* ívd. 348 [pl. *een* iin]. 349 *faew* íe'u. EA: 353 *breed* bríed. 355 *deeaf* díef. — *lowse* lóus [loose]. 366 *gert* gart, *greet* gríet.

EI- 372 *aye* ["sounded *I*, yes, our commonest affirmative"] *ei* ai E'i.

EO: 394 *gouder* jónder [a word often used for a place understood, *are yeh goin up gouder?*]. 396 *waht* waark, *wahterdes* waa'terdez [working-days]. 402 *laher* laern [to teach]. 405 *harston* aar'sten [hearthstone]. 406 *waerth* íerth. EO'- 412 *shoo sheh* shu shE. 414 *flee* flii [fleas are called *lops* = jumps]. 417 *charlin* travlén [as horses do oats]. EO': 425 *leet* líit. 435 *yeh yahr* jer jaar [your]. EY- 438 *dee* dii.

I- 442 *ivin áivin*, H *ivin* [?]. 444 *stee stii* [ladder]. I: 452 *I ah ái a*, [i in pit], i. 458 *neet niit*. 459 *reight re'it*. 461 *leet on liit on* [to meet with]. 468 *tjilder*. 469 *witteh ? wi'te ?* [wilt thou?]. 477 *finn'd find*. 488 *yit jit*. I'- 496 *i-eron áieren*. I': — *likken lik'n* [liken, probably happen]. 207 *haah mow év muu* [the pile of hay put in the hay chamber]. 509 *whal wal* [until]. 510 *mine máin*.

O- — *shool shuul* [shovel]. 519 *orver over*. — *afoar efóer* [afore]. — *throit thróit* [throat]. O: 528 *thowt thóut*. 532 *coil kóil*. 534 *hoil óil*. 537 *mahldy maaldi* [mouldy]. 541 *weeant wíent*. O'- 555 *shummakker shum-aker*. 559 *nutther mudhur*. 560 *schooil skúil*. 562 *moo-in múin*. 564 *soo-in súin*. — *smooithnin iron smúidhnin áiern* [smoothing iron]. 566 *utther udhur*. 567 *tutther tudhur*. O': 578 *ploo stots pluú stots* [farm servants begging on Plough Monday]. 579 *enif enif* [but (vniif) more commonly; pl. *enew* (enuu)]. 584 *stooil stúil*. 588 *nooin núin*. 593 [mun (mun) used]. 594 *booits búits*. 595 *fooit fúit*. 596 *rúit*. 597 *sooit súit*.

U- 599 *aboon ebuun*. 602 *sew sah síu saa*. 606 *dour dóer*, H *dûer* [*doarsteid stoans* (dóerste'id stóenz) doorway-stones in front]. U: — *baan* [boun going]. — *bahnd bun baand bun* [bound]. 619 *fun fun*. 623 *fun' fun*. U'- 641 *haa aa*. 642 *thah theh dhaa dhe*. 643 *naa naa, enah v)naa* [the now]. 647 *allot ulot* [howlet]. 648 *ahr wer ehz, aar wer ez* [*ehzse'nz* (ezsenz) ourselves]. 650 *abaht ebaat*. 651 *baht baat*. U': 655 *fahl faal* [ugly]. 658 *dahn daan*. 663 *hahse aas*. 665 *mahs maas*. 667 *ahh aat*. — *clahh klaat* [clout]. 668 *prahde praad*. 671 *mahth maath*.

Y- 673' *mich mitj*. Y: 683 *midge midj* [a gnat]. 684 *brig brig*. 685 *rig rig* [a man's back]. 689 *beeld bild*. 694 *wark waark* [ache or work said of head, belly, or tooth (túith)]. 699 *reet riit* [a wheelwright only, see 459]. 700 *war warse waar waars*. 702 *wee* [emphatic, when not] *wi* [i as in bit] *wii wi* [*sahnt goa wee him, thah wor wi meh* (saant góv wii im, dhaa ·wor wi)mé) shan't go with him, thou wast with me]. Y'- 706 *wah waa* [term of doubt, not interrogative].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 729 *fraame fréem* [to set about doing a thing]. E. 748 *flig'd fligd*. O. 768 *cowke kóuk*. 769 *mouldewarp móludiwaarp*. — *soil sóil* [sole of the foot]. — *draand dréund* [drown]. U. 793 *hug ug* [to carry]. 804 *drukken druk'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *faace fées*. 812 *laace lées* [to beat, hide]. 840 *cha'mer tjaa'mer*. 841 *chonce tjóns*. 850 *donce dóns*. 852 *raare réur* [very much, great]. E.. — *yarbs jaarbz* [herbs]. 890 *beas bíes* [pl. horned cattle]. 893 *fúhr flaar*. I.. and Y.. 910 *jyst djáist*. O.. 929 *cahcummer kaakumer*. — *rahn'd raand* [round]. 939 *cloise klóis* [sb. field]. 944 *lahnce laans* [allowance]. 956 *kíver* [a set of corn sheaves built up in the field to dry].

VAR. VI. DEWSBURY.

Dewsbury is only five miles w. of Wakefield, yet the dialect differs much. Dewsbury is a manufacturing town, and has a special trade connecting it with Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds. Wakefield is like a county town, with no manufacture, and, as we have seen, has practically Leeds pron. CCR. says Dewsbury is most nearly related to Halifax, but has several distinctive elements characteristic of Rotherham. And hence its position among the varieties.

The main phonetic difference from Leeds is in the treatment of I' and U'. In the cs. (máin láik náin táim wáin dráin báin) mine, like, nine, time, whine, dry, b'ye, are treated like as at Leeds. But CCR. says the dialect is most characterised

in the neighbouring villages, and there I' is but 'casually' (ái), and 'commonly' (óí), the length of the first element varying in each case. "Thus the name of one of the chief villages, *Heckmondwike*, is (:e-kenwóok), or to a native with a habit of contraction to (:e-kenwook), which is the form usually employed." Hence he adds, "It is a difficult thing for a Leeds person to follow a Heckmondwike speaker, the long (oo) [almost (AA)] so transforms the words. The two varieties v and vi are in excessive contrast to the ear, and the Leeds native is prone to pity and be amused at the loud more uncouth speech in which the Heckmondwike native indulges." Although CCR. generally retains Leeds (ái), in the cs. he has (wól wol) while, and the personal pronoun *I* is sometimes (o, e) in (o)m, e)m) I'm.

But the treatment of U' and its congeners is entirely different from that at Leeds, as shewn in (déuts, nee, widheet, eet, greend, éeys, deen, been) doubts, now, without, out, ground, house, down, boun (going). This deviation from the uniform Leeds and Wakefield (aa) must needs tend to render the Heckmondwike speaker still more unintelligible. In this respect Dewsbury resembles Halifax and Bradford. On account of my surprise at the great difference of treatment of U' in the contiguous towns of Wakefield and Dewsbury, CCR. wrote to a printer at Wakefield to give him the pron. of half a dozen words at these two places. I give the result in the printer's orthography with CCR.'s interpretation (translated from glossic into pal.) to shew the exceeding difficulty of understanding local spellings, which are read off at once by natives. See also Mr. Banks's Wakefield spellings, in the cwl. p. 401.

COMMON SPELLING.	WAKEFIELD. = PAL.		DEWSBURY. = PAL.	
down	<i>dahn</i>	daan	<i>dāān</i>	déeen
town	<i>tahn</i>	taan	<i>taahn</i>	téeen
house	<i>hahse</i>	aas	<i>haahse</i>	ééys
ground	<i>grahnd</i>	graand	<i>graahnd</i>	gréeend
time	<i>time</i>	tāim	<i>tahm</i>	tóom ¹
no	<i>noh</i>	noo	<i>noah</i>	nūuv ²

¹ not (*taam*), CCR.

² quite as frequently without the (v), CCR.

Mr. Ridgway, who had resided at Dewsbury 37 years, sent a cs. in io. to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which, as interpreted by CCR., gave similar results in most cases.

The other differences need no particular observations. They will be clear from the interlinear cs.

BARNSELY dt.

As CCR. included Barnsley in Var. vi. (see p. 367), I annex a dt. obtained from Mr. Widdop, a native, b. 1816, by TH. in 1887, in which observe the use of (*u*) in (*ku*_omin *u*_p *dra*_oqken).

1. A sè, ladz, joo sū naa et A)m re'it ebaat dhat lit'l las ku_omin thre't skūil jonder.

2. shu'z gūin daan)t' rôed dhîer on)t' left and sâid v)t' rôed.

3. sū je' t' t'jâild)z gən stre'it u_p te't' raq' dûer, [aas].

4. wier shu'l ap'n fâind dhat dra_oqken dief wiz'nd felv, ez dhe kaal :tomi.

5. wi aal noo im vari wâil.

6. wêent t' ôud t'jap sūn te'itj [larn] er nət te du)it egien, pûer thiq!

7. sū je' izent it trîuu?

Notes to Dewsbury es. p. 367.

0. *what for*. There is a form *why*, (wee) at Dewsbury and Halifax, (woo) at Bradford, but generally (waa) in the s. varieties; this, however, is used like *well*, (waa, dhaa siiz a wer fáest tɛ ɡúwɛ), *why*, thou seest I was forced to go, (wɪ)tɛ kum? waa) wilt thou come? well. The rural form is (wáaɪɛ), the (v) very distinct. — *doubts*, see introductory remarks p. 403.

2. *they are laughed at*, there is no *are* in the dialect. — *we know don't we*; the dialect is here remarkable. — *should*, (shud, sud) and other forms used. — *not*, both (nut, not).

3. *however*, (ɛmsɛmi·vɜr) also used. — *these are*, the (dh) initial is sometimes omitted, etc., more frequently at Leeds. — *all about the concern from the thread to the needle*, a common phrase in the neighbourhood introduced by CCR.

5. *great* or (ɡæɪt). — *father*, the possessive 's sometimes inserted.

7. *two or three* also (túɛθrɛ).

8. *concern* also (konsaa'n). — *aye*, either (oo, ee). — *I am bound for it*, the short (a) is used for the pron. *I*,

but it does not extend beyond Dewsbury. The Barnsley dialect literature has it, but it is really quite unknown there, says CCR. Yet in TH.'s Barnsley dt. p. 403 (A) occurs for *I*.

9. *stretched* or (reekt) = *reached*. — *ground* also (ɡrʌnd), which is the normal form. — *Sunday* or (be'tɛmi) *bettermost*.

10. *in a humour* or (in v fratɪ [θratɪ] wi vsee'n) *in a quarrel with herself*.

11. *hanging* or (iqin). — *to dry* or (fɔ drʌtɪn).

13. *until* (til wol), *till while*, and (u'ntɛl) also used.

14. *t' other thing*, here CCR. inserts the phrase, for which there was no room in the 8 cs. (t' best kumz lat ɛt)s *nut* wanted), the best, or most welcome, come late who are not wanted [the sense is not very clear]; obs. the last syllable of (wanted); this pron. is quite unknown at Leeds, but becomes prominent in conversation from Dewsbury to Rotherham, remarks CCR.

VAR. vii. ROTHERHAM AND SURROUNDING VILLAGES.

This form differs materially from the last. The *I'* is generally (óɪ) and the *U'* (aa), while *O'* is not so frequently (ói ói úi). The great difference consists in remnants of the verbal plural in *-en* and a suspicion of the inf. in *-en*, see cs. notes, par. 1. The appearance of (oo) in many words is also remarkable as (noodher, noo, oo)v·vɛ, trooth, thro, kool, ool, toolk), neither, know, however, truth, through, call, all, talk. It reminds one of the difference between Hexham and Newcastle, Nb.

CCR. says he considered the Rotherham purer than the Sheffield form of the dialect, and hence selected it.

Notes to Rotherham es., p. 367.

1. *who cares?* this might have been rendered (wɒt)s ɔz kéɛr) *what does us* [=do we] care.

2. *make* (meen) is also used and (mee) before vowels; in this case (meen) would be an infinitive in *-en*. CCR. says, "I used frequently to hear the infinitive in *-n* in the Rotherham district. I found the dialect, as usual, in greatest character in outlying villages, and there I familiarised myself with the dialect of the inhabitants of Rawmarsh (2

n-by-e. Rotherham). The verbal plural in *-n* I often heard." I think that the supposed hearing of the inf. in *-n*, of which I have got no confirmation, may have arisen from some confusion, see p. 379, par. 2. The occurrence of the verbal pl. in *-en* on the La. and Db. borders is very remarkable in connection with its practical absence elsewhere. See introductory remarks to D 24, p. 364.

3. *the matters of the truth*, (fakt) fact is used, but is commonly avoided in conversation. — *hearest thou now?*

4. *I heard them say*, another instance of the inf. in *-n*, and in this case any action of the verbal pl. in *-n* seems out of the question.

5. *youngest*, or (*joqis*), according to CCR. short (*o*, *i*) in closed accented syllables, generally rare, not unfrequently occur in this variety. Perhaps, however, they may be medial (*ô*, *î*).—*trust*, (*trôst*) is also used.—*Marry*! (*marê*) this is a singular usage, it is also found at Wakefield.

6. *if you will only ask her*, (*jo)n*)

for (*jo wilen*) is another instance of the verbal plural in *-n*, but see par. 13.

7. *what do you think*, here in (*wot)en*) for what (*doon dan*) we have another verbal plural in *-n*, but it is not in this case followed by the inf. in *-n*.

8. *the whole history as to*, as (*es*)t) is interpreted by CCR.

13 *do you know*, here (*dun*) is the verbal pl., and (*noon*) the inf., both in *-n*. In the text (*noon*) is misprinted (*noou*) p. 375.

VAR. viii. SHEFFIELD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

This is practically identical with Var. vii. The little differences between CCR.'s Rotherham and Prof. Parkes's Sheffield (p. 367) probably arise from my having, in the latter case, to interpret an orthography which, although systematic generally, left many words in the ordinary spelling. Prof. Parkes obligingly answered numerous questions, but unfortunately several little points were left unexplained, and the spelling of the unaccented and common words and syllables and the use of the (*r*) is open to doubt. TH. heard "consonantal *r*" always.

The dialectal short *a* in *man*, Prof. Parkes stated to be "not like Fr. *chatte*, but exactly like *a* in *man*," which he said "is certainly pronounced by speakers of the Sheffield dialect as in English proper," adding that "in Db. even within a few miles of Sheffield, *man* is pronounced *mon*, the *o* like *o* in *not*, and cannot, cōnnā." It seems to me that the Sheffield sound was an error of appreciation, as the presumed Db. sounds certainly are. Hence, on the authority of CCR., who was often in Sheffield, I have used (*a*) throughout, and not (*æ*). TH. heard chiefly (*a*), but occ. (*a*¹), and once even (*æ*).

Then I' he heard "nearly like *aw* in *caw*, and *ee* in *seen* conjoined," and I have therefore rendered his long *i* by (*ɔ'i*), which is after all possibly an error for (*ái*) or (*ói*). TH. generally heard (*A'i*, *A'i*).

Prof. Parkes admits the verbal pl. in *-en* in (*wot dan jo thiŋk? dan jo noo?*). I have found this construction also in "The Sheffield Dialect in conversation, 'uppa are hull arston' [upon our grinding room hearthstone, by the fire in our grinding room], written be a Shevild chap," 1834, as "ween hed enuff o this; han yo heared? ween letten [we have lighted] uz poips; ween hed a vara foine swatch [sample] at march o intellect; ween ole been sca'rd hate on uz wits [we have all been scared out of our wits]; ween had a noist [nice] mess." But neither Prof. Parkes nor the other writer have the inf. in *-en*.

VAR. ix. DONCASTER.

On comparing the Leeds and Doncaster cwl., it will be found at first sight that they are considerably different, although CCR. considered the Leeds dialect to stretch down as far as Doncaster with some modification. The main distinction is in the U' words, which have (*áu*) at Doncaster, and (*aa*) at Leeds. But CCR. admits that at Pontefract (*áu*) is heard, although I obtained (*aa*) from East Hardwick (2 s. Pontefract). Dr. Sykes says that the frontier of (*aa*, *áu*) occurs about Conisbrough (5 sw. Doncaster), nearly half way between Doncaster and Rotherham, and 14 sse. Pontefract.

It would appear then that this usage occurs in a narrow slip to the e. of D 24, running 6 or 8 miles w. of its e. b. Dr. Sykes says (áu) is heard at Arnthorpe (3 e. Doncaster), though 4 m. further to the e. we come upon (uu). The (áu) also runs s. into the n. of Nt., see D 27. It is very difficult to place this (áu) region, but it is most convenient to consider it as a variety in D 24, of which it retains some peculiarities.

For example, the O words, *hole*, *coal*, are called (hóil, kóil) with a secondary, probably original form (kúel), with which (fúel) foal may be compared. All these words have (ói, úi) or thereabouts in the other varieties. But the O' words, which have elsewhere also the same form, here are simple (uu) or (u), as (gud buuk) good book. In this respect they resemble Nt. D 27, from which this variety may have sprung, but at any rate it has been long affected by D 24, of which it is locally part.

A comparison of the D(oncaster) and L(eeds) words gives us roughly the following results:

A-	D. (æ), L. (éev).	EOR D.	(aa), L. (íiv), both omitting
A: O:	D. (oq), L. (eq).		(r).
A'	D. & L. gen. (úv).	EO'	D. (shii), L. (shuu). This is
Æ	D. & L. practically the same.		a difference in a cardinal
Æ'	D. (ii), L. (íiv).		point.
E-	D. (ee), L. (év êi).	I'	D. & L. practically the same.
E'	D. & L. practically the same.	O	D. & L. in some words (ói, úi).
EA	D. & L. much the same.	O'	D. (uu), L. (úui).
EA'	D. (ii) gen. with few (íiv), L.	U	D. & L. alike (u).
	gen. (íiv).	U'	D. (áu), L. (aa).

Of course there are numerous individual exceptions to these general statements. The similarity is therefore confined to the treatment of A', Æ, E', EA, I', U, and part of O; the differences appear in A-, Æ', E, EA', O part, O' arising principally from Doncaster mostly rejecting fractures, and also especially U', where the fracture is in Doncaster, while L. is simple. If we suppose that the few existing fractures had been acquired by contact with the other varieties, the resemblance to n.Nt., and in fact to D 27 generally, would be much closer.

DONCASTER cwl.

from a wl. pal. in 1877 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. John Sykes, M.D., who had been acquainted with the dialect since 1841, but was not a native. The aspirate is quite lost. Dr. Sykes could not be depended on to distinguish (u, u) and is credited here with (u). He seemed to use (e) and not (e). When not before a vowel, (r) is omitted very much, and here I have omitted it regularly, but before a vowel it is 'rough' from Wakefield to Skipton, and of course the omitted (r) reappears before a following vowel, as (múv, múv év)it. This cwl. has such a refined look in many parts, that I particularly inquired, and was assured that the pronunciation was that of the poorer peasant people, but possibly they may have refined it in conversing with their doctor.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tak. 5 mak. 7 seek. 8 av. 9 bi,eev. 12 saa. 14 droo

[occ.]. 15 aa. 17 laa. 21 neem. 22 teem. 24 sham. 34 last. 35 aal. 36 thoo. A: 39 kom. 40 kom. 43 and. 46 kan'l. 47 wande. 50 toqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thru thre. 59 lam. 60 loq. 61 vmoq. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 roq. 66 saq soq. A'- 67 gúv. 70 túv. 72 woo. 73 súv. 74 tuu. 75 strook. 76 túvd. 78 aa. 79 aan. 80 alidee. 84 múvr. 85 súv. 86 wots. 89 búvth. 90 blaa. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 98 naan. 99 thraan. 100 saan. A': 101 ook. 102 aks. 105 rúvd. 106 brood. 107 lúv. 108 dof [? at Doncaster]. 110 not nóut [nought]. 111 out. 115 wom. 118 búen. 122 núen. 124 stúen. 125 [(nobet) used]. 127 úest. 128 dhóez. 130 búet. 132 ot. 136 Aadhv.

Æ- 138 feedhv. 144 egien. 150 lúest. 152 wátev. 153 setedv. Æ: 158 eíte [but at aíte]. 160 eg. 163 lee. 168 tale. 171 baali. 172 gres. 173 was. 174 esh. 175 fést fes'n [fasten]. 179 wat. 181 path. Æ'- 182 sii. 183 tótp. 184 leed. 185 riid. 186 bredth [d heard]. 187 liiv. 188 [(win) whinney, used]. 189 wee [not wéei]. 190 kéei. 191 iil. 192 miin. 193 kliin. 194 eni oni. 197 tpiiz. 200 wíet. 202 iit. Æ': 204 diid. 205 thred. 206 red. 207 niid'l. 210 klee. 211 gréi. 215 toot. 216 diil. 218 shiip [not ship]. 221 fiiv. 222 éev. 223 dhíiv. 224 waa. 225 flesh. 226 móest. 228 swet. 229 bríeth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek [briik' supposed to be correct, p.p. (brak)]. 233 sperk [occ.]. 237 bleen. 238 edj. 239 seel. 240 leen. 241 reen. 243 plee. 246 kúin. 247 wiin. 249 wiiv. 250 swíiv. 252 ket'l. 254 ledhv. 255 wedhv. E: 257 edj. 258 sedj. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 street. 268 eldist. 270 belas. 272 el'm. 273 men. 280 ílev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 284 thresh. 287 biiz'm. 288 let. E'- 289 jii [even when addressing a single person]. 290 ii. 291 dhii. 292 mii. 293 wii. 294 fiid. 298 fiil. 299 grin. 300 kiip. 301 íiv. 302 miit. 303 swiit. E': 305 ái. 306 áit. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 iil. 312 íiv. 314 íied. 315 fiit.

EA: 321 [(siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fóut. 326 ood. 330 od. 331 [(seld, used)]. 332 [(teld) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 aaf AAPni [halipenny]. 335 aal. 345 daant [dare not]. 346 seet. EA'- 347 ívd. 348 ái. EA': 350 ded. 351 led. 352 red. 354 shiif. 356 liif. 359 neevv. 361 bién. 363 tjiep. 366 grát grit. 368 deth. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 straa. EI- 372 éei. 374 néei. EI: 378 week. 382 dhéev. EO- 386 joo. 387 nú. EO: 390 shud. 393 biront. 397 súvd. 399 bráit. 402 laan. 403 íaa. 404 staa. 406 aath. 407 íaadín. 408 [(naad, used)]. EO'- 409 bíi. 411 thrii. 412 shii. 413 dívil. 414 fiíi. 416 díiv. 417 tjóu. 418 brú. 421 fótí. EO': 423 théi. 424 raf. 425 liit. 426 féit. 427 bíi. 428 sii. 430 frend. 431 bíiv. 436 trú. 437 tráuth. EY- 438 dáí.

I- 440 wíik. 442 áivín. 443 fráide. 444 stáil. 448 dhiúzn [?]. 450 tíuzdv. I: 452 a, i. 454 wítj. 455 lig. 457 máit. 458 náit. 459 réit. 460 wéit. 462 sáit. 464 wítj. 465 sítj. 468 tjíldv. 471 tímbe [(b) pronounced]. 472 sriqk. 475 wáind. 477 íáind. 481 fíqve. 486 jíst. 487 jístedv. 488 jít. I'- 491 sái. 496 áiren [(r) distinct]. 497 gráis. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 náif. 505 wáif. 506 wámen. 507 wáimín. 508 máil. 509 wáil. 511 wáin. 513 wáiv. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wízdem.

O- 520 boo. 521 fúvl. 522 op'n. 523 úev. O: 526 kof. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóute. 532 kúvl kóil. 534 óil. 536 goold. 538 wud. 540 olín. 545 op. 550 wod. 551 staam. 552 kaan. 553 aan. O'- 555 shuu. 557 tuu. 559 mudhv. 563 mándv. 565 núev. 566 udhv. O': 569 buuk. 570 tuuk. 571 gud. 572 blud. 573 fluud. 575 stuud. 576 wed'nzdv. 577 buu. 578 pluu [vb.], pluu [sb.]. 579 enoi. 580 tuf. 581 sóut. 582 kuul. 583 tuul. 584 stuul. 585 bruum. 586 duu. 587 dan. 590 fláuv. 591 múuv. 592 súuv. 594 buut. 595 íet. 596 ruut. 597 sít.

U- 599 ebuv. 600 luv. 601 fávl. 603 kúv. 605 sún. 606 dúuv. 607 búthv. U: 608 ugli. 609 fúv. 610 wúv. 612 sún. 613 druqk. 614 áund. 615 púnd. 616 grund. 617 sáund. 618 wáund. 619 íen. 620 grán.

621 wáund. 622 unde. 625 tuq. 626 ugge. 628 nun. 629 sun. 630 wun. 631 thæzde. 632 up. 633 kyp. 634 thraf. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 dust. U'- 640 káu. 641 áu. 642 dháu. 643 náu. 645 dav. 647 ául. 648 áue. 649 tháuzend. 652 kud. 653 but. U': 655 faul. 656 ræm. 657 brám. 658 dæm. 659 táu. 660 báuv. 661 sháuv. 662 uz. 663 áus. 664 láus. 665 máus. 667 áut. 668 práud. 670 buudh. 671 máuth. 672 sáuth.

Y- 673 matj. 676 lái. 679 tjetj. 680 bizi. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 báí. 689 biild [pp. (balt, biult)]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 697 beri. 701 fost. Y'- 705 skái. 706 wái. 707 thætiin. 708 áiv. Y': 709 íáiv. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 733 skáav. 737 meet. 740 weev. E. 743 skriem. 746 briédh. 751 píet. I. and Y. 756 srímp. O. 761 lúued. 762 okem. 768 kóuk. 769 modi. 778 efúed. 782 pudhe. U. 792 skwab'l. 799 skul. 802 rum. 803 djump. 805 krudz. 808 put.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 828 eegi. 840 tjeemer. 845 censhent. 846 tjanlv. 847 deendje. 852 aperen. 864 kos. 865 faat. E.. 878 saleri. 886 friúv. 890 biést. 891 fiést. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 898 náist. 910 djáist [the verb (te djáist) to put cattle out to feed]. 911 sestren. O.. kúetj. 916 onjen. 917 rúg. 921 ekæent. 922 bashil. 925 va'is. 926 spó'il. 929 káukambe. 931 djagle. 933 frant. 940 kúet. 942 butje. 943 tatj. 944 eláu. 947 bó'il. 950 super. 952 kúes. 955 dóut. 956 kuvv. 957 empló'i. U.. 961 gríu'el. 963 kwáit. 964 sínjít. 965 ó'il. 966 friut. 967 síut. 969 síuv. 970 djust. 971 fiút.

D 25 = wMM. = Western Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin at the mouth of the Mersey, and pursue that river to just w. of Stockport, then cross the ne. horn of Ch. to the confluence of the Etherow and the Goyt, at nw. corner of Db., and continue along the b. of Db. to Whaley Bridge, then entering Db. proceed se. over Horwich, keeping n. of Combs Edge township, and just sw. of Chapel-en-le-Frith. Then pass along the summits of Combs Moss, Long Hill, and Burbage Edge (lying n. and w. of Buxton, Db.) to Moss House on the b. of Ch., and enter St. at Quarndon between Flash and Leek Frith, passing over the hills called the Roaches (:ra'utpeʒ), and, sweeping on the w. of Butterton and Wetton, e. of Grindon and through Blore e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and so pass sw. to Rocester. Then go w. along the s. *teeth* line 4 to the Dee, first passing wsw. to n. of Leigh, which has (áu), and probably through Hilderstone to Stone. Then pass just w. of Norton-in-Hales (ái) in the ne. horn of Sh., and go nearly n. by the n. of Audlem (áu), to the b. of Ch. s. of Burley Dam (just s. of Combermere Park). Then keep s. of Marbury, w. of Malpas, and Broxton, and e. of Farndon to the Dee about Aldford, and follow this river and the sea round to the mouth of the Mersey. The part of the nw. horn of Ch. which lies n. of Bebington, Higher and Lower (3 s. Birkenhead), is affected by Liverpool and Birkenhead influence, that is, it has no dialect proper, but is included in D 25 for geographical reasons, just as Scilly and w.Co. in D 12 were considered to belong to the S. div. For the whole description of this boundary I am indebted to the personal observations of TH., confirmed in part by Mr. T. Darlington.

Area. Nearly the whole of Ch. (except its ne. horn, and a narrow strip at the sw.) with a small strip on the nw. of Db., and most of St. lying n. of a line drawn nearly e. and w. through Stone, including "the Potteries," with the exception of the narrow slip adjoining Db.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., † per T.H., || systematic orthography, ° io.

Ch. Altrincham, †Alvanley, †Audlem, †Beeston, *Bickley, †Bowdon, †Broxton, †Buerston, †Congleton, †Great Neston, †Hatton Heath, †Helsby, †Knutstord, †Lymm, †Malpas, †Marbury, †Middlewich, †Mobberly, †Mouldsworth, †Nantwich, †Northenden, †Northwich, †Pott Shrigley, †Sandbach, †Stockport, †Tarporley, †Waverton.

Db. †Combs Valley, †Fernilee.

Sh. †Norton-in-Hales, †Pipe Gate.

St. Audley, †Betley, †Biddulph, †Blythe Marsh, †Burslem, °Cheadle, †Frog-hall, †Leek, †Leek Frith, †Longport, †Madeley, †Oakamoor, †Rocester, °Shelton, †Stoke-upon-Trent, †Stake Gutter Farm, †Stone, †Tunstall, °Wolstanton.

Character. The general and most striking characters to a stranger are the treatment of

U' in (*his* *dáin* *táin*) house down town.

I' in (*táim*) varying to (*ta'im*) time, and always distinct from the last, with (*E'i*) in a few words, as (*wE'i* *be'd*) why boil.

E', as *mái* me, varying to (*éi*), especially in m.Ch., and to (*E'i*) in St.

A- in (*tiil*) tale, except in ne.Ch. and St., where it is (*teel*).

ÆG and EG *tiil* *wii* tail way, becoming *teel* *wæ* in ne.Ch. and part of St.

O', most frequently (*æ'u*), as (*mæ'un*), varying as (*mæ'un*) in St.

These may be taken as the great characteristics, of which (*ái*) for U' is chief.

We may consider that there are three varieties in Ch. and one in St., but the differences are very minute. T.H. draws two lines through Ch., (1) from opposite Warrington, La., w. of Knutsford and e. of Northwich, just w. of Siddington (5 wsw. Macclesfield), and e. of Lower Withington (1 sw. of Siddington) and n. of Bosley (5 s.Macclesfield); and (2) from Frodsham (4 s.Runcorn on the Mersey) through Delamere Forest, e. of Tarporley and Calverley, and w. of Wettenhall, to 2 n.Nantwich, and then e. by Crewe to Church Lawton (5 ssw. Congleton). All e. of (1) may be termed e.Ch., and uses (*dee*, *teel*) day, tail and tale, and (*mái*, *ái*, *dháiz*) me, he, these; all w. and s. of (2) may be termed w.Ch.; and the part between (1) and (2) m.Ch. In the s. parts of w. and m.Ch. they say (*méi*, *éi*, *dhéiz*), and in n.St. these are (*mE'i*, *E'i*, *dhe'iz*), but in the n. parts of w. and m.Ch. these become (*mái*, *ái*, *dháiz*), as in e.Ch.

T.H. has made a thorough examination of the pronunciation of received long *ā* (*ae*, *æ'*), in these districts, and gives the words he actually heard used. These words are very varied in origin, and it is best perhaps to leave them in T.H.'s order, marking only the Ws. or Norse forms; the rest, the majority, being English or Romance.

Var. i. wCh. The following words had (*ii*): (1) bacon, conversation, Æ-father, newspaper, relations, station, 'tatoes, Æ- water, Waverton; (2) cane, crate, escaped, estate, face, facing, female, A- game, A' lane, A- late, lately, A- name, often (*noem*), place, plate, sale, mostly *soel*, A same, A- take, taken, wake, often (*wæck*), Wales; (3) entertaining, explain, tail, taint, laid, ÆG nail, paint, plain, EG rain, EI raise, EG sails, train, wait; 4 EG away, ÆG day, ÆG gray, I'G hay, jay, lay, leastways, May, Naylor, pay, EG play, EG say, stay, EG way. T.H. also remarks that *tr-*, *dr-*, or *-ter*, *-der* become (*t'r*, *d'r*) or *-ter*, *-der* in e.Ch., and are ordinary English *tr-*, *dr-* elsewhere.

Var. ii. m.Ch. The following words were heard with (*æ'*): Æ- father, station, 'tatoes, EA: gate, A' lane, A- make.

But *all* the following had (*ii*): (1) baby, bacon, A- baking, crazy, Davenham,

father [which had both (*ee*) and (*ii*)], grandfather, potato [also (*ee*)], Ravenscroft (:riinzkrɔft), station [also (*ee*)], Æ: wakened, Æ- water; (2) agate, Bates, A- cake, change, crape, A- game, A'- lane [also (*ee*)], A- late, A- made, A- name, place, plate, platelayers, safe, A- stake, trapes; (3) drain, EG laid, paid, plain, EG rain, ÆG tail, train, wait; (4) EG away, Æ'G clay, ÆG day, Æ'G grey, I'G hay, hayfield, ÆG may, pay, platelayers, EG play, EG say, EG way. TH. says that the words in (1) and (2) have (*ee*) in the s. of m. Ch. at Congleton, Sandbach, and Lower Withington and neighbourhood.

Var. iii. e.Ch. With very few exceptions all rec. (*ee*) remain (*ee*), and do not become (*ee'*j) or (*éi*).

Var. iv. n.St. Here the change is slightly more considerable. A- is (*ee*), A' commonly (uu) or (oo), Æ- (*ee*) in father, water, but ÆG (ii), Æ' generally (ii), EG is (ii), long E'- is (E'i), apt to sound to a Londoner as his *ā*, thus *green grain* pron. (grE'in griin) sounds nearer to *grain green*, the words being just reversed. This belongs also to m.Ch., but it is more marked in n.St.; long EO'- is also pron. (E'i) in three, tree, etc. I' becomes almost (A'i) though intended only for (ái). O' is still occasionally (æ'u), but this passes into (iu), as (diu) do, on the one hand, and (a'u), as (mæ'u) moon, on the other, shewing clearly the instability of the combination (æ'u) and its aptitude to generate (y, a'u) forms, by a direct process, which must have played a great part in the history of language. Of course U is (u_o), but *come* is singularly enough (kəm), elsewhere also it is often an exception. U' is (ái), but Y' becomes (E'i) the same as E, hence we have *mouse*, *mice* (máis, mE'is), which has a singular effect.

In all these varieties there is a peculiar form of the negative auxiliary verb, as (kəne, ku_one, azne, mu_one, shəne, shatne, wine, wu_one, wu_one) can't, couldn't, has'n't, mus'n't, sha'n't, shall not, won't, wouldn't, all of which receive a euphonic (r) when a vowel follows, according to the observations of TH. He has also pointed out the singular omission of the preposition *to* in Ch., which extends also to n.St., thus in sentences actually heard, (gu_o bE'd) go *to* bed, (i:l kəm àr áis) he'll come *to* our house, (ev a gu :kræ'u) if I go *to* Crewe, (fast ez a kəm wark iier) first as I came *to* work here, (art dñe ga'uin iier :kristis tənít) art thou going *to* hear Christies (the Christy Minstrels) *to*-night? Even in the common, though not at present literary, form *for to*, the *to* is omitted, thus (fər gu en-) for *to* go, and, (kərn fər ku_ot jət) corn for *to* cut yet, (i was fər sái) he was for *to* see [all over the forest, as steward of the Crown], (iv ani badi kəmz fər báí), if anybody comes for *to* buy, (wi ad fər gu ráind) we had for *to* go round.

Illustrations. First, four dt. from Bickley, w.Ch., Sandbach, m.Ch., and Leek, St., all obtained from dict. of natives, and from Combs and Fernilee, Db., from the personal knowledge of TH. Next, five cs. placed interlinearly in order to make the minute distinctions of the varieties more distinct. As they were obtained at different times, and from different people, there are little discrepancies in the versions, but there is a surprising agreement of pronunciation. Tarporley illustrates Var. i. w.Ch.; Middlewich, Var. ii. m.Ch.; Pott-Shrigley, Var. iii. e.Ch.; while the Dale of Goyt variants shew the very slight differences in the Db. strip (which is also shewn in the Combs dt.), and the Burslem illustrates Var. iv. n.St. Also cwl. are appended from w.Ch. and n.St. The differences in m. and e. Ch. being regular, no cwl. have been made for them. I am also able to give a very complete cwl. for the neighbourhood of Bickley, s.Ch., arranged from Mr. Darlington's *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, communicated to me in MS. In the L. div. I also give the first chapter of Ruth, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington, and transliterated into pal. by AJE. It is given there in connection with three L. and one S. version of the same chapter. I wish here to express my obligations to Mr.

T. Darlington, and to refer the reader to his excellent Folk-speech of s.Ch. printed by the English Dialect Society, with its numerous examples in Glossic, and its prefixed essays on Grammar and Pronunciation.

FOUR INTERLINEAR dt.

B. Var. i. *Bickley* township, Ch. (5 nnw. Whitechurch, Sh.), pal. in June and July, 1886, by A.J.E. from the dictation of T. Darlington, Esq., native of Burland (3 wnw. Nantwich), who was perfectly familiar with Bickley sp.

S. Var. ii. *Sandbach* (4 ne. Crewe), m.Ch., pal. in 1881 by T.H. from dict. of J. Capper, native, b. 1823, boot and shoemaker, his sister and her family.

L. Var. iv. *Leek*, St., pal. in 1880 by T.H. from dict. of Mr. V. Daniels, native, b. about 1835.

C. Var. iv. also, *Combs* and Fernilee, especially the Db. valley s. of Chapel-en-le-Frith and n. of Buxton, written 1882 in pal. by T.H. from his own knowledge and consultation vv. with his relatives there, see also D 21, p. 321, l. 15 from bottom. In this case I have deviated from the usual plan here pursued (see p. 317, l. 16), and have inserted suspended consonants, and T.H.'s own form (*ú* u) for my (*u* u), and retracted (*i*), but no peculiar mark for (r), as this specimen represents his own personal observations upon himself and relatives.

1. *Bickley.* sò a sii, mèts, ʒe séin [siin] náí, ɛz ái)m réit [riit]
Sandbach. a sii, tʃaps, ʒo séin naa, ɛz a)m réit
Leek. a sii, tʃaps, ʒe séin naa, a)m réit
Combs. a)se', ladz, ʒo)súin naa, ɛz a)m rúit'

B ebáit dhat lit'l wensh ku_omi_n frem)th skæ'u jande[r_o.
 S ebáit dhat lit'l wentʃ kom'in frem)s skæ'u jander.
 L ebáit dhat lit'l wentʃ kam'in frem jander skjə'ù.
 C ebáit dhat lit'l wentʃ kam'in fer)s'sk_uù jand.

2. B æ'u)z gæ'u'in dáin th)rood dhíe[r_o, thræ'u th)red giit
 S æ'u)z gæ'u'in dáin th)leen dhíer thrə'u th)red atʃ
 L ær)z gu'in dâin dh)rood dhíe thræ'u dh)red jeet
 C ú_ou)z gu'in dâi³n th)rood dhíer thrú_o th)red jeet

B ɐ)dhɛ)lift and sáid ɐ)dh wii.
 S ɔn)th lift and sáid ɐ)dh leen.
 L ɔn dh)lift ɔnd sá'id ɐ)dh rood.
 C u_opɐ th)lift ɔnd sáid ɐ)th rood.

3. B shæ'ur enu_of th)tʃáilt's gən stre'it u_op te)th dæ'uer
 S lu_ok)ʒe! th)tʃáilt's gə'n stre'it u_op te)th ru_oqg
 L lu_ok)ʒe! th)tʃá'il'z gə'n stre'it u_op te)th ru_oqg
 C síi)ʒe ladz! th)tʃáilt's gə'n st're'it u_op' te)th raq'

B ɐ)th raqg áis.
 S dæ'uer [áis].
 L dər.
 C dər [áis].

4. B w^hi^{er} a'u l miⁱ bi fáind dhat dru^gk'n d^hef dráid
 S w^hi^{er} a'u l miⁱ b^éi fáind dhat dru^gk'n d^hef wáldherd
 L w^hi^{er} er l ap'n fá'índ dhat dru^gk'n d^hef wáldherd
 C w^hi^{er} ú^u l ap'n sáí dhat dru^gk'n d^hef wíz'nt

- B u^p t^hiap vth niim v :tu^{mes}.
 S a'ud ma'n es d^hi kaan :tu^m.
 L a'ud t^hiap' ez d^hi kaan a'ud :tu^m.
 C felv ez d^hi, kaan :tu^m.

5. B w^éi A noon ím veri wel.
 S wí AA noon ím wel enu^f.
 L w^éi AA noon ím
 C wí [wí] AA noon ím veri, wíl.

6. B wu^{ne} dh)a'ud t^hiap s^a'un t^hi^t er^o n^ete
 S wu^{ner} éi s^a'un t^hi^t er n^{ot} fer
 L wu^{ne} dh)a'ud t^hiap s^a'un shíft er ? é'í l st^{op}er frem
 C wíne th)a'ud t^hiap' s^a'un t^hi^ter n^{on}t'

- B d^a'u ít eg^{en}, p^a'ue^r thⁱq^g!
 S d^a'u ít eg^j^{en}, p^a'uer thⁱq^g!
 L guⁱⁿ dhⁱer eg^j^{en}, p^ue thⁱq^g!
 C d^u ít eg^j^{en}, p^uer thⁱq^k!

7. B l^ük j^e! íz^{ne} ít tr^a'u?
 S l^ük j^e! íner ít tr^a'uu?
 L l^ük j^e! A t^a'ud j^e.
 C l^üuk! íts t^rú^u, sáí j^e!

Notes to Bickley dt.

1. *mate*, *butty* (bu^{ti}), is frequent, but not in addresses, (m^{ets}, m^{iits}, m^{iits}) are all said, the last rare, the regular form is l^a'dz. — *about* (ebáut), is also heard. — *school*, the (l) is not always omitted. — *yonder*, they sometimes say 'yonder school,' but not 'yon school.' The final (r) was felt by Mr. D., but not by me. It was not at all trilled, and I could not myself hear it. Hence I mark it as a faint (l^r).

2. *she*, (a'u) hoo, is the regular form. — *going*, in very rapid utterance, is heard as (gyⁱin), not quite (y) as it struck me; this change does not seem to occur otherwise, but it points to the origin of the change from (uu) to (y) through (a'u). — *gate*, for a large field gate, *hatch* for a small garden gate; the sound of (giit) is mostly natural at Bickley, but at Nantwich (:naⁿtw^eíty) this and other long *a* are pure (ii), as

in the phrase invented there to shew it, (te j^{et} tiítez en biik'n ^{ot} v bl^o'u edí^d plíit) to eat potatoes and bacon off a blue-edged plate; this is comparable to Gloucester habits. — *hand*, (h^{ond}, h^{ont}) are 'traditional' forms, they seem to have been used by the ancestors of the present generation, and old people if asked will give them as the sound, but Mr. D. has not observed them in actual use; *hand* is most commonly used at any rate, (h) is frequently omitted. — *side*, observe the difference of the diphthong in (náí) now, (sáí^d) side, which approaches (s^oí^d), and is often written *oi*. — *way*, this would not be used here, they would repeat *road*; observe the sound in the pause is (wáí), but the (i) was short and slightly touched.

3. *door* (d^ol^r), like (h^{ond}), is a traditional sound, no longer used. —

wrong, (raq) is the usual, (ru_oq) a traditional form, Mr. D. could almost name the few families who still use it, (-qg) occurs in the pause.

4. *where*, also, but less commonly, (wéev_ro).—*deaf* (djef), the alterations of *ea* are as in Sh.—*shrivelled* is not used, (shr-) not used, shrub = (sru_ob).—*name*, both (niim, neem) are used, but (niim) is commonest.

5. *we*, this is a rapid unaccented form, the emphatic form is (wí₁).—*know*, the verbal plural in -en is used regularly in *present* tenses, except in *can*, *may*, *mun* (obliged to), *must* (which is rare); but verbs in -st, -ct, lose the *t* always; in the past tense the -en is only used by old people, the younger have lost it.

6. *will not*, sometimes (wu_onet), and rarely (wu_oned), where it is affected by Sh.—*teach*, learn (laa₁r_ou) is also used;

the master of a school is termed the (skæ'ugafv₁r_o), (tiitv₁r_o) may be used for Sunday-school teacher, but it is not common.—*not to* (nə'tə), or (nə₁r_o)tə, (nə'tə, nat)tə). The use of *to* is unexpected, see the Sandbach dt.

7. *look you!* (lū_ok)jə has an exceptionally short vowel, but this is only used in this phrase, to look is (læ'uk).—*see thee* (si₁ dhi) might be used, but not in such a connection, it is rather "do you understand," or "mark my words," not "look in that direction." *Thou* is always used to the very young, between brother and sister, from parent to child (not conversely), between husband and wife, used from master to inferior servants, by fellow-servants, School Board children generally thou one another, the usage varies in different districts.

Notes to Sandbach dt.

1. *coming*, the vowel seemed to lie between (o) and (u_c).

2. *through*, the diphthong seemed to lie between (ə'u) and (æ'u).—*hatch*, a small garden gate.

Notes to Combs dt.

1. *so* (sə_ou) = (sæ'u) omitted.—*lads*, *mates*, is not used in direct address, workmen sometimes say 'my mate' (mái meet), but (bu_oti) is generally used in this sense.—*wench*, usual word, *girl* (gjel') is used in half-refined speech.—*road* used twice, *way* would not be used here, but in which way is he gone (wit₁ wee iz i, ga'n?).

3. *see you lads*, sure enough when used would be (shí_o uer en' f').

4. *happen*, *chance* would not be used here, but they say 'a good chance'

(v)gu_od tjans).—*wizzend*, shrivelled is not used, and *shr-* becomes (sr-) as (srimps) shrimps.

Observe that generally in transliterating TH.'s pal. into AJE.'s, (i, æ'u) are used for (i₁, ə_ou), the final lengthening of consonants, and generally of the second element of diphthongs and fractures are omitted, as explained on pp. 292, 317, 324, for the reasons there given, and they are used in this example as a specimen only.

FOUR INTERLINEAR CS. WITH VARIANTS IN A FIFTH.

T for Tarporley (9 ese.Chester), Var. i., pal. in 1877 by TH., from the dictation of Mr. John Clarke, b. 1848, native of Burland (3 wnw.Nantwich), whence he removed when 13, having since lived at Tarporley, and of his wife, then 26, a native of Tarporley.

M Middlewich (9 nne.Nantwich), Var. ii., pal. in June 1878 by TH. from the dictation of Mr. Thos. Nightingale, b. 1832, joiner, native, and (except for 2 years constant resident: paragraphs 1 to 9 had been first dictated by Mr. T. Whittaker, then 60, sawyer, and Mr. John Hutchinson, then 35, slater, both natives, and the result supervised by Mr. Nightingale.

S Pott-Shrigley (4 nne.Macclesfield), Var. iii., pal. about 1874 by TH. from dict. of Mr. John Jackson, native, b. 1833.

G Variants from Pott-Shrigley in the Dale of Goyt, Db.

B Burslem (3 nw.Stoke-upon-Trent), Var. iv., pal. in Oct. 1877 by TH., from the dict. of Mr. W. Latimer, b. 1831, potter, native, perused and variants added by Mr. J. Bolland, parish clerk, resident about 40 years.

These four versions cannot be accurately compared word by word, on account of slight differences in the rendering, but they are given interlinearly for facility of reference, and to shew the substantial resemblance, T, M, S represent the three principal forms of Ch. pron., the w. and s., the m., and the n. and e., while B represents Potteries of n.Staffordshire.

0. *Tarporley* wE'i :dʒA'n az)ne dái'ts.
Middlewich wE'i :dʒA'n az næ'u da'its.
Shrigley wE'i :dʒən)z næ'u dái'ts.
Goyt wái
Burslem wE'i :dʒA'n)z næ'u dái'ts.

1. T wE'l, làd, A rek'n jii'n bæ'ueth laf' et wot
 M wE'l, làd, dhíi en ìm me bæ'ueth ɔn jɛ laf' et wot
 S wE'l, làd, dhíi en ìm me)búedh laf' ed)dhiz
 G
 B wE'l, làd, dhe'i en ìm ken bùth laf' et)th

- T A)m gæ'u'in sii; ber)æ'ue kJEE'Z? dhat)s
 M A)m gæ'u'in t' tel)jɛ; ber)æ'ue kJEE'Z? dhat)s
 S ní)ùz ɐ máin; úɐ , kJEE'Z? dhat)s
 G
 B ní)ùz ɛz A)m telin jɛ; uu kJEE'Z? dhat)s

- T ne mater ɐ máin.
 M niidher íer ner dhíer.
 S noodher íer ner)dhíer.
 G
 B niidher íer ner dhíer.

2. T jɛ du)ne ɔf'n íer ɛv)ɐ ma'n díi'in bíkjès ï)z laft àt.
 M dher íz)ne meni ɛz dín bíkɔs dhe)r laft àt.
 S dher íz ne mɔni ɛz dín bíkooz dhe)r laft àt.
 G
 B dher íz ne meni men ɛz ed de'i bíka'uz dhe)r laft àt.

- T wE'i shu)d dhi? ít)s nɛ
 M wE'i shu)d dhi? ít)s nɛ
 S wi noon, du)ne wi? wot shu)d mak'em? ít)iz)ne
 G du)nt)ɛz?
 B wE'i noon, du)ner)ɛz? wot shed meek em? ít ine

- T veri láikli, íz)ít nái?
 M láikli, íz ít?
 S veri láikli, íz)ít [is't]?
 G
 B veri láikli, íz)ít?

3. T ber)ái'EV'ER dh'is iz áí it wæ'z, se
 M áí'EV'ER dh'is iz áí it wæ'z, su
 S aaver [et ani reet] dh'is iz áí it wæ'r, se
 G et ani reet it wer edh'is'n,
 B a,aa-ver dhE'iz er th'faks v)th kj'es, su

T dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz v bit, en bi kw'it til æ)v tæ'ud dhi
 M dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz, en bi kw'it tìn A)v dù_on, en
 S dju_ost æ'ud dhi ne'iz, men, en bi'kwE'iet tìn A)v dù_on,
 G kw'iet til A)v dæ'un.
 B dju_ost æ'ud dhi náiz, men, en bi kw'it, til A)v dù_on.

T AA ebáit it.
 M (dhen dha)l noo.
 S ier dhi!
 G
 B ár'k'n.

4. T A)m ver' sàrtin A ierd em sii — su_om v dhem
 M A)m sàrtin A ierd em sii — su_om v dhem
 S A)m sàrtin A ierd em SEE—A)mien su_om v dhæ'ùz
 G A)m
 B A)m sàrtin A ierd em sii — su_om v th)

T fók ez went thræ'u dh)æ'ucl thi'qg frem fəst dher'selz
 M fòks ez went thræ'u AA)th kensàrn dhems'elz
 S fók ez went thræ'ù th)wù_ol kensàrn frē)th)fəst dher'selz
 G fer
 B fòks ez went thræ'ù th)wool thi'qg frem th)fəst dhems'elz

T —dhat æ d'ðd shæ'uer enu_of.
 M —dhat A d'ðd shæ'uer enu_of.
 S —dhat A d'ðd shæ'uer [s'f] enu_of.
 G
 B —dhat A d'ðd s'f enu_of.

5. T ez)dh ju_oqgist làd im'sel', gjerin on' fer nán, nood
 M es th)ju_oqgist làd im'sel', gjerin on' fer nán — ï nood
 S es)th ju_oqkst làd iss'el', v big' làd nán ier æ'ud, nood
 G ez ju_oqgist
 B ez)dh ju_oqgist làd im'sel', v big làd nán ier æ'ud, nood

T is fiidherz vE'is in v m'nit, ev it wæ'r se kw'ier en
 M is fiidherz vÁis in a m'nit, ev it wæ'z se kw'ier en
 S is'feedherz vÁis in v m'nit ev)it wæ'r se)kw'ier en
 G vE'is
 B is feedherz vÁis et wu_onst fer AA it wes se kw'ier en

T skwæk'in, en æd tru_ost ·dhat lād t' spiik t' træ'uth
 M skwæk'in, en æd tru_ost ·im fer tel th træ'uth
 S skwæk'iqk, en æm shæ'uer zi d tel [speek] t' t' træ'uth
 G skwæk'in, æd tru_ost ·im t' tel t' t' træ'uth
 B skwækin, en æd tru_ost ·im fer spiik th træ'uth

T ani dii, âi ·dhat æ wu_od.
 M ani dii, ·dhat æ wu_od.
 S ani taim [dee] ·dhat zi wu_od.
 G æ
 B ani dii, ·dhat æ wu_od.

6. T en dh)æ'ud wu_omen ersel el tel ani ən)jæ ez laf'n,
 M en th)æ'ud wu_omen ersel el tel ani ən)jæ ez laf'n,
 S en th)æ'ud wu_omen ersel el tel ani ən)jæ ez laf'n naa,
 G
 B en dh)æ'ud wu_omen ersel el [el] tel ani ən)jæ ez lafs naa,

T en prati stre'it færet tæ'u, en widhâit mu_otj bødher
 M en stre'it færed tæ'u, bâit mu_otj bødher,
 S en tel jæ stre'itfæret tæ'u, bâit mitj bødher,
 G [en ææ]
 B en tel)jæ stre'it færet tæ'u widhâit ani bødher,

T en ææ, ev jii)n oonli aks)er—ææ ber æ'u wu_ol.
 M ev jo)n ooni aks er.
 S ev)jo)n oonli aks)er, oo! winet æ'u?
 G winet æ?
 B if jæ)n ooni aks)er, wu_oner)er?

7. T aniâi ·æ'u tæ'ud mi wen æ ast er, tæ'u er
 M aniâi æ'u tæ'ud ·me'i[mîi] wen æ akst er, tæ'u er
 S et ani reet æ'u tæ'ud it ·mîi wen æ aks t er, tæ'u er
 G
 B aniâi ær tæ'ud me'i wen æ akst er tiu er

T thræi taimz ó[er, en ·æ'u did)ne æ'ut t' bi
 M thræi [thræi] taimz ó[er, en ·æ'u æ'utne bi
 S thræi taimz óer, en)·æ'u du_oz)ne æ'ut)t' bi
 G
 B thre'i taimz óer, ær did, en ær du_oner æ't t' bi

T ru_oqg i sity e thi_oqg ez dhis, wot)n ·joo thi_oqk?
 M ru_oqg i sity e thi_oqg ez dhis, wot)n ·joo thi_oqk?
 S ru_oqg ebâit sity e thi_oqg ez dhis, wot du_on jæ thi_oqk?
 G
 B ru_oqg u_ope sity e pe'int ez dhis, wot du_on jæ thi_oqk?

8. T we'l ber ez a wer sii'in, 'æ'u)d tel)ʝe bæ'ueth áí
 M wel ez a wes sii'in, 'æ'u)d tel)ʝe bæ'ueth wíer
 S we'l ez)A')wer se'iqk, 'æ'u)d tel)ʝe búedh áí en)wíer
 G SEE'in aa
 B we'l ez áí wes sii'in, ɛr)d tel)ʝe bùth áí wíer

T en wíer æ'u fu_nd t' dru_ɔk'n bíest ez æ'u
 M en wen' æ'u fu_nd t' dru_ɔk'n píɡ' [slotʃ] ez æ'u
 S en wen' æ'u fu_n t')dru_ɔk'n bíest ez)æ'u
 G slotʃ
 B en wen' ɛr fu_nd [fu_n] t' dru_ɔk'n talek ez ɛr

T kAAZ ɛr u_ɔbent.
 M kAAZ ɛr u_ɔbent.
 S kAAZ ɛr)u_ɔbent.
 G
 B kAAZ ɛr u_ɔbent.

9. T æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wídh ɛr oon áiz.
 M æ'u swó[er æ'u síd im wí ɛr oon áiz, láí'in
 S æ'u swóer æ'u síd im wí'ɛr oon íin, láí'iqk
 G SWEER láí'in
 B ɛr swóer ɛr se'íd im wíi ɛr oon áiz láí'in stretʃt

T AA fu_l leqkth ɔn)th gráind, in iz gu_d su_ɔndi
 M ɛ)th fu_l retʃ ɔn)t' gráind, in iz gu_d su_ɔndi
 S A' ɛv)ɛ) leqth u_ɔpɛ)th)gráind, in iz gu_d su_ɔndi
 G A' iz
 B ɛt th)fu_l leqth ɔn)dh gráind, wídh iz best [su_ɔndi]

T kæ'uet, tlæ'us' ɛ)sáid ɛ)dh áis dæ'uer, dáin bí)th
 M kæ'uet, tlæ'us' ɛ)sáid ɛ)th áis dæ'uer, dáin ɛt t'
 S dʌk'it [kúet], tlòs' bí)th áis dæ'r, dáin ɛt)th)
 G kúet tɛ th áiz
 B kuut ɔn', tlòs' bí)dh áis dûer, dâin ɛt)th

T ká'rner ɛ jənder leen
 M ká'rner ɛ jənder leen
 S ká'rner ɛ)jənd loon
 G ká'rner
 B ká'rner ɛ)dh leen

10. T íi wez belderín ewii, fer AA)th wərlð láik ɛ
 M íi wez blaatin fer AA)dh wəld láik ɛ
 S íi wer mak'iqk ɛ ne'iz, æ'u se'd, tɛ)AA)th)wəld láik ɛ
 G mak'in dín fer
 B ɛ'í wez ró'ɛrín ewii fer AA)dh wəld láik

T tʃáilt.

M kʌf, en rə'ulɪn ɛbáit láik ɛ pɪg' ɪn ɛ fɪt.

S badli tʃáilt, ɛr)ɛ)lɪt'l wentʃ skráik'ɪqk.

G kɹáɪɪn [rúerɪn].

B dh)ə'ud greendʃ bəʊl.

11. T en dhat ap'nt ɛz ɛr ɛn dheer:dʒaks
 M en ʌʌ dhis ap'nt ɛ)dh weshɪn dii, ɛz ɛr ɛn ɛr dɛ'ut'ɛr
 S en dhat ap'nt, ɛz ɛr ɛn)ɛr)dɛ'ut'ɛr
 G
 B en dhat ap'nd ɔn)dh weshɪn dii, ɛz ɛr ɛn ɛr dɛ'u'tɛr)

T we'ɪf kəm thrə'u)th bak jàrd — dhi)d bɪn eqgɪn
 M ɪn ʌʌ kəm thrə'u th)bak' jàrd wen dhi)d bɪn eqgɪn
 S ɪn ʌʌ kə'um thrə'u th)bak jàrd, wen)dhi)d bɪn)aqg'qk
 G jàrt ɪqgɪn
 B ɪ)lɛ'u kəm thrɛ'u dh)bak jàrd frem ɪqgɪn

T áit' th)tlə'uez ɔn)th weshɪn dii.
 M th)tlə'uez áit fer drái.
 S áit th)tlúez fer)t')d're'ɪ ɛ)th)wesh'ɪqk dee.
 G t' tlúez áit)t')d're'ɪ weshɪn
 B dh)wet tluuz áit' fer drái.

12. T we'ɪl th)ket'l wez be'ɪlɪn fer tii, wɛ'n náis
 M we'ɪl th)kjet'l wez báilɪn fer tii, wɛ'n fáin
 S we'ɪl th)kjet'l wer)be'ɪlɪqk fer)th bag'ɪqk [tee], wɔn brɪt
 G wáil wer be'ɪlɪn bag'ɪn [tee] fáin brɪt
 B we'ɪl th)tii ket'l wez be'ɪlɪn, wɛn fáin

T aftərnə'un i)th su_mer, oonli ɛ wɪk' sɪn'
 M aftərnə'un i su_mer, ooni ɛ wɪk' sɪn'
 S aftərnə'un i)th su_mer, ɛn)it')l oonli bi)ɛ wɪk' sɪn'
 G i wɪk
 B aftərnɛ'u'n i)th su_mer, ooni ɛ wɪk' sɪn'

T t' neks thərzdɪ.
 M ɛ thərzdɪ.
 S t')neks thərzdɪ.
 G
 B neks thərzdɪ.

13. T en du_n)ʒɛ noo ? A never ɪɛrd ne mæ'uer ɛ dhat
 M en du_n)ʒɛ noo ? A neer ɪɛrd anɪ mæ'uer ɛ dhis
 S en du_n)ʒɛ noo ? A never ɪɛrd ne múer ɛbáit ɪt
 G nɪvɛr ɛ dhat
 B en du_n)ʒɛ noo ? A' nɪvɛr ɪɛrd næ'u múer ɛbáit ɪt

T frem dhat dii te dhis, esh shæ'uer ez
 M dʒɒb', en A du_one want t' dæ'u, esh shæ'uer ez
 S sin' [frem dhad dee te dhis], esh shæ'uer ez
 G kensarn te dhiz dee
 B frem dhat dii te dhis, esh shæ'uer ez

T mái niim)z wɒt it iz, en A du_one want t' noo
 M mái niim)z :dʒak' :sheperd.
 S mi)neem)z :dʒak' :shepert, en)A)du_one want
 G A)m íer t' dæ'u
 B mái neem)z wɒt it iz, en A du_one want

T niidher, en dhat)s fer)re!
 M
 S noodher, naa dhen'!
 G
 B niidher, en joo)n gɒt)it dʒu_ost ez A')v gɒt it.

14. T en se nâ*l* i A)l gu wá'm te mi su_oper.
 M en)naa A)m gæ'uín wá'm te mi su_oper.
 S en)naa A)m gu'iqk wem te)mi)su_oper.
 G gu'in wá'm)p')mi
 B en A)m gu'in woom—mái su_oper)z wiitín on mi.

T gu_od nít', en du_one bi se shàrp fer kroo óer
 M gu_od néit', en du_one bíi se redi e kroo'in ó'er
 S gu_od nít', en du_one bi)se)redí fer)t)mee gjam ebáit
 G né'it' t' mag)gjam e
 B gu_od né'it' en du_one be'i se shàrp et kroo'in óer

T e bɒdi egjɛ'n, wɛn dhi tAAk'n e dhis dhàt en dh)u_odher.
 M e bɒdi egjɛ'n, wɛn i tA'ks ebáit a'ut.
 S wɒn egjɛ'n, wɛn dhi)tɛln ebáit anithiqk.
 G ani bɒdi egjɛ'n, tAAk'n a'ut.
 B ani bɒdi egjɛ'n, wɛn e'i)z tAAkín ebáit anithiqk.

15. T it)s e pæ'uer fæ'u es tA'ks widháit sens.
 M ii z e kriizi fæ'u ez tA'ks báit sens.
 S it)s e)soft fæ'u ez)tAAks báit sens.
 G prɛts ríez'n.
 B it)s e wik' [soft] fáu us tA'ks [prɛts] widháit sens.

T dhat)s wɒt A' thiqk ebáit it.
 M en dhat)s AA ez A')v gjet'n t' sii ebáit it.
 S en)dhat)s AA ez)A')v gjet'n t' see.
 G av [(gjet'n) omitted].
 B en dhat)s wɒt A')v gɒt [gɒt'n] fer sii ebáit it nâi.

T sɐ gu_od nɪt.
 M gu_od nɛit [nɪt].
 S gu_od nɪt.
 G lād.
 B su gu_od nɛ'it tɐ ʒoo fooks.

Notes to Var. i. Turporley cs., p. 414.

1. *you will-en*, (jii'n) or (jii)n.—*going to say*, the *to* idiomatically omitted.—*but*, in all M. English there is a great tendency to alter *t* into (r) under such circumstances, as (gjerin ɔn) getting on, par. 5, p. 415.

2. *they*, shortened to (dhi) unaccented, in the same way as *thee* is thus shortened in par 3, p. 415.

4. *from the first*, the def. art. omitted.—*that I did*, the unaccented *I* becomes (æ) or (o) uncertain, here and often.

5. *they if were*, the (ɛv) is intended for *if*.

6. *and all*=also or too, a common addition in several dialects.

7. *any how she*, for *she*, *hoo* is employed, which always becomes (æ'u) in this dialect.—*what do-en you think*, only the *n* of *do-en* remains.

8. *found the drunken*, the *the* assimilated to suspended (t'), only the silent position being suspended and not the voiced (d') continued, although it occurs

between two (d). Hence the (-d t' d-) shew a continuous position, first with voice, secondly without, and thirdly with voice again, and the effect of the (t') is very clear.

9. *good Sunday coat* or (best kæ'uɛt).—*close*, with initial (tl) for (kl) as usual.—*lane*, although this word is A'- it generally follows the analogy of A-, and hence we should have expected (liin) instead of (leen), which is found in T, M, B. S has (loon) from the ags. lone, another form of lane.

10. *beldering* or (wiznin) *whizzening*, seem to be local words. Holland's Ch. Glossary has *bedderin*, bellowing, heard at Macclesfield, Darlington has *belder*.

12. *while, boiling*, observe the (ɛ'i) and compare (vɛ'is'), par. 5, p. 415, and (wɛ'i'), par. 0, p. 414; in the case of *while*, (wáil) would have been anticipated.

14. *for to crow* with the *to* omitted as usual.

Notes to Var. ii. Middlewich cs., p. 414.

3. *tin*, a regular Ch. form of *till*.—*thou wilt*, here (dha) where (dhái) would have been expected.

5. *any day that I would*, or (AA noo) I know with *I* emphatic, given as a variant.

6. *if you will-en only ask her*, the informant gave as a variant (ɛn ɛv ʒɐ [ʒo] wu_oɛ biléiv méi [biléiv mɪ], gu ɛn aks æ'r), and if you won't believe me, go and ask her. The double forms (íi, éi) are both in use, and the former often becoming (íi) at Bickley,

is then difficult to distinguish from the latter.

7. *ought not to be wrong* with the *to* suppressed.

9. *retch*, reach or stretch, dialect word.

11. *for dry*, that is, to dry, Ch. idiom.

12. *a week since on Thursday*, or (ɛ wik sin' t' nɛks θarzdɪ), a week since the next Thursday, to express future time definitely.

14. *night* or (nɪt).

Notes to Var. iii. Pott-Shrigley cs., p. 414.

1. *lad* or (:tu_omez, :tu_om, sɛri) Thomas, Tom, Sirrah.—*thee*, the emphatic form of *you* is (ʒoo, ʒɔ), whether used as singular or plural. Children and young people generally *thou* each other whether familiar or not; older people only when familiar from youth; but adults *thou* children, and parents their own children of all ages; husbands and wives generally *thou* each other. *To thou* a senior is an offence.

5. *in a minute*, or (ɛs) sɛ'ʊn)ɛz i)ɪɐrd)it) as soon as he heard it.

7. *two or three*, or (tæ'uthri) two-three.

14. *home*, the words (wɛ'm, kɛ'm) home come, are peculiar, they approximate at first to (wɛ'm kɛ'm) "the vowel, however," says T.H., "is slightly on the way from (ɛ') to (ə')", and these words have the same pron. at Poynton, Norbury, and Disley, Ch."

Notes to Var. iv. Burslem cs., p. 414.

2. *because* or (bikôuz, bikas, bikos). —do not, the (r) euphonic.—is not, or (izne).—*likely* or (la'ikli), and generally the diphthong printed (ai) shades into (A'i), and would be so heard by many.

4. *through*, the form assigned is probably a mere individuality for the usual (thræ'u).—*safe* or (shæ'uer).

6. *too*, or (ta'u), the other must have been an individuality.—*ask*, (eks) newer form.

7. *asked*, (ekst) newer form.—*two* or (ta'u).

8. *beast*, or (bist), the word (talək)

is explained by Darlington as "a good-for-nothing idle person, a ragamuffin."

10. *world*, (warld) new form.—*the old Grange bull*, refers to a local history of a dangerous bull kept at the Grange farm near Burslem.

11. *daughter*, the form here given must be individual.—*dry*, here and in many other cases not noted (ai), as already stated, par. 2, shades into (A'i).

12. *fine*, or (bré'it) bright.

13. *you*, or (joo).—*and you have-n got it just as I've got it.*

14. *home*.—*my supper's waiting on [for] me.*

WEST AND SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. from Alvanley (:AAV'nli), Ashton, Beeston, Broxton, Churton, Great Neston, Hatton Heath, Helsby, Nantwich, Tarporley, Waverton. The places are not distinguished. See also the cwl. for Bickley on next page.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- letter A (aa). —tiin [ta'en, taken]. 21 niim. 23 siim. —giim [game]. 31 liitli [lately]. A: 54 want. 56 wesh. A: or O: 64 ru_oqg. A'- 67 gəz ga'z gæ'uin. 72 æ'u æ'ue. 74 tæ'ù. 76 tæ'ued. 81 leen. 84 mæ'uer. 86 wu_ots. 87 tlæ'uez. 89 bæ'ueth. 92 noo. A': 105 ròd. 113 æ'ueh. 115 wa'm. 118 boon. 122 næ'u. 124 stoon. 125 oonli.

Æ- 138 fidher. 152 wiiter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 194 ani. 197 tjiiz. Æ': 214 niidher. 216 dæel. 223 dhæier. 224 wæier.

E- letter E (ii). 232 briik. 233 spiik. E: 261 sii. 262 wii. 263 ewii. 265 stre'it. —fiild [field]. 269 -sel. E'- 290 íi é'í. 292 me'í. 293 wii. 301 íier. E': 305 A'i ái. 312 íier. 316 neks+t [in pause].

EA- 320 kjeer. EA: 326 æ'ud. 330 æ'ud. 332 tæ'ud. 334 iiv. 338 kaa. EA'- 348 áiz. 349 fæ'u. EA': 359 niiber. EI- 373 dhi [unemphatic]. EO: 399 bræit bræt. EO'- 411 thrü. 412 [hoo (æ'u, used)]. EO': 425 lüt. 426 fe'it. 427 bá. 428 sáin [seen]. 435 joo. 437 tre'uth. EY- 438 dæ'in [dying]. EY: 439 tru_ost.

I- 446 náin. I: 458 niit níit náit. 459 ráit. 465 sitj. 466 tjáilt. 480 thiqq. I'- 494 táimz. —báit ba'it [bite]. I': 500 láik. 502 fáiv. 505 we'if. 506 wu_omen. 510 ma'in máin. —swé'in [swine].

O: 528 thæ'ut. 535 fèk. —ma'vernin [morning, from Huxley Green]. O'- 557 tæ'u. 558 læ'uk. 559 mu_odher. 560 skü skæ'ü. O': —kæ'uk [cook]. 579 enu_of. 586 dæ'u. 588 næ'm. 594 bæ'ut.

U- 603 ka'm. 604 su_omer. 606 dæ'uer. U: 609 fu_ol. 616 gráind. 619 fu_ond. 634 thræ'ù. U'- 641 ái. 643 naa nâi. 650 ebáit. 651 widháit. U': 658 dáin. 663 áis. 666 u_ozbent.

Y- 673 mu_otj. Y: 701 fæst fast. Y'- 706 we'í.

II. ENGLISH.

O. 761 lud. 767 náiz. U. 797 sku'æk'in.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 tiis. 811 pliiis. 813 biik'n. —südj [sage]. —thæier [clear]. —kiin [cane]. —sliit [slate]. —pliit [plate]. —stiishen [at Mouldsworth]. —reliishen. 866 pæ'uer. E.. 867 tii. 890 bíiest. I.. and Y.. 898 náis. O.. —bíif [beef]. 925 ve'is. 938 ka'rner. 939 tlòs. 940 ka'unt. 941 fæ'ù. 947 be'ül. 950 su_oper. 955 dáits. U.. —træ'uent [truant]. 963 kwáit. 969 shæ'uer.

NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

from wn. by TH. from Burslem, Froghall, Leek, Leek Frith, Longport, Rocester, Tunstall. The places are not distinguished.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 meek. 17 la'u. 21 neem. 22 teem. 23 seem. A: 40 kəm. 56 wesh. A: or O: 60 lu_gg. 64 ru_gg. A'- 70 tuu. 72 uu. 73 suu. 74 tū. 81 leen. 82 wu_gust. 84 muer ma'uer. 87 thuu. 89 būth. 92 noo. A': 104 rood. 111 A't. 113 wool. 115 woom wa'm wə'm. 117 wan- [connected], wa'n [in pause]. 122 næ'u. 124 stuun.

Æ- 138 feedher. 152 weeter. Æ: 161 dii. Æ'- 183 tē'it. 195 meni. 197 tje'iz ([tjiz] at Leek Frith). 200 wiit. Æ': 210 thii. 214 niidher. 223 dhier. 224 wier.

E- 233 spiik. 241 riin. 244 wē'l. 251 miit. E: 261 sii. 262 wi. 263 ewii. 265 stre'it. — fē'ild [field]. 287 be'izemz. E'- 290 e'i. 291 dhe'i. 292 me'i. 293 wē'i. 299 gre'in. E': 312 ier.

EA- — shiik [shake]. EA: 326 a'ud. 328 kja'ud. 331 sē'ud. 332 tē'ud. 334 aaputh [halp'orth old, new (eputh)]. 338 kaa. 346 jet. EA'- 347 jē'd. 348 aiz. EA': 350 dje'd. 359 niiber. — ier [year]. 366 griit. 371 straa. EO- — bru_gnt [burnt]. EO'- 411 thre'i. 412 [(a'r) her used]. EO': 426 fe'it. 427 be'i. 428 se'id [see'd=saw]. 437 trō'uth. EY- 438 de'ii. EY: 439 tru_gst.

I- letter I (A'i). 440 wik. 446 nāin. 448 dhe'iz. I: 452 ai, A-. — brid [bird]. 458 ne'it. 459 re'it. 467 wē'ild. 480 thi_gg. I'- 492 sa'id. I': 500 lāik. 505 wē'if. 509 wē'il. 513 wē'ier. — wē'it [white].

O- 524 wōld. O: — sru_gb [shrub]. 531 da'ut'er [Burslem], da'uter [Leek], da'ut'er [Froghall]. 535 fōks. 537 mē'ud. 552 kaa. O'- 555 shē'u. 558 lā'uk. 559 mādher [Leek Frith], mādher [Rocester], ma'dher [Longton]. 560 skā'ul skā'ul skūu. 562 mā'un [Rocester]. O': 569 bē'uk. — ka'uk [cook]. 579 enu_gf. 583 tē'ul. 586 dū. 587 dū_gn. 588 nā'vun nā'un. 591 muer [by Mr. Daniels, of Leek, who called more (ma'uer)].

U- 603 kam. 604 su_gmer. 605 sū n. 606 dæ_gr, dæ'r [an old form at Leek]. U: 616 grāind. — bu_gn [bound, as a book]. 623 fu_gnd. 634 thra'vū. U'- 640 kjāi. 641 ai. 643 naa nāi. 650 ebāit. 651 widhāit. U': 658 dāin. 663 ais. 665 māis. 667 āit.

Y- 674 did. 675 drāi. Y'- 706 wē'i. Y': 712 mē'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 lād. I. and Y. 756 srimp. O. 761 luud. 767 nāiz. U. 797 skwikin. 798 kwier. — ori [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 pleez'n [places]. 824 tjier. — tiiler [tailor]. — griin [grain]. 851 ānt aant. 857 kjēs. 862 sēf. E.. 867 ti. 890 bis [beasts=cows]. I.. and Y.. — mishe'in [=machine]. O.. 920 pe'int. 925 vāis. 939 tlōs. 940 kuut. 947 be'ilin. 955 dāits. U.. — wiit [wait, at Burslem]. 963 kwēit. 964 shē'u'it. 965 e'il. 969 shē'uer.

SOUTH CHESHIRE OR BICKLEY CWL.

by Mr. Darlington, of Bickley, written in glossic for his Folkspeech of s.Ch., pp. 15-29, and here transliterated and rearranged by permission.

A- 3 biik. 4 tak tee. — wak'n [to make awake, get up]. 5 mak mee. 14 draa. 15 aa. 20 liim. 21 niim. — skraap [scrape]. 28 eer. — skiter [scatter]. 33 riidher reedher. 35 naal. 36 foo. A: — om [ham]. 39 kē'um. 41 theqk. 43 ont eqkīt [handkerchief]. 44 land. — stōnd [stand].

46 kand'l. — gander [gander]. 47 wander. 48 su_oq. 49 eq. 50 tu_oqz. — kən [can]. 51 mən. 52 ween. — pən [a pan]. 54 want. 55 es. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 frəm. 59 lam. 60 lu_oq. 61 emu_oq. 62 stru_oq. 64 rang ru_oq. 65 su_oq. 66 thu_oqk. A'- 69 nē'u. 70 too. 72 æ'ue. 76 tæ'ued. 81 liin. 83 moon. 84 mæ'uer. 85 soor. 87 klæ'uez. 89 bæ'ueth. 91 moo. A': 101 ook. 104 rood. 106 brood. 108 dof. 111 æ'ut. 112 æ'ul. — Aaf [an oaf]. 115 wəm. 117 elæ'uēn [alone]. 122 nē'u. 124 ston. — 134 lōth [loath]. 135 klōth.

Æ- 138 fīdher fēedher. 141 niil. 143 tiil. 146 miin. — te'iem [teem, pour out, empty]. 150 lē'iest. 152 wiiter water [as a vb.] waater [as a sb.] weeter. 153 seterdi. — prati [pretty]. Æ: 154 bak. 155 thet_ɪ. — atpērn [acorn]. — sheed [a shade]. 156 ædher [an adder]. — gedher [gather]. 161 dii. 163 lē'i. 166 miid'n. — baartet [barefoot]. — ewaar [aware]. 172 gres. — rōt [a rat]. 180 bath. Æ'- 184 lē'ied. 185 rē'id. — spriid [spread]. 187 lē'iev. 188 nii. 189 wē'i. 192 mē'ien. 194 ani. 195 meni. 196 wōn [= (wōr-en)]. 199 blaāt. 202 jēt. Æ': 204 dē'id. 205 thrid. 207 nē'id'l. 210 klii. 212 wi. 216 dēl d_ɪel dē'iel. 217 ē'it_ɪ. 218 shē'ip. 219 slē'ip. 221 fē'ier. 222 jæ'uer [see No. 222, p. 347]. 223 dhē'ier. 224 wē'ier. 226 mæ'uest. — rōs'l [wrestle]. 228 swat swāt. — jēth [heath]. — shēth [sheath]. 230 fat.

E- 232 briik. 234 nēd. — triid [tread]. — stīd [stead]. 235 wē'iev. 237 bliin. 239 siil. 247 ween. — ēt'n [eaten]. — fīdher [feather]. E: — fāt_ɪ [fetch]. 260 lii. 261 sii. 262 wi. 264 iil. 265 strē'it. 267 jild. 269 sel. 270, ii, bali. 278 wensh. 284 thresh. 287 bē'izēm. E'- 289 jee. 290 ē'i. 291 dhē'i. 294 fē'id. — stē'il [steel]. 299 grē'in. 300 kiip. — shē'it [sheet]. E': 305 hāi. 306 ē'it. 307 nāi. 308 nē'id. 310 ē'il. 312 ē'ier.

EA- 317 flē'i. 319 gaap. EA: 323 fēt'n fæ'ut'n. 324 ē'it. 328 kē'ud. 330 æ'ud. 331 sē'ud. 332 tē'ud. 333 kaa^f. 334 eef iif. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. — æ'up [holp=helped]. 340 joord. — soord [sward, rind]. 343 waarm. 345 daar. — joorn [yarn]. 346 giit. EA'- — shad'n [past part., shed], shē'id. 347 jēd. 348 āi [pl. (ē'in)]. — lē'iep [leap]. — jē'u [hew]. 349 fīā'u. EA': 350 d_ɪed. 354 shōf. 355 d_ɪef. 356 lē'ief. 359 niiber. — shēm [seam]. 360 t_ɪēm te'īm. — bē'iem. 361 bē'ien. 363 t_ɪep. — stē'ip [steep]. — loos [loose]. 365 naar. 366 griit. 368 d_ɪeth. — d_ɪæ'u [dew]. 371 strii. EI- 374 nii. 375 riiz. 376 biit. EI: 379 iil. EO- 386 jē'u. 387 nē'ū. EO: 390 shū_od. 394 jander. 395 ju_oq. 399 brē'it. — baarm [barm, yeast]. 402 laarn. EO'- 409 bē'i. 410 æ'u. 411 thrē'i. 413 dē'l. 414 flē'i. 415 lig. — ep [hip berry]. 416 dē'ier. 417 t_ɪæ'u. 418 bræ'u. 419 joor. EO': 423 thāi. 425 lē'it. 426 fē'it. 427 bē'i. 431 bē'ier. 434 bet. 435 joo joor [your]. 436 træ'u. 437 træ'uth. EY- 438 dē'i. EY: 439 tru_ost.

I- 440 wik. 442 ivi. 443 frāidi. 444 stē'il. 446 nāin. — sene [sinew]. 447 ər. — sheer. 448 dhē'iz. I: 452 āi. 453 skwat_ɪ [cowitch grass]. 454 wīt_ɪ. 455 lāi. 458 nē'it. 459 rē'it. 460 wē'it. 462 sē'it. 465 s_ɪt_ɪ. 466 t_ɪāilt. 467 wē'ild. 469 willan [to will], wu_ol. 473 blāind. 475 wē'ind. 477 fāind. — bih'nt [behind]. 478 grāind. 485 fīs'l. 487 jē'sterdii. 488 jat. I'- 491 sāik. 494 tāim. 498 rāit. 499 bet'l. I': — dē'it_ɪ [ditch]. 500 lāik. — wē'it_ɪ [-wich in names of towns, as Nantwich]. 501 wē'id. 502 fāiv. 503 lāif. 505 wē'if. 507 wu_omen. 508 māl. 509 wē'il. 510 māin. 511 wē'in. 512 spāier. 513 weer. 514 āis. 515 wē'iz.

O- [Here Ch. almost universally follows the standard English and only exceptions are marked.] — brōk [broke]. — shæ'uv [shove]. — stæ'un stæ'ul'n stōon [stolen]. O: [Only exceptional pronunciations noted.] — kraif [croft]. 526 [(æ'us) is used, Ws. hwōsta]. 528 thæ'ut. 529 bræ'ut. 531 dæ'uter. 536 gæ'uld. 538 wu_od. 539 bæ'u. — swæ'ul'n [swollen]. — æ'up'n [holpen, helped]. 542 bæ'ut. — krap [crop]. 546 far. 547 bæ'uērd. — tharn [thorn]. — ɔs [horse]. — greslat [grassplot]. — goth [girth]. O'- 555 shæ'u. 559 mu_odher. 560 skæ'u. — gæ'um [gum of a tooth]. 563 mu_ondi. 566 u_odher. O': 569 bæ'uk. 570 tæ'uk. 571 gu_od. 572 blu_od.

575 *stæd*. 577 *bæ'u* *bæ'u*. 578 *plæ'u*. 579 *enæ'u*. — *pæ'u* [pool]. 584 *stæ'u* [stool]. 587 *dæ'u*. 595 *fæ'ut*. 596 *ra'ut*. 597 *sæ't*.

U- 599 *ebæ'u*. 600 *læ'u*. 601 *fæ'ul*. 602 *sai*. — *thom* [thumb]. 603 *ku'm*. 606 *dæ'r* *dæ'uer*. 607 *bæ'ter*. U: 609 *fæ'l*. — *pæ'u* [pull, same as for pool, top line above]. 614 *aind*. 616 *gráind*. 617 *sáind*. 619 *fæ'nd*. 620 *gru'n*. 621 *wu'n*. — *oonder* [undern]. — *bore* [borough]. 634 *thræ'u*. — *kas* [curse]. 635 *wath*. — *rást*, *ra'ust* [rust]. 639 *du'st*. U- 640 *kái*. 642 *dhái*. 644 *sæ'k* [suck]. 645 *dæ'u*. 646 *bæ'u*. — *stæ'up* [stoop]. 648 *aar*. 650 *ebáit* *ebæ'ut*. U: — *bæ'uk* [bucket]. 655 *fái*, *fæ'u* [ugly]. 656 *ræ'um*. 657 *bráin* *bræ'um*. 658 *dáin*. 661 *shæ'uer*. 662 *u'z*. 663 *ais*. 665 *máis* *mæ'us*. — *kláit* [a clout]. 671 *máith* *mæ'uth*.

Y- 676 *lái* *lig*. 677 *drái*. 680 *bizi*. — *du'zi* [dizzy]. Y: 686 *bái*. 688 *saij*. — *shili* [shelf]. 690 *ke'ind*. 691 *ma'ind*. — *dent* [dint or blow]. 700 *was*. 701 *fæst*. Y- — *kje'i* [ky, kine=cows]. 705 *skái*. 706 *we'i*. 707 *tharte'in*. 708 *áier*. Y: 709 *fáier*. — *pismá'uer* [pismire]. 711 *léis*. 712 *méis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *mæ'get* [maggot]. 723 *diiri*. 733 *skjaarkroo* [scarecrow]. — *ske'it* [skate]. 741 *maa'zi*. E. 743 *skræ'm*. — *taligraif* [telegraph]. I. and Y. — *skráik* [shriek]. — *læmber* [limber, limp?]. — *splent* [splint]. 757 *tiini*. — *sterep*. O. 761 *læ'ued*. 763 *raam*. — *sæ'k* [sock, a ploughshare; either Fr. soc. or Welsh swch]. — *nu'd* [nod]. 766 *mæ'idherd*. — *ra'ul* [to roll]. 771 *fand'l* [fondle]. — *læ'up* [loop]. — *flæ'p* [flop]. — *loo'z* [lose]. — *geslín* [gosling]. — *natj* [notch, a cog]. — *pæ'uer* *pæ'uer* [pour]. 790 *bædgin* [bedgown]. U. — *dæ'uk* [to duck, bend down]. 797 *skæ'ak* [squeak]. — *trænd'l* [trundle]. — *paansh* [paunch]. — *aansh*, *aanzh* [hunch]. 805 *kræ'dz*. — *or* [hurry]. — *skæ'ri*. — *is'l* [to move along the ground, to hustle?].

III. ROMANCE.

Generally only irregular words are given.

A.. — *ketj* [catch]. 824 *tjæ'uer* *tjæ'uer*. — *maa* [a mall]. — *mester* [master]. 852 *apærn*. 866 *pæ'uer*. E.. 868 *djii*. — *pil* [peel]. — *rikempens* [recompense]. 871 *egre'i*. 878 *salæri*. — *jaarb* [herb]. — *rifer* [refer]. 887 *klaardji*. — *jaarn* [heron]. — *mæ'zer* [measure]. 893 *flæ'uer*. I.. and Y.. 898 *ne'is*. — *segg'l* [single]. — *rens* [to rinse]. 909 *bræ'iz*. 911 *sestern*. O.. — *pæ'utj* [to poach]. 920 *peint*. 921 *ækwæ'int*. 924 *tjæ'is*. 926 *spe'il*. — *kæ'antert*. 929 *kái-ku'mber*. — *koord* [cord]. 939 *klæ'us*. 940 *kæ'uet*. 941 *fæ'u*. — *æ'u* [a hoe]. 944 *elái*. 945 *væ'u*. 949 *mæ'uld*. 952 *kæ'uers*. 955 *dáit*. — *ráit* [route, which many people call (ra'ut) in rec. sp.]. U.. 963 *kwæ'ut*, *kwæ't*. 966 *fræ'ut*. — *pilpæt* [pulpit]. — *skwæ'ril* [squirrel]. — *skweer* [a squire].

D 26 = e.MM. = eastern Mid Midland.

Boundaries. Begin on Combs Moss, opposite Black Edge ($1\frac{1}{2}$ n. Buxton, Db.), and pass s. along the summits of Long Hill and Burbage Edge to Moss House on b. of Ch. Here go ssw., taking in a small strip of Ch., and enter St. about Quarndon between Flash and Leek Frith. Pass over the hills called the Roaches (*ra'utprez*), and sweep se. on w. of Butterton, e. of Grindon, and through Blore. Then turn s. to the e. of Stanton and Ellastone, and proceed sw. to Rocester (*rooster*), through St.: this is the e. b. of D 25. Then follow the Db. b. along the Trent to Repton, just s. of the river, and then probably (but not with absolute certainty) across the s. peninsula of Db. to the Trent again, where it forms the b. of Db., and pursue this border e. and n. round to Stanedge. Then turn w. passing over Bamford Edge, s. of Hope, but n. of Castleton, and by Back Tor to Mam Tor [misprinted Man Tor on p. 315], where turn s. along the e. b. of Peak Forest Liberty to Hay Dale, and then to the starting-point. From Stanedge this is the s. b. of D 21. This minute description is due to TH.

The s. part of this b. from Repton across the Db. peninsula is uncertain, the country not having been well explored. But the dialect has a s.Db. or Le. character.

Area. This district comprises all Db. s. of the line which divides the North from the South Peak, with the exception of the peninsula between St. and Le., and contains also a narrow slip to the e. of St.

Authorities. See County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‖ so., ° io.

Db. †Alvaston, †Ashbourne, †Ashford and Bakewell, †Ashover, †Bamford, †Barlborough, †Belper, †Bolsover, †Bradwell, †Brailsford, °†Brampton, †Castleton, †Chellaston, †Chesterfield, °Codnor, †Codnor Park, †Combs Valley, †Crich, †Cromford, *†Derby, †Doe Hill, †Dronfield, †Eckington, †Eyam, †Foolow, †Great Hucklow, †Hathersage, †Heanor, †Higham, †Idridgehay, †Ilkeston, †Little Hucklow, †Matlock Bath, †Middleton by Wirksworth, †Middleton by Youghgrave, †Milford, †Morton, °Norton, †Quarndon, °†Repton, †Ripley, †Sandiacre, †South Wingfield, †Stenson, †Stretton, †Sutton, †Taddington, †Tideswell, †Twyford, †Unstone, †West Hallam, †Whittington, †Winstar, °†Wirksworth.

St. †Alstonefield, †Flash, †Rocester, †Stake Gutter Farm.

It will be seen that the whole of my information for this district comes through TH., who is a native of Db., and has frequently travelled over the country on foot and by rail during many years for the purpose of examining the dialect. In fact I am able to give only a very small part of his collections.

Character. As a whole the character of this dialect may be given as: A- (æ), A' (úv, uu, oo), E' (E'i), I' (ái), O' (ǽ'u) most distinctive, and U' (aa¹, aa). But there are many slight differences. It seems best to distinguish at least four varieties, though the distinctions are neither strong nor always consistently marked, Var. i. northern, or the South Peak, Var. ii. western, Var. iii. eastern, and Var. iv. southern.

Var. i. The Northern, or the South Peak form (the n. Peak is part of D 21), generally has (dii) and not (dee) day. O' is regularly (ǽ'u), though (æ'u), which probably generated (ǽ'u), is still heard. U' is occ. (áu), but regularly (aa¹). This dialect extends over all the s. and sw. slopes of the Peak as far s. as Winstar.

Var. ii. The Western has regularly (dii, sii) day, say. O' is regularly (ǽ'u), but occ. (æ'u). U' is regularly (aa¹), but occ. (áu) in Db., and regularly (áu) in St.

The (kh) was heard here from the fathers and grandfathers of living people. The dental (t.r., d.r) has also been heard here sporadically. This variety extends from Winstar to Ashbourne, and over the small slip of St.

Var. iii. The Eastern shades off to D 24 and 27. In the n. part (dee) is regular, though (dii) is found, but at Ashover and further s. (dii) becomes regular. I' seems to be regularly (ǽ'i), a degeneration of (ái). Singularly enough U' becomes (ái) in a few places, as in D 25, and (á¹a) has been heard, which is intermediate between (ái, áa), and is found also in D 27. But áu, áí are exceptions, and (aa) is the general form. This variety extends from the n. b. on the e. of the ridge of hills which runs down the middle of Db., as far s. as Ilkeston, but the separation of (dee, dii) indicates a difference at a few miles s. of Chesterfield. There is another ridge passing n. to s. through Bolsover, and to the e. of this the verbal pl. in -en does not extend. It is doubtful whether that portion of D b. should not rather be included in Nt. D 27, as the configuration of the country also suggests, but in the absence of sufficient information the county b. has been followed. Northward, Chesterfield, Unstone, Dronfield, and Norton approach very closely to D 24, which at Rotherham and Sheffield has the verbal pl. in -en. The chief distinction is therefore in the treatment of O' as (ǽ'i) in D 24, and its treatment as (ǽ'u) in D 26. Though in deference to the feeling of the inhabitants that their speech differs materially from Yo., I now include the whole of this region in D 26, I at one time included

Dronfield and Chesterfield in the same district with Rotherham and Sheffield. As far as pron. and grammar are concerned, the distinction seems to be very slight.

Var. iv. Southern. There are only two points in which this variety is clearly distinguished from the others. O' is regularly (iu, iɪu), and U' regularly (eau, iau), a triphthong arising out of (au'), according to TH.'s observations, by lengthening the transverse opening of the mouth, which action in my own speech leads rather to (aɪu, eɪu). The triphthong is very neatly uttered, the first element being remarkably short, so that (dɛaun) down approaches (dɪaun). The (iu) is another derivative from (æ'u), such as we have in D 19, and hence can only be regarded as a variety like (æ'u) itself, neither (iu) nor (æ'u), having entirely displaced (æ'u). But for some time I was inclined to make the part of Db. s. of Quarndon (3 nw. Derby), at which the s. character seems to commence, a part of what is now D 29.

Throughout all these varieties, except perhaps to the e. of Bolsover, the verbal pl. in -en is heard, the definite article is (th), sometimes (dh) before vowels and voiced consonants and (s, f, t') by assimilation, but in the n. parts of Var. iii. (t') seems to be used exclusively, as it is in most of D 24.

Illustrations. TH. had with great pains and trouble obtained for me eight es. and six dt. to illustrate this s. and m. part of his native county, as a contrast to his native region Chapel-en-le-Frith, in the North Peak, D 21. These I give first, arranged so as to bring their resemblances and differences prominently forward. And I adopt for this purpose most of TH.'s minute distinctions. These shew the relations of the four varieties very clearly. But I have added also seven dt. similarly arranged bringing out the character of Var. iii. in especial. Then follow some specimens chiefly for Var. ii. and the Bolsover form of Var. iii. Finally I add a cwl. for each variety arranged from the wn. by TH. at the places mentioned.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE es.

The following eight es. were written in pal. by TH., mostly from direct dictation. In conjunction with the following dt. they illustrate the principal varieties of Db. pron.

Var. i. SOUTH PEAK.

1. *Bradwell* (:brade) (9 ne. Buxton), lying almost immediately south of the n. b. of D 26. This was pal. in 1876 from the dict. of S. Dakin, b. 1831, assisted by his father and brother, all shoemakers, natives and residents. This is the only place in the district which calls wait day pay (wæt dee pee) in place of (wiit dii piu), etc.

2. *Taddington* (:tad'ntun) (6 ese. Buxton), pal. by TH. from his own knowledge, but corrected by Mr. T. Oldfield, native, resident in Manchester.

3. *Ashford* (:ashfert, :ashfed) (9 ese. Buxton), pal. in 1874 5 from dictation of Mr. Joshua Birley of that place.

4. *Winst^r* (4 nw. Matlock Bath), pal. in 1874 from his own knowledge by TH., and submitted twice to Mr. Wm. Rains, native, resident in Manchester 25 years, his cousin, Mr. W. Foxlow, grocer, b. 1830, and Foxlow's assistant, b. 1850, the last two of whom had only just moved from Winst^r to Manchester, and spoke the dialect purely.

Var. ii. WESTERN DB.

5. *Ashbourn* (:ashbern, :ashben) (10 sw. Matlock Bath), first version pal. in 1874, from dict. of B. Plant, sexton and native.

6. *Ashbourn*, second version pal. in 1876 from dict. of J. Coxon, b. 1800, then a farm-labourer, and his wife, b. 1819, both natives and constant residents.

Var. iii. EASTERN DB.

7. *Brampton* (Old 3 w., New 1½ sw. Chesterfield), pal. 1873 from dict. of Mrs. Bennett, b. about 1825, and her husband, b. 1823, both natives of New Brampton, who resided there and spoke the dialect till 1848, visiting the place frequently afterwards. The dt. was subsequently corrected where necessary from inquiries made by TH. at New Brampton in 1873. This specimen is peculiar in using (ái, for U', found in very few places. But TH. informs me that in 1883 he found (ái, âi) for U' at Dore (3 nw. Dronfield), Totley (3 wnw. Dronfield), Holmsfield (2 wsw. Dronfield), Dronfield Woodhouse (6 nw. Chesterfield), Chesterfield (from an elderly man), Old Brampton, and Brampton Moor, and also, together with (aa, aa'), at Ashover. This shows a small district near Chesterfield in which this peculiarity occurs.

Var. iv. SOUTHERN DB.

8. *Repton* (:rep'n) (7 ssw. Db.), pal. in 1876 by TH. from dictation of Mr. G. Smedley, native, once overseer and relieving officer, and always a constant resident, b. 1808. Smedley gave the refined form (âu) to U', but TH. has used (câu), the common form in the neighbourhood.

* * To shew the great resemblance between the several cs. here considered, when a word is *exactly* repeated in a following line, it is represented by (,) only. Hence whenever the reader sees (,), he must take the next printed word above it. Sometimes the passage has been altered, so that there are no corresponding words, and some lines or parts of lines are therefore entirely blank. But this will occasion no difficulty. The seven dt. which follow are treated in the same way. In these two sets of illustrations all TH.'s suspended final consonants are inserted, and the (,) is not used if two words differ in this respect.

0.	1	<i>Bradwell.</i>	wái	:dʒən)z	na'u	daats.
	2	<i>Taddington.</i>	,,	,,	na'u	dáuts.
	3	<i>Ashford.</i>	waa	,,	na'u	daa'ts.
	4	<i>Winster.</i>	wái	,,	,,	daats.
	5	<i>Ashbourne i.</i>	,,	,,	,,	dà'ts.
	6	<i>Ashbourne ii.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	<i>Brampton.</i>	wɔ'i	,,	no	dá'its.
	8	<i>Repton.</i>	wái	,,	no	déáuts.

1.	1	wel, lâr,	jə		mɛ	buudh	laf	vz	jə'n
	2	,, :tu_mɛz,	joo	vɪ	ɪm	,,	,,	ɛd	dhɪz
	3	,, :tu_m',	dhee	,,	,,	,,	buuth	,,	,,
	4	,, ,,	dhe'i	,,	,,	,,	buudh	ən	je
	5	,, meet,	dhe'i	,,	,,	,,	,,	lof	et
	6	,, :dʒɪm,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	,, :təmeɪz,	joo	,,	,,	,,	búedh	laf	ɛd
	8	,, :dʒɪm,	jə	,,	,,	,,	buudh	lof	et

1	v	má'nd,		A	du_o)ne	kéer	fer	dhat'.
2		ní'uz	v	má'n.	uu	kjээрz?		
3		,,	,,	,,	,,	,,		
4		,,	,,	,,	,,	kjээрz?		
5	A)m	gu'in)	t'	tel'jer.	,,	,,		
6	,,	,,	,,	tel'in	je.	,,	kjээрz?	
7		ní'uz	v	mə'in.	úv	,,		
8		,,	,,	má'n.	uu	,,		

1 dhat)s noodher e'ier ner dhier.

2 " " " " "

3 " " " " "

4 " " " " "

5 " niidher ier " "

6

7 " noodher " " "

8 " niidher " " "

2. 1 nobdi d'iz thrə'u bi'in laft àt.
 2 dher iz ne mənī ez d'īn bīkAAZ dhe)r ,, ,, dhat
 3 ,,) z nā'n ,, ,, de'iz kAAZ ,, ,, ,,
 4 ,, iz)ne ,, dhet ,, bīkAAZ ,, ,, ,, dhat
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ez d'iz ,, ,, laft ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, mēn de'iz bīkəs ,, ,, ,,
 7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ez d'īn kAAZ ,, laft ,,
 8 ,, ,, ,, ,, d'iz bīkAAZ ,, laft ,,

- 1 wət shed mak)em ? it)s nən
 2 wi noon, du)nt)ez ? ,, shu)d ,, ,, iz ner
 3 we'i ,, ,, wi ? ,, ,, ,, ,,)s nən
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, iz)ne
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 6 ,, ,, dhat'. ,, shed ,, ,, ,,
 7 wi ,, du)ne ,, ,, shu)d ,, ,, ,,
 8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, shed meek)em ? ,, ,, ner

- 1 e láikli thiqg et AA.
 2 veri láikli iz it ?
 3 ,, ,, ,, ,,
 4 ,, ,, ,, ,,
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,,
 6 ,, ,, is)t ?
 7 ,, ló'ikli iz it ?
 8 ,, láikli ,, ,,

3. 1 we'l ber le'mi tel)dhī
 2 et oni reet it wer e dhis'n, se dju)st ə'ud jer
 3 a)aa'ver ,, ,, ,, ,, suu ,, ə'ud dhi
 4 aasemier ,, ,, ,, ,, se ,, ə'ud ,,
 5 et oni reet ,, ,, ,, ,, sù ,, ,,
 6 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, su ə'ud ,,
 7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ap'nt ,, ,, se ,, ə'ud jer
 8 éaúsemiver dhis is f' fakt ,,)th mater, su ,, ə'ud ,,

1				weet	til)i)v	dæ'un.	
2	náiz,	men,	en	bi kwáivət	,,	,,	íer je.
3	,,	,,	,,	kwáivət	,,	dū _o n.	àrk dhi!
4	,,	,,	,,	kwáivət	,,	dæ'un.	àrk'n!
5	,,	,,	,,	kwáivət	,,	i)v dū _o n.	,,
6	,,	lād,			,,	A)v tæ'ùd dhi.	àrk-dhi!
7	ne'iz,	men	,,	kwáivət	,,	dū _o n.	,, je!
8	náiz,	,,	,,	kwáivət	,,	ái)n ,,	du _o n je íer!

4. 1	A)m	shæ'uer	A	íerd	em	see—	
2	A)m	sàrtin	A)	,,	,,	sii—A)miin	su _o m en em ez
3	A)m	,,	a	,,	,,	,,—	,, e dhe'iz fòk's ,,
4	A)m	shæ'uer	A)	,,	,,	,—A) ,,	,, e dhæ'uz ,,
5	,,	sàrtin	,,	,,	,,	,,— ,,	,, e dhæ'uz ,,
6	A)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,— ,,	,, e dhem fòk' ,,
7	A)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	see—	,, e)t' ,,
8	A)m	,,	,,	,,	,,	sii—	,, e dhooz fòks ,,

1	dhæ'ùz		vt nood	AA vbaat	it—	aa!	esh
2	went	thræ'u	th)w _o l	kensàrn	fre)th	farst	dhersel'z,—
3	,,	thræ'u	th)uul	thiqg	,,	,,	dhersen'z—
4	,,	,,	th w _o l	,,	,,	,,	,,—
5	,,	,,	,,	kensàrn	frém)th	fast	,,—
6	,,	thræ'u	dh)w _o l	thiqg			,, frum
7	,,	,,	t' w _o l	kensàrn	,,	)t' ,,	,,—
8	,,	,,	th ,,	thiqg	,,	)th farst	,,—

1			shæ'uer	ez	A)m	wik'.
2	dhat)i	dàd	shæ'uer	enu _o f.		
3	,,	)a	,,	,,	inu _o f.	
4	,,	)i	,,	,,	enu _o f.	
5	,,	A	,,	,,	,,	
6	farst	te	last.			
7	dhat A	dàd	seef	,,		
8	,,	,,	,,	séf	,,	

5. 1	et)th	ju _o qkst	lad	issen',	e griit)en	e nán	íer	æ'ùd,	nood
2	ez)	,,	ju _o qgist	lād	issel',	,,	big' lād	nân	íer ,,
3	,,	,,	,,	,,	issen',	,,	griit ,,	nân	,,
4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	big' ,,	,,	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6	es)	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
7	ez)t'	,,	,,	,,	,,	griit)en	n'ín	,,	,,
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	big' lād	nân	,,	,,

1 is feedhur tu_oqg in e minit,
 2 „ feedherz váis dírekli, ev it 'wær se
 3 „ „ „ es sá'un ez E'i ierd it, „ „ wær „
 4 „ „ „ in e minit, „ „ 'wær „
 5 „ „ váis' „ „ „ „ „ wær „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ wær „
 7 „ „ vó'is' es sá'un ez íi „ „ „ „ „ „
 8 „ „ váis' in e minit „ „ 'wær „

1 kwíer ez it iz, en A)m shæ'uer 'E'id speak)t' tríuth
 2 „ „ en skwí'k'in, en A)d tru_ost 'ím t)tel), „ „
 3 „ „ „ skwá'k'in, „ a)d „ „ fe)t spiik), træ'uth
 4 „ „ „ skwí'k'in, „ A)d „ „ t' tel), „ „
 5 „ „ „ „ „ bak' „ fer telín), „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ A kud tru_ost „ „ t' spiik)th tríuth
 7 „ „ „ skwí'ek'in „ „ d „ „ te tel)t' træ'uth
 8 „ „ „ skwí'k'in „ „ d „ „ fer)t' spiik)th „ „

1 oní aa, 'dhat i wú_od.
 2 „ dii „ „ „ „
 3 „ „ dhat a „ „
 4 „ „ A „ „ dhat'.
 5 „ „ „ „ „ dhàt.
 6 „ „ „ „ „ kú_od.
 7 „ dee 'dhat „ wú_od.
 8 „ dii „ „ „ „

6. 1 jò mi laf', ber)th æ'úd wu_oman ersen' el tel je,
 2 „ „ en)th „ „ „ „ „ „ oní
 3 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 4 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 5 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ en)dh „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ en)t' „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 8 „ „ en)dh „ „ „ „ „ „ „

1 dju_os' s seem,
 2 on je ez laf's naa, en tel je stre'itforut, tæ'u,
 3 „ „ „ iz laf'in naa¹, „ „ „ „ re'it à't, en aa,
 4 „ „ „ laf's naa, „ „ „ „ stre'it aat tæ'u,
 5 „ „ „ lof's naa¹, „ „ „ „ „ à't' „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ „ laf'n naa, „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 8 „ „ „ lof's nēáu, „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „

1			iv	je)n	gu	en	aks)er	—
2	báut	mítj	bədher,	ev	jo)n	oonli	,,	— oo!
3	widhaa't	oni	edæ,	iv	jo)l	,,	,,	— a)m
4	widhaat	,,	bədher,	ev	,,	,,	,,	— oo!
5	widhaa't	,,	,,	,,	jo)d	,,	eks)er	— ,,
6	,,	mítj	edæ'u,	if	jo)n	e máind t'	,,	— ,,
7	widháit	mu _o tj	bədher,	iv	,,	nəbet	aks er	— ,,
8	widhēáút	oni	,,	if	jo)l	oonli	,,	,, — ,,

1		
2		wu _o nt er?
3	shæ'uer æ'u	wu _o l, wu _o)nt ,,
4		,, e?
5		,, er?
6		,, e?
7		wi _o net ,,
8		wu _o nt er?

7.	1	ut	o'ni	reet,	æ'u	ta'ùd	'me'i	wan	A	akst)er
	2	,,	,,	,,	,,	it	,,	,,	,,	,,
	3	,,	,,	,,	,,		'mee on)t	,,	a	,,
	4	,,	,,	,,	,,		'me'i	,,	A	,,
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,		ekst)er
	6	aa'iver		æ'r	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,
	7	ut	,,	,,	æ'u	,,	'mæi	,,	,,	akst)er
	8	æáu,iver		æ'r	,,		'mei	,,	,,	,,

1	ta'uthri	táimz	óer,	en	'æ'u	fæaz)t'
2	ta'u	er	thre'è	,,	,,	shu _o d)ner
3	ta'uthri	,,	óer,	æ'u	dèd,	æ'ut)ne
4	ta'u	er	thre'è	,,	,,	wu _o)ne
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	æ'r shu _o d)ne
6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	æ'r ,,
7	tæ'ù	,,	thrà	tó'imz	,,	æ'u ,,
8	táuthri	táimz	,,	,,	æ'r	ed)ne à't te

1	noo	iv	onibədi	dæ'üz,	wəd)'n	joo
2	bi	ru _o qg	i	sítj	e	thiqg ez dhis', ,,
3	,,	,,	ebaa't	su _o tj	,,	,, wət
4	,,	,,	i	sítj	,,	,, wu _o t)'n je
5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,, wəd du _o n ,,
6	,,	,,	óer	,,	,,	,, shu _o d-e?
7	,,	rəqg	ebáit	,,	,,	,, wəd du _o n je
8	,,	ru _o qg	ən	su _o tj	,,	,, wət ,,

- 1 thi'qk ?
 2 „
 3 thi'qk'n ju ?
 4 thi'qk ?
 5 „
 6 „
 7 „
 8 „

8. 1 wA' ez A' wer tel'in ju, æ'u)d tel ju wíer
 2 wE'l „ A „ si'in, „ „ „ buudh áu en „
 3 „ „ a „ „ „ „ „ aa¹ „ wíer
 4 „ „ A „ si'in „ „ „ „ aa „ wíer
 5 „ „ „ „ „ æ'r'd „ „ „ aa¹ „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ „ „ see'in, æ'u)d „ „ búedh aa „ „
 8 „ „ áí wes „ æ'r'd „ jær éáu „

- 1 æ'u fu_n' im dru_qk ez mu_k'.
 2 en wen' „ fu_nd t' dru_qk'n slɔtj „ v kAAZ er
 3 „ „ „ fu_n' „ „ bíst „ „ „ „
 4 „ „ „ „ „ „ biíst „ „ „ „
 5 „ „ æ'r fu_nd) „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ „ „ „ „ pi'g' „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ æ'u fu_n') „ „ di'v'l „ æ'u kooz „
 8 „ „ æ'r fu_n'th „ „ bíst „ æ'r kAAZ „

- 1
 2 u_zbent.
 3 u_zbend.
 4 „
 5 „
 6 „
 7 u_zbend.
 8 u_zbend.

9. 1 æ'u di'tléert æ'u se'id im wi er oon e'in, en e'i wer láí'in
 2 „ sweer „ „ „ wiðh „ „ „ „
 3 „ swóer „ „ „ wi „ „ áiz, liid,
 4 „ swóer „ „ „ wiðh „ „ „ láí'in
 5 æ'r „ ez æ'r „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ æ'r „ „ „ „ „ „
 7 æ'u „ æ'u siid „ wi „ „ o'iz, lèg'in
 8 æ'r „ æ'r se'id „ wiðh „ „ áiz, láí'in

1	AA	ev	iz	leqkth	i)th	rood,	in	iz	gù'd	su_ondl
2	A'		"	"	u_ope)th	gráumd,	"	"	"	"
3	AA		"	"	on)th	graa'nd	wi	"	"	"
4	A'		"	"	on)t'	graa'nd	in	"	"	"
5	"		"	"	u_ope)th	graa'nd	"	"	"	"
6	stretjt	AA)z	"	"	on)th	"	"	)z	best	
7	oo		"	"	"	)t'	gráind	wi	iz	"
8	stretjt	AAl	"	"	"	)th	gréaund	in	"	gù'd

1	kuut	tlùs	et't'		dær,	daan	et't'
2	"	tlùs'	e's)sáid	e'th	áuz	"	dáun ,,)th
3	"	on',	tlùs'tu	er	oon	dúer	stuun, daa'n ,, ,,
4	"	tlùs'	te)th		aaz	dúer,	daan ,, ,,
5	tluuz,	"	te)th		aa's'	dóer,	daa'n ,, ,,
6	kuut,	"	egjen'dh		à's'	dúer,	" ,, ,,
7	kúet	on',	agjen)t'		áis'	dóer,	láin ,,)t'
8	kuut,	"	bi'dh		éaus'	dúer,	déaun ,,)th

1	bøtem	e)th	loon.
2	kørner	,, jønder	leen.
3	ka'rner	,, jønz	,,
4	kørner	,, jønder	,,
5	bøtem	,,)th	,,
6	ka'rner	,,)th	,,
7	kørner	,, jønd	,,
8	bøt'm	,,)th	,,

10.	1	E'i	wer	rúerin	en	bel'in	
	2	"	"	makin	e	náiz, æ'u	se'd, fer AA th)
	3	"	"	fret'in	ewii,	,, se'z, i	su_0tj e wii
	4	"	"	makin	e	náiz	,, se'd, ,, ,,
	5	"	"	"	"	,, ær	,,
	6	"	"	gruunin	ewii		,, ,, dh
	7	ii	"	makin	,,	ne'iz	,, óo)t'
	8	E'i	"	wáinin	ewii	,, ,,	,, AAl)th

1		láik	e	griit	søft	ka'f.	
2	wærlð	"	"	badli	tjái'lt,	er	e lît'l wentj kráin.
3	dju_ost	láik	"	"	"	"	"
4	wærlð	láik	"	"	"	"	skriimin
5	"	"	"	bà_l.			
6	"	"	"	píg	[swáin].		
7	wærlð	lái'k	"	badli	tjái'ld,	,, ,,	las' kráin.
8	"	láik	"	"	tjái'ld,	,, ,,	wentj in e temper.

11. 1 en it wer dju_ost es)th æ'ud wu_omen en er dæ'ut'er)
 2 „ dhat ap'nt, ez æ'r „ „ „
 3 „ it dju_ost suu „ „ „ „ „ „
 4 „ dhat „ „ buudh „ „ „ „
 5 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ wæ'r, „ „ „ „ „
 7 „ „ ap'nt, „ „ „ „ „
 8 „ „ ap'nd „ „ „ „ „

- 1 i)lAA kja'um thra'ù)th bak' fe'ud, fræ iqgin
 2 „ kæ'um thra'ù) „ bak jart wen dhi)d bin „
 3 „ kæ'um thra'ù) „ bak jard fræ „
 4 „ kjeem thra'ù) „ „ „ frem „
 5 „ kæ'm thra'ù) „ „ „ „ dhi)d bin „
 6 in „ „ thra'ù) „ „ „ frem „
 7 i „ kæmd thra'ù)t' „ „ „ aqgin
 8 „ „ kæ'm „)th „ „ „ iqgin

- 1 th) tluuz àt' wen dhi)d wesht em.
 2 „ wít „ áut t' drái e)th wesh'in dii.
 3 „ wet „ àt fe)t „ on) „ „ „
 4 aat t' „ fe)t' „ e) „ „ „
 5 th) „ àt' „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ „ t' „ e) dh wesh' „
 7 t' wet tluéz áit te dró'i on)t' wesh'in dee.
 8 th) „ tluuz „ drái on e wesh' dii.

12. 1 wáil)th kjet'l wer bæ'ilin fer)th driqkin, wæn fáin
 2 „ „ „ „ báilín „ „ tii, „ „
 3 wáil) „ „ „ báilín „ „ „ „ „
 4 wáil) „ „ „ báilín „ „ „ „ „
 5 „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
 6 „ „ tii- „ báild, wæn
 7 wó'il)t' „ „ bó'ilín „ „ wæn
 8 wáil)th „ „ wez báilín wæn „

- 1 su_omer dee i)th afternæ'ùn, en it)'l bi e
 2 brát afternæ'un i su_omer, „ „ oonli „ „
 3 bre'it' su_omer afternæ'un, „ „ „
 4 su_omerz „ „ „ „ „
 5 afternæ'un „ su_omer, „ „ „ „ „
 6 bre'it' su_omerz afternæ'un, „ „ „
 7 bró'it (briit) aftenæ'un „ su_omer „ „ „
 8 su_omer aftenæ'un „ „ „ „

1	we'ik' sin' t'	neks	tharzdì.
2	we'ik' ,, ,,	,,	,,
3	we'ik' ,,	,,	,,
4	,, ,,	,,	,,
5	wik' ,, ,,	,,	,,
6	,, ,,	,,	,,
7	wik' ,, kəm	,,	,,
8	wik' ,, t'	,,	,,

13. 1 en Jo noon, A niver ierd nē'ut' ebaat it sin'.
 2 ,, du_on JB noo? ,, ,, ,, nē'u muer e dhat
 3 ,, du_ont ,, SEE? a niver lənt əni muer abaa't ,,
 4 ,, du_ost dhe'i noo? A niver ierd nē'u muer ən't
 5 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 6 ,, du_on JB ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
 7 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ne ,, e ,,
 8 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ən't

1		ush shæ'uer ez mái neem)z wət ít
2	kensàrn te dhiz dii,	,, ,, ,, mi ,, :djən
3	bizniz u _o p' tìl tedii,	,, ,, ,, maa ,, :djak'
4	frem dhad dii te dhis',	,, ,, ,, mái ,, ,,
5	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, wət ít	
6	tìl tedii,	,, ,, ,, A'm ier
7	kensàrn te dhiz dee,	,, ,, ,, mō'i neem)z :djak'
8	frem dhàt dii te dhis'	,, ,, ,, mái ,, ,,

1	iz,	en A du _o)ne noo, en A du _o ne kjeer nē'ut' ne
2	:shepert,	,, ,, ,, want noodher, naa dhen'!
3	:sheped,	,, a ,,)ner ,, fe)t dæ noodher, dhat)s
4	,,	,, ,,)ne ,, t' dæ'u ,, ,, naa dhen'!
5	iz,	,, A ,, ,, wənt niidher, naa' ,,
6	,,	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
7	:sheperd,	,, ,, do)nt want noodher, dhe'er
8	,,	,, du _o ne wənt niidher, A'm

1 muer ebaat ít.
 2
 3 sàrtin.
 4
 5
 6
 7 naa!
 8 shæ'uer.

14. 1 en naa A)m gu)in wòm)p'mi su_per. gu_d ne'it',
 2 „ „ A)m „ wəm)p'mi „ „ „ „
 3 „ „ a)m „ wA)m fe't e mi „ naa¹. „ „ „
 4 „ „ A)m of te mi „ „ „ ne'it',
 5 „ naa¹ „ gu)in „ „ „ „ „ náit',
 6 „ su „ of wA)m „ „ „ „ „ ne'it',
 7 „ naa „ gu)in „ „ „ „ „ „ níit',
 8 „ néáu „ „ „ „ t'ee mi „ „ we¹ „ „ náit',

- 1 en du_o)ne bi se redi t' mag gjam' e onibadi
 2 „ „ „ „ „ t' kroo óer na'ubdi
 3 „ „ du_o)ner „ „ kwik' ebaat kroo)in óer „ badi
 4 làd, en du_o)ne „ „ redi t' mag gjam' „ u_bdi
 5 làd, en „ „ „ „ e makin gjam' „ onibadi
 6 „ „ „ „ „ t' kroo óer „ „
 7 „ do)nt „ „ shàrp te „ „ óer wə'n
 8 „ du_o)ne „ „ redi t' „ „ óer onibadi

- 1 egjE'n, wen dhi tAAK'n ebaat ɛ'ut'.
 2 „ „ „ „ „ ebaút „ „
 3 egjEEN, „ E'i tA'ks ebaat dhis' dhàt en)t tu_o)ther tɛ'ù dhi.
 4 egjE'n „ dhi tAAK'n ebaat ɛ'ut'.
 5 „ „ „ dhi)r tAAK'in ebaat „ „
 6 egjEEN, „ i)s „ „ „ „
 7 egjE'n, „ íi tAAKS e dhis' er dhàt er)t tu_o)ther.
 8 „ „ dhe tAAK'n „ „ „ „ „ tu_o)ther.

15. 1 E'i mu_o)d bi e lhad' et tɛ'ùd su_met wi
 2 it's „ kwíer fa'ùl ez preets baút
 3 E'i)z „ púer wik' fa'ùl „ „ widhaat
 4 „ „ kwíer tɛp' „ „ tAAKS widhaat oní
 5 „ „ soft „ „ „ „ widhaat „ „
 6 E'i iz „ „ fa'ùl es „ „ „
 7 íi iz „ „ fiùl ez „ „ widháit
 8 E'i)z „ príti „ „ es prèts widhéaut

- 1 nɛ'u sɛns in)t. A nɛut' ne múer t)si tɛ'ù ɛe.
 2 riiz'n. en dhat)s mí last wɛrd.
 3 u_o)nbithiqkin issen' e bit'. a du_o)ner noo ez à)ɛ ɛ'ut' múer
 4 riiz'n. en dhat)s AA ez A av t' sii.
 5 „ „ „ A)ɛ nɛ'u múer t' sii.
 6 sɛns. „ „ dhat)s AA ái)ɛ gət'n t' sii.
 7 ríez'n. „ „ oo ez AA av te see.
 8 riiz'n. „ „ „ Aal ái)n gət t' sii.

- 1 gu_od ne'it'.
 2 " "
 3 fe)t sii naa^l. su " " tɛ'ù dhi.
 4 " " làd.
 5 " náit', "
 6 su " ne'it'.
 7 " náit'.
 8 " náit'.

Notes to No. 1, Bradwell cs., p. 426.

0. *no doubts*, the forms here are regular.

1. *lad*, and similarly *but*, par. 3, with (t) changed into (r).—*mind*, (ái) or (A'i) is the regular long I' form, and hence form of short I Y before (nd).

2. *through*, although not a O' word, is treated as such, and becomes regularly (ɛ'u), but see par. 4 in Nos. 2, 6, 7, 8, p. 429.

4. *say*, and subsequently *day*, have (ee), but the regular form would be (ii).—*sure*, this word is the only word in the cs. which retains (æ'u) instead of using (ɛ'u).—*wick*=*quick*, alive.

5. *that*, either (ɛt) or (ɛs).—*in a minute*, or (ɛs sá'un ez íver i íerd ím) as soon as ever he heard him.—*I'm sure he'd speak the truth any day*, *that he would*, or (ɛn A)m shæ'uer 'E'i)l ná'n tel e láí, (dhat i wu_o)ne) and I'm sure he'll not tell a lie, *that he will* not.

7. *two or three*, or (wá'u wu_onst er twáís') above once or twice.

8. *she found him drunk as muck*, or (ɛn e'i wɛr ez dru_oqk ez mæ'k') and he was as drunk as muck.

9. *declared* (di)tleert).

10. *crying and bellowing*, the par. was translated at Eyam, (ɛ'i wɛr rúerin ɛn bɛlɛderin láik e griit soft ká'f'), he was roaring and bellowing like a great soft calf.

12. *drinking* or (tii) tea.

13. *as my name's what it is*, or (ɛz íver A wɛr bá'rn) as ever I were born.

14. *I'm going home to my supper*, the (p') represents a (t) for to, assimilated to the two (m) between which it stands; the sound is the same as in 'thump me' (thəmp' mi); there is no voicelessness of the first (m). A variant is (A)m baan t' mɪ su_opper) I'm going to my supper.—*make game*, or (mæe gjam').

15. *that*, (ɛs) as also used.

Notes to No. 2, Taddington cs., p. 426.

0. *no* (næ'u) should probably be (næ'u).—*doubts*, etc., 9. *ground house down*, etc. The diphthong (áu) for (aa) having created suspicion, TH. especially visited Taddington in Dec. 1875, "and after conversing with and making inquiries from several natives, found that the sound was (áu, áü); among the persons interviewed three were of 50, 70, and 80 years of age." This, therefore, is a similar peculiarity to Chapel-en-le-Frith, D 21, which is only 9 nw. Taddington, but on the other side of the Peak, and differing in many respects. Adjoining Chapel, the Vale

of Goyt had (ái), and we shall meet this again in No. 7, Brampton cs. The forms (aa, áu, ái) are strangely mixed in these regions.

1. *Thomas*, the usual address is by name, or *lad*.

2. *is not*, observe the (r) added, although not before a vowel; "euphonic (r) is much used at Taddington, Flag, etc.," TH.

4. *through*, *sure*, these are not O' words, and apparently for this reason have not (ɛ'u), but (æ'u), but from the analogy of other words this itself should give (ɛ'u).

Notes to No. 3, Ashford cs., p. 426.

1. *thee* or (joo) you.

2. *don't we* or (du_o)nɛ wi?).—*is it* or (is)t).

3. *of this way* (ɛ dhis'n)—*thy* or (jɜr your.—*done* or (dæ'un).—*there* or (jɛ) you.

5. *any day*, or (ɛs sá'un ez ɔnibodi) as soon as anybody.

6. *right out* or (stre'it of) straight off.—*ado*, this (ɛdæ) should analogically be (ɛdæ'u), as *do*, *done*, are properly (dæ'u, dæ'un), but (dæ) is used again, par. 13, p. 435.

8. *both how and where and when she found*, or (AA ɛbaa't aa' ɛ'u fu_on') all about how she found.

Notes to No. 4, Winstler cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, (daats) with distinct (aa) and not (aa¹), and so elsewhere.

3. *hearken*, a before r=(ä) as in yard are part barn garden etc. here, and at Middleton-by-Youlgrave.

4. *say* or (si suu) say so.

7. *what do-en*, the remarkable pron. (wu₂t, 'n) was originally dictated, and was confirmed by Mr. Rains, p. 426, No. 4, in Sept. 1888.

10. *like a badly child or a little wench crying*, the simple (laik e tɹaɪlt skriimin) like a child screaming, would be much more common.

14. *make game*, the (k) of (mak) is altered to (g) by the attraction of the

following word.—*anybody*, (u bdi) seems to have been coined from (na bdi) nobody, by omitting the n.

15. *chap* or (fa'ul) fool. With regard to this diphthong, Foxlow and Salt, who were fresh from the spot, said (a'u) distinctly in hold, old, told, no, done, too, two, etc., but Rains, who had been absent 25 years, used another form, which TH. first represented by (óu) and afterwards by (ó₁u). As we find (a'u) cs., Nos. 2, 3, 6, this (ó₁u) is evidently not the present pron.; whether it was an older one, or a mere individuality, must remain uncertain.

Notes to No. 5, Ashbourne cs., p. 426.

0. *doubts*, for U', OU .. etc., the regular form is (aa¹) or (aah), as TH. wrote it, or as I appreciated his own pron. (ææ). In one case at Ashbourne he heard (áu) as (bráun) brown, but (braan) also occurred.

6. *any of you as laughs*, the (jæ) for *you* has the euphonic (r) before the following vowel (jær æz, and this is regular in the district. The (r) not before a vowel is constantly marked, and has the usual M. sound, probably (r).

SEVEN INTERLINEAR DERBYSHIRE dt.

These were all pal. from dict. by TH. The first five specially illustrate Var. iii, e.Db., which is not adequately represented in the eight cs., by No. 7, Brampton, for it has the peculiarity found only in a few places near Brampton of (ái) for U'.

Var. iii.

1. *Eckington* (6 nne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of J. Antcliffe, b. 1805, native, wheelwright.

2. *Barlborough* (7 ne.Chesterfield), pal. 1880 by TH. from dict. of A. Cooper, fitter at iron-works, b. 1832, and his elder brother, both natives. This is almost identical with the preceding.

3. *Bolsover* (:bæ'uzər) (6 e.Chesterfield, on high ground), pal. 1880 by TH. from G. Shacklock, b. 1820, native. This scarcely differs from the preceding, but has (dān), which approaches D 27. The absence of the v. pl. in -en is remarkable in these three.

4. *South Wingfield* (5 nne.Belper), pal. 1883 by TH. from dict. of G. Hawksley, b. 1810, native, parish clerk. The v. pl. in -en appears in this and the two following.

5. *West Hallam* (6 ne.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from another Thomas Hallam, b. 1809, native, collier. There is rather a remarkable coincidence of names here.

Var. iv.

6. *Brailsford* (7 nw.Derby), pal. 1880 by TH. from J. Hancock, b. 1835, native, small grocer and letter-carrier, assisted by another native, a farm-labourer.

Var. ii.

7. *Flash* (:flas') (7 nne.Leek, St.), pal. 1880 by TH. from the dict. of J. S. Coates, b. 1843, native, small farmer, who used (tɹ-, dɹ-), which was not heard from others in the same place, and hence is omitted in this transcript. As this is the only St. specimen, it has been placed last, although belonging to Var. ii; it also bears a very close resemblance to No. 6, Brailsford.

* * The (,) shews that the word is the same as in the preceding line.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----------------------|----------|------------------|----|
| 1. | <i>Eckington.</i> | A)see, meets, | ju'sii | naa | et |
| 2 | <i>Barlborough.</i> | didn't A tel) | ju soo? | jo'si | |
| 3 | <i>Bolsover.</i> | A)see, tjaps, [ladz] | ,,),, | naa | |
| 4 | <i>South Wingfield.</i> | ,,)sii, ladz, | ,,)se'in | naa [nâu] | |
| 5 | <i>West Hallam.</i> | ,,) ,, tjaps | ju)se'i | na'ə | ez |
| 6 | <i>Brailsford.</i> | ,,) ,, ,, | jo)se'in | naa ¹ | ,, |
| 7 | <i>Flash.</i> | ,,) ,, ,, | ,,) ,, | | |

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|--------|---------------------|---------|------|-------|-------|---------------------|---------|
| 1 | A)m | re'it' | ebaāt | | dhat | līt'l | las' | ka ₂ mīn | frem's' |
| 2 | " | " | " | | " | " | " | " | " " |
| 3 | " | " | " | [ebâat] | " | " | " | " | fre |
| 4 | " | " | ebaa ¹ t | | " | " | wentj | kāmīn | frem't' |
| 5 | " | " | ebá ¹ ot | | " | " | wensh | " | ")s' |
| 6 | " | " | ebaa ¹ t | | " | " | wentj | ka ₂ mīn | " " |
| 7 | " | " | ebâut | | " | " | " | komīn | " " |

- | | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| 1 | skuul | jønder. |
| 2 | „ | „ |
| 3 | „ | jønde. |
| 4 | skja'ul | „ |
| 5 | skæ'ul | jønder. |
| 6 | skja'ul | „ |
| 7 | skæ'ul | „ |

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|-------------|------|--------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 2. | 1 | shə'z)gu'in | daan | t'rùed | dhie | thruu | t'red | gjeet | on't' |
| | 2 | shì | " " | " " | " " | " " | " " | " " | " " |
| | 3 | shu | " " | dâən | " " | " " | " red' | jeet | " " |
| | 4 | ə'u | " " | daan | " rood | " thrə'u | " " | " " | " " |
| | 5 | " " | " " | dâ'ən | dh) | dhie | " dh'red | " " | th |
| | 6 | " " | " " | daa'n | " " | dhie | " dhat | " gjeet | ")dh |
| | 7 | " " | " " | dâun | " " | dhier | " dh'red' | jeet | " " |

- 1 left and *sáid* e)t' rùd.
 2 " " " " "
 3 " " *sa'id* " " "
 4 lift " *sáid* " " rood.
 5 left " *sáid* " " "
 6 lift " *sáid* e)dh) "
 7 " and " " " "

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---------------------------------------|-----|------|---------------------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|
| 3. | 1 | lu _o k)je! | t')tjaild) | z | ga'n | | u _o p' | te)t' | |
| | 2 | " " | " tjail | " " | | stre'it | " " | " " | |
| | 3 | " " | " tjai [^] il _l d | " " | | " u _o p | " " | " " | |
| | 4 | la'uk ladz! | " tjai [^] ilt _s | " " | | " u _o p' | " " | " " | ru _o q' |
| | 5 | lu _o k) je dhie _r ! | th) " | " " | | " " | " " |)dh | ru _o q' |
| | 6 | " " | " " | " " | | " " | " " | dh | ru _o q' |
| | 7 | " " | " " | " " | | stre'it' | " " | " " | " " |

- 1 dûer v)t' raq às.
- 2 „ „ ru_oq âs.
- 3 „ „ „ „
- 4 dûe.
- 5 â'əs „
- 6 dōe.
- 7 dæ'r.

4. 1 wíer shù)l ap'n fáind dhat dru_oqk'n dief wiz'nd tɔap
- 2 wíe shi)l „ „ „ def „ fɛle
- 3 wíe shu)l „ fa'ind „ „ dief „ „
- 4 wíer æ'u)l „ fáind „ „ dif „ „
- 5 wíer „ „ „ „ „ „ „ „
- 6 wíer v)l „ „ „ „ def „ ma'n
- 7 whíer æ'u)l „ „ „ „ dif wídhert fɛle, im

- 1 et dhi kAAL :təm'.
- 2 ɛz dhɛ „ „
- 3 „ dhe „ „
- 4 „ dhi kAAN æ'ud :təmi.
- 5 „ „ „ :təm'.
- 6 „ „ „ :tu_om'.
- 7 „ „ „ „

5. 1 wi)AAL noo im verɪ wɛl.
- 2 „ „ „ „ „ „
- 3 Jo) „ „ „ dɒnt)ɜe „ „
- 4 wɛ'i AA noon „ „ „
- 5 „ „ „ „ „ wɛl ɛv)æ'ud.
- 6 „ „ „ „ „ wɛl.
- 7 „ „ „ im „ „

6. 1 weent t')æ'ud tɔap' suun te'itɔ)er nɒt tɛ)du)it
- 2 wu_od'nt „ „ „ [fɛle] „ tɪtɔ „ „ „ „
- 3 wéint „ „ „ tel „ su_omet,
- 4 wine „ „ „ sɛ'un tɪtɔ „ nɒt tɛ)dæ'u)t
- 5 wu_oner dh) „ „ sɛ'un „ „ „ „ „ it
- 6 want th) „ „ „ „ te'itɔ „ „ t' „ „
- 7 wu_onɛ dh) „ „ sɛ'un „ „ fɛr)t' nɒt də'u „

- 1 egien, pûe thi'q'!
- 2 „ „ „
- 3 „ „ „
- 4 egjɛn „ tɔáilt!
- 5 „ „ thi'q'!
- 6 „ „ thi'q'!
- 7 „ „ pûer thi'qk!

7. 1 lu_ok)ɹɛ! iz'nt it triù?
 2 " " " " "
 3 naa dhɛn! " " "
 4 lə'ʊk lɒdz! " " tr'ú_ou?
 5 lu_ok)ɹɛ dhíe! " " triù?
 6 lə'ʊk! " " tr'ú_où?
 7 lu_ok ɹɛ! iz'nt " trə'ú₁ù?

Notes to the Seven dt.

1. *mates*, No. 1, boys would say in this case *lads*, but addressing one only (*sari*) *sirrah*!

2. *side*, No. 2 the diphthong is said to lie between (*ái*) and (*ʌ'i*), a mean difficult to hit; and similarly for par. 3, *child*, No. 2.

5. *very*, No. 1, a few say (*vari*).—*you*, the Bolsover informant has altered the phrase into a question, *you all know him, don't you, very well?* to which he supposed there would be an answer: (*aa, s'*)lə'ik wi də'u) aye, its like we do.

6. *soon*, No. 7, TH. marked Coates's pron. as lying between (*sə'un, sæ'un*), another speaker said (*sə'un*), which I have adopted, as it harmonises with the following *də'u*.—*thing*, obs. St. (*thiɹk*) in No. 7.

7. *true*. TH. writes the diphthong (*iù*) in Nos. 1 to 3, but makes the first element between (*u_o, e*) in No. 4, and between (*i, ə*) in No. 5, while in No. 6 and No. 7 he writes his equivalent for my (*æ'u*), taken with a deeper (*æ₁*) in No. 7, though others said (*trə'uth*). TH. adds that he has often felt in doubt as to the first element, and thinks it must be (*ə'*) or (*y₁*) of D 10, p. 146. The diphthong is evidently affected by the preceding (*r*), which renders (*riú*) difficult, but I think the intention is to say (*riú*). The *r*, printed (*r*) in the text, I presume to be TH.'s (*r*), p. 293, as the true (*r*) seems to be unknown in these regions.

Further Examples; all observed by TH.

Var. ii. WEST DERBY.

1. *Middleton-by-Wirksworth*, spec. concocted by people of Wirksworth, to shew how much 'broader' the miners at Middleton speak.
 (wier ɛrt gu:n, sari? Aɹm gu:n daa'n te :wæse fɛr v paa'nd v paa'de),
 where art going, sirrah? [a common and not disrespectful address].
 I'm going down to Wirksworth for a pound of powder. Compare D 23, Ex. 5, p. 357.
2. *Wirksworth*. (lɛn)z ɛ'ut en't: if dhi du:s'nɛ, A'l tlaa't dhi), lend us hold on it: if thee does not, I'll clout thee. (dha:z gjet'n v nɪu pɛɛr v bæ'uts ɔn, thou hast gotten a new pair of boots on. (dhi kaan it :jɹl :blɒk, they callen it Yule Block=log.
3. *Idridgehay* (3 s. Wirksworth). (iz dhat ɛ'r du:n ɹɛ thiɹk?), is that her do-en you think? (nɔn t' bi sɛ'n), none [=not, as often] to be seen. (dhe)n gɹau it tɛɹɛ ru:gɹ wu:mɛn, they have-n given it to [euphonic *r*] a wrong woman.
4. *Flash* (7 nne. Leek, St.) (E'i)z v bad' mæn, E'i wu:nst bɔɹɛd θru:pɛns ʌpɛni ɔf mɛ'i, ɛn E'i)z nɪvɛr piid mi bak ɛgɹɛ'n, he's a bad man, he once borrowed threepence halfpenny off me, and he's never paid me back again.
5. *Alstonefield* (9 e. Leek, St.) (A θa'ut v bɛ'i in in' fɛr v raɪd wi :tu:m t' nɛ'it', bɛr A m dɪs'it, I thought of being in for a ride with Thomas [who has a conveyance] to-night, but I'm deceived.
6. *Hartington* (7 sw. Bakewell, Db.). The following very old joke was told TH. at Ashbourne for Hartington as local, and pal. by him, and then inserted by a friend in conventional spelling in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and *North Staffordshire Journal* of 16 Dec. 1887, as a dialogue between two old women at Hartington.

(A. *ee*, :pal', aa' du st dæ'u, en aa' du z dh)æ'ud ma'n dæ'u?—B. *ee*, wái e'i)z dʒe'd.—A. dʒe'd! en prídhi aa' lu qæ az i bín dʒe'd?—B. wái, íf e'i d lívd tíl tæmərə ma'rnín, e'i d v bín dʒe'd v fàrtu't.—A. en prídhi wot dʒeth díd i de'i?—B. wái, e'i sít im daa'n i)th tæ'u àrmt tʃiər, en fɛl fast esle'p, en wen i wak'nt, e'i wer stuun dʒe'd.—A. ðàrd bles us! we'i)ər e'íər tædii en gá'n jístærdii.)—A. Eh, Poll, how dost do, and how does the old man do?—B. Eh, why, he's dead.—A. Dead! and prithe how long has he been dead?—B. Why, if he'd lived till to-morrow morning, he'd have been dead a fortnight.—A. And prithe, what death did he die?—B. Why, he sít him down in the two-armed chair and fell fast asleep, and when he wakened, he was stone dead.—A. Lord, bless us! we are here to-day and gone yesterday.

Var. iii.

7. *Bolsover*. (aat i)t' éær), out in the air. (i)t' màrkit aal), in the market hall. (gù bi)t' kjaríər), go by the carrier. (ríd t' pæpər), read the paper. (raand t' taan), round the town. (i) wu d,nt gjet it wáil dhiz mór'nín, he would not get it till this morning. (stap ut wáam), stop at home. (dhe wer telín jə, l'ík), they were telling you, like=so to speak. (à d,nt kjæər, as tæ gjetín ít?), I don't care, hast thou gotten it?

VAR. i. NORTHERN SOUTH PEAK cwl.

compiled from wn. by TH. from South Peak, exclusive of those marked in the cs.

- B Bradwell (:bradæ) (9 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 Bd Bamford (:baamfært) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 C Castleton (10 ne.Buxton), pal. 1873-9.
 H Hathersage (:adhursætɪ) (12 ne.Buxton), pal. in 1876, mostly from very old people, b. about 1810, 1794, 1793, and 1782.
 E Eyam (:ii'im) (10 ene.Buxton), pal. 1876.
 T Tideswell (:tidzə) (6 ene. Buxton), where the dialect has altered within twenty years, pal. 1865-77.

Notes.—(dʒævərər) jabberer, (v) for (b) by a man b. 1810 at Hathersage.—'s possessive usually omitted.—(kh) strongly pron. by grandfather of the Castleton informant, and lightly by his father.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 E tak, teed [took]. 5 B mak, mag, mee, e'i)z næ'ut' t')mee næ'ut' on' [he's nought to make nought on]. 6 CH meed. 20 B leem. 21 C neem. A: 39 B kæ'um. 43 B out and. — B sænd [sand]. 51 C ma'n. — B pən [pan]. 54 B want. 55 B as. A: or O: 58 B fra'u. 60 H lu,qg. 64 C raqg, E ru,qg. A'- 67 E guu. 69 HCET næ'u. 70 C tuu. 73 BT sæ'u. 74 HE tæ'u [from man b. 1782]. 76 BE tuud. 81 BH loon leen, C loon, E leen. 82 B A wænst [at once]. 84 B múer. 86 C uuts úts. 87 T fluuz. 89 B buudh. 97 C sæ'id. A': 101 H ùk [man of 66]. 104 B ruud [old], T rood. 106 C brùd'. 107 C lùf [pl. (luuvz)]. 108 C dùf. 115 B wæ'm, wæ'm, H wæ'm, E wòm. 118 B buun. 122 B na'n [=not]. 124 BHC stuun. — C ruup rùp [rope]. 132 B wæt, C wæt. 137 B noodher. Æ- 138 C feedher. 144 H egj'e'n. 152 BCT weeter water. Æ: 161 BH dee, CE dii. 172 B gres. Æ'- 182 B sii. 192 E miin. 197 BE tʃe'iz. 200 C wiit. Æ: 207 E ne'id'l. 212 E we'i. 214 B niidher. 218 E she'ip. 224 H wíer. 225 H fíesh. 228 E swiit. E- 231 th [generally]. 233 C speak. 241 E riin. 243 ET plee. — B eet [eat]. 251 B meet, H miit. E: 260 B lii. 261 C see, E sii. 262 C wii. 263 H wíi. — BC fæ'ilt [field]. 270 E baliz [bellows]. E'- 290 BH e'i éi íi. 291 B dhEE, C dhe'i. 292 B mee, C me'i. 293 E we'i. 299 CT gre'in. E': 305 B ái. 312 BE e'íer. 314 C færd.

EA: 322 C laf. 326 B a'ud. 328 BET kja'ud. 330 H a'ud [the noun is in T (a'ut) a hold]. 333 B ka'f. 334 C AAV, A'pni [halfpenny]. 337 E wa'u. 341 Bd mare [in the sense of match, fellow]. EA'- 347 B je'd. EA': 350 B de'd, C did'. 353 C bre'd. 355 E diif. 360 H tiim. 366 C griit.

EO- 387 B n'u jez dee [New Year's day]. EO: — B a'm [hem = them]. 394 B jonder jond. 395 H ju qg. 399 ET bre'it. 402 C le'rn. EO'- 410 BEH a'u, H a'u [man of 82]. 411 BH thre'i. — B tree [tree]. EO': — E kraud [crowd]. 425 BT le'it, H lait [man of 94]. 427 H be'i. 428 E see se'i, H se'i, B se'id [see'd, saw]. 437 C trauth. EY- 438 BC de'i.

I- 440 BH we'ik. — gj'i [give]. 444 B stail. I: 458 BCT ne'it. 459 H rit [man of 66], re'it [man of 82]. 462 T se'it. 468 B tplder. 469 E wail wu'ist [will wilt]. 475 B waind. I'- 492 H said. 494 B tam. I': — C dait [ditch]. 500 H laik. 505 B wair. — BE ee [hay].

O- — BC sma'uk [smoke], sme'ik [(sme'ik) v. applied to a chimney or kiln, (sma'uk) to smoke a pipe of tobacco], T smook. 519 H o'ur. 522 B ip'n. 523 Bd oop. O: — T kja'uk [cook]. 525 Bd a'f of [off]. 528 H tha'ut. 531 H da'ut'er. 537 B ma'ud. — B na'u [knoll]. 541 CH wu'ne. 544 Bd kam den [come then, speaking to children]. O'- 555 C sha'u sha'f, T sha'un [shoes]. 556 B ta'u. 557 H ta'u [man of 66]. 558 BC la'uk. 559 B mu'dher, C madhar. 560 BTE skja'ud. 562 BC ma'un, H ma'un [man of 94], ma'un [man of 66]. 564 B sa'un, E saner [sooner]. O': 569 E ba'uk. 570 C ta'uk. 571 H gu'd. 579 BE inu'f. 580 C to'kh [old], takh [older]. 582 E kja'ul. 586 BHC da'u. 587 C da'un. 588 BCT na'in, H na'un [man of 66]. 591 H mu'er. — T gja'us [goose].

U- 603 BC kam. 606 BC da'r, E du'er [at E. (du'er) is gen., (da'r) rare]. 607 B bu' t'er [the dentals heard from several old people, but they have gen. died out]. U: — H baun, E baan. 615 BH paand. 619 T fu'n. 632 B u.p.

634 H thro'u [man of 82]. — C rau'sti [rusty]. U'- 641 E a. 643 B naa, H naa [men of 66 and 82], E in'naa [e'en now, directly]. 650 E vbaat. 651 C baut. U': — H flaud [cloud]. 655 C fau [ugly]. 658 BHE daan, CHE daun. 659 BE taan. — H doon [down feathers]. 663 HC aus [from men of 66 and 82]. 667 B at. 671 B maath.

Y- 673 B mitj. 679 H tjartj. Y: 686 H bai. — E spard [speered, inquired after, here meaning asked in church by banns]. 702 BT we'i, with.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 C lar. — C baqk, baqz [bank, banks]. I. and Y. — E eeluk [lilac, not (leelek), a common older form]. O. 761 H luud, E luud'n [loaded]. — B dag [dog], C dog.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plè's'ez [places, man of 82]. — T kjetj [in the sentence (dher)z v trap' dpu'et eföer, ber juu kənje kjetj it, je noon) there's a trap just before, but you can not catch it, you know-en]. 822 E mii. — CE pii [pay]. 824 T tjier. 830 T triin. — C thier tle'ier [clear]. 833 E pèr. — B groon gron [grand, in grandsire (groonsir), etc.]. 851 B cent [formerly (noont)]. — C sooser [sauce]. 864 T bekooz. — B fa's [false]. — H travilin [travelling, the old dental heard from a man of 94]. E.. 867 BHC tii. — Bd feer [a fair]. I.. and Y.. 898 B naist. O.. 913 C ku'jmen [coachman]. — BC be'if [beef]. — H sa'il, E sa'il [soil]. 925 C va's. — B suert [sort]. 939 H tlus. — C tuust [toast]. 940 BT kuut. 947 B ba'il, E bail. 955 Bd daa't. U.. — E wiit [wait]. 965 B a'il, E ail. 969 E sha'u'er. — H ja'ust [used], E dhi jüz'n [they use, man of 84].

VAR. ii. WESTERN DERBYSHIRE AND EAST STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

from wn. by TH. at

(1.) w.Db.

Mb Matlock Bath.

C Cromford (1 s. Matlock Bath).

M Middleton-by-Wirksworth (2 sw. Matlock Bath).

W Wirksworth (3 ssw. Matlock Bath).

W That part of W. taken in 1876 from S. Simpson, b. 1800.

I Idridgehay (:idridjē) (6 ssw. Matlock Bath).

(2.) e.St.

F Flash (7 nne. Leek), wn. 1880 by TH. from Pickford, b. 1835, and family, and Coates, b. 1843, natives.

A Alstonefield (:A'rsfild) (9 e. Leek).

R Rocester (:rooster) (15 ese. Stoke).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tee tak. 8 F ee. 19 F teel. 21 F neem. — W gjam [game]. A: 50 W tu_oqz. 51 F ma'n. 54 W want. 56 W F wesh. A: or O: 64 FI ru_oqg. A'- 69 F nē'u nē'u nōu. 74 W A tā'u. 76 F tuud. 82 W wu_ons. — F'gruun [groan]. 84 MbF múer. 86 F úts. 87 I tluuz. 89 W buudh. 92 F noo. 93 W snoo, F snū [old people formerly]. A': 102 R eks. 104 F rood. 115 W woom, F wā'm v)whā'm [at home] wōm. 117 M wān, F t)ā'n [the one]. 118 W F buun. 119 C guu. 122 I (non). 123 R nu_othiqk. 124 MF stuun. — W F rōp [rope]. 131 W gōt.

Æ- 138 W F feedher. 143 WF tiil. 144 W egjen. 152 F weeter. Æ: 161 MbF dii. 172 MbF gres. 173 Mb wō'r. Æ'- 189 W wāi. 195 Mb mē'ini, W F mōni. 197 MbFR tje'iz. 200 F wiit. Æ': 207 F néld. 210 W tlii. 214 WR niidher. 218 W she'ip. 222 F hīer. 223 W dhīer. 224 M wīer, F whīer.

E- 233 F spiik. 241 F riin. 243 W plii. — F beer [to bear]. — W iit [eat]. 251 W miit. E: — MF fatj [fetch]. 261 W sii. 262 F wii. 265 W stre'it. 270 F bali. 287 F be'izēmz. E'- 290 MFR e'i. 291 WR dhe'i. 292 WFR me'i. 299 F gre'in. 300 WF kje'ap, W ke'ip'n. E': 312 W e'ier. 314 F iērd. — W te'ith [teeth].

EA- — W el [ale]. EA: 322 W lōf, F laf [(lakh) mother and grandfather of Coates]. 328 F kē'ud. 330 WR ā'ud [sb. (ā'ut)]. 333 F ka'f. 334 F Aaf. 338 W kaa, F kjel (dhi wā'n kjeln v) vnu_odher) they [the children] one call-en of=on another]. — F sa't [salt]. 340 M jārd jārd. EA'- 347 Mb je'd, F [(lāt jheded) light-headed]. EA': 350 F dje'd. 355 F dīf. 359 W niiber. 366 F griit. EI- 375 MbA riiz.

EO: 388 W milk. 399 F bre'it. — W bān [burn], F bru_ont [burned]. EO'- 410 F ā'u, ā'u. — F nhēi [knee]. — F flekh [flea, mother and grandfather of Coates]. 411 WR thre'. 412 I [(ā'r) used]. 415 M lāi [a lie]. EO': 424 F ru_okh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 425 F le'it. 426 F fe'it. 428 MbFR se'i. 437 F trē'uth. EY- 438 F de'i.

I- — F wīk'. — W gji [give]. 442 F iviz. 446 R nāin. I: 452 M ā. — F brd. 458 MF ne'it, R nā'it. 459 FR re'it. 461 F āu léti dha kōne [how lights-it,—happens it,—thou cannot]. 487 F xisterdii. — W dat [dirt]. I'- 494 M tā'm. I': 500 F lāik. 504 F nhāf. 505 F we'if. — F hii [hay]. 508 MR māil. 509 F whe'il.

O- — W smook [smoke, v]. O: 526 F kōkh [mother and grandfather of Coates]. 527 F bā'ut. 528 F thā'ut. 531 F da'uter. 532 F kool. 535 W fōk. — M tā'ul [toll]. 541 C wu_one. 544 F tīn [(ju_ogger tīn dhāt) younger than that]. — W skūr [score]. — W A's [horse more used than (tāt) tit]. O'- 555 F shā'un [shoon pl.]. 558 I lūk, F lū'uk lā'uk. 559 W WFR mōdher. 560 W skā'ul, F skā'ul. 562 W R mā'un, F mō'un. 564 F sā'un. 567 F t)u_odher. O': 570 F tā'uk. 584 W stā'ul. 586 F dā'u dā'u. 587 F dā'un. 588 MR nā'un. 591 A mā'uer. — W tā'uth [tooth]. 594 W bā'ut, F bā'ut.

U- 603 W *W* kəm, F kəm'n. 605 F sūn. 606 MI dúer, F dā'r. U: 612 F sūn. 614 W aa'nd. [but] v pak' v áwz [a pack of hounds]. 615 M paa'nd. 616 W graa'nd. 632 W u_op. — W fār [a fir]. U'- 640 Mb kja'n. 642 W dha. 643 WR naa', R naa. 648 R aa'r. 650 MI ebaa t, W ebaat. 653 F ber. U': 654 F sraud. 655 F fān. 658 MW daa'n, WR [between] daa'n daan, FA dān, AR daa'n. 663 W às, IR à's, F áus. 667 WIR à't, F áut. 671 F máuth.
Y- 677 F drāi. 679 W tja'tj. Y: 700 F was'. — W shat' [shirt]. 702 M we'i. Y'- 707 W thatte'in. Y': 709 F fáier.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — F bōk [bank]. E. 749 F lift ont [left hand]. I. and Y. 756 F srimps. O. 761 W luud. — W dōg. 767 W náiz. U. 805 F kru_d [cheese curd]. — W kəl [curl].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 W fēs. 818 F eedj. — F pii [pay]. 824 W tja'r. — F tjiin [chain]. 851 W eent. — M stii [stay]. E.. 867 MbF tii. — F sār-vent sārvi'z [servant service], R sārvis. 890 W bis [pl. cows]. — F lē't'ēr [letter, Coates, Pickford had no dental]. — F áuēr [hoar]. 894 A d'sitt [deceived]. I.. and Y.. 901 F fāin. — M sari [sirrah, not a term of contempt]. O.. — W sáil [soil]. — R bē'if [beet]. — A maa'nt [to mount]. 939 W tlūs. 940 W kūt. — M paa'de [powder]. U.. — WF wiit [wait]. 966 W frūt'. 969 F shæ'uēr.

VAR. iii. EASTERN DERBYSHIRE cwl.

wn. by TH. except when otherwise stated, exclusive of Brampton, which has a es.

The places are arranged in order from n. to s.

N Norton (7 nnw.Chesterfield), from the Vicar.

D Dronfield (5 nnw.Chesterfield).

U Unstone (4 nnw.Chesterfield).

W Whittington (2 n.Chesterfield).

B Bolsover (:bā'uzər) (3 e.Chesterfield), no verbal plural in -en.

Su Sutton (4 ese.Chesterfield).

St Stretton (6 s.Chesterfield).

A Ashover (:asher) (5 ssw.Chesterfield). Beardow, about 55, parish clerk, native, gave (ai) in down town, and (ai) in round house, but his son gave (aa') in round boun down, this is therefore a later form.

M Morton (8 nne.Belper).

Hi Higham (7 s.Chesterfield).

Dh Doehill (7 se.Chesterfield, close to Doehill).

C Codnor (5 ene.Belper), and Cv from the Vicar.

Cp Codnor Park (5 ene.Belper).

R Ripley (3 ne.Belper).

Bp Belper (:b'lpə).

Mi Milford (2 s.Belper).

H Heanor (5 ese.Belper), dt. from Mrs. Parker.

I Ilkeston (8 ne.Derby) (:ils'n), by most working people.

Only a very few words were obtained from each place.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 BI ē'v. 19 A teel. 33 A reedhər. A: or O: 60 I lu_oqg. A'- 67 N grūv, B gujin [going]. 70 A tuuz [toes]. 72 N woo. 74 A ta'u, I ta'u. 84 BR múr. 86 N u_ots. 93 I snoo. A': 104 DU rúed. 115 N úem, BA wæm, I wam. 117 N wōn. 118 DU búen, R buun. 122 R nōn [in the sense of not]. 124 D stūn, R stuun. — A rūp [rope].

Æ- 138 I feedhər. 143 A tiil. 152 Cp water. Æ: 161 NDB dee, ACCpRI dii, Dh dii [and (ii) for ÆG in several words]. — D kjàrt. Æ'- 182 DR sii, Cv se'i [or (see)]. 193 I tliin. 194 BR òni. 197 D tja'iz, I tja'iz.

200 ND wíut, Cv weet, R wiit. Æ': 210 MoCp thii. 214 A niidher. 223 A dhíer, Bp dhíe-r.

E- 231 NDUAB t' [always], Mi th. 233 N spē'ik. 241 N reen, A riin. 243 CpMiI plii, I ple'i [both (ii, e'i) several times]. — A beer [a bear]. — Su e't [eat]. 251 Su me'it. E: 263 Cp ewii. 265 Cp stre'it. E'- 290 BpI e'i. 292 IBp me'i. 294 Cv fiud, R fe'id. E': 312 Cp íe.

EA: 326 DCpR æ'ud. 328 DBAR kæ'ud. 331 A sæ'ud. 332 B teld. 333 N kooi. 335 Cp AA. 338 Cp kAA. 343 A wärm. 346 Cp gje't. EA'- 348 A ün [eyes]. — N deu [dew]. EA': 360 Cv tiem. 361 Cv bienz, R biinz. EI- 376 A bit. EO: 392 Cp jonz. — B dârk [dark]. 396 Cp wak. 399 N bró'it, A brát. EO'- 410 Mi æ'u. 411 CpR thre'i. — C tre'i [tree]. 412 N shu. — CvR we'id. 415 N ló'i. 416 R déer. EO': 425 N lút ?lút, A lút. 426 fó'it. 428 RI sá. 431 A bíer.

I- 446 N nó'in, Dh na'in. — NDCv pe'iz [pease], R piiz. I: 455 N lig. 458 A nít. N niit, ? nít, nó'it, HDh ne'it, R [between] náit na'it. 462 N sá'it. 466 N tpo'ild. 473 N bló'nd. 477 N fó'nd. 487 A jisterdii. 488 B jít. I'- 492 Hi sa'id. 496 U s'ern. I': 500 NB ló'ik, R láik. 502 N fó'iv, A fáv. 508 U mó'ul. 509 B wó'ul wáil. 510 DW mó'in.

O- — A smook [smoke]. 519 R æver. O: — DR fræg [frog]. — N fæg [fog, between u and o]. 528 B thæ'ut. 529 B bræ'ut. — B mór'nin [morning]. O'- 555 B shæ'u. 556 R tē [for the inf. not (t')], I tæ'u. 559 B mu_odhēr, I mædher. 560 R skjæ'ul, Mi skæ'ul. 562 N muun [that is, as being rec. pr. no mark was put against, but (mæ'un) would have been treated in the same way], D mæ'un, Cv níun, RI mæ'an, etc. 564 Mi sá'un. O': 579 N enu_of. 586 CpR dæ'u. 588 ACpI næ'un, Cv níun, D næ'un.

U- 603 B ku_omin [coming], Cp. kēp [come up, to a cow]. 605 A sūn. 606 Cp. dúv. U: — D bān [boun going, see 658]. 615 N páund, Cp paa'nd, U páind. 616 A gráind. — A wūnder [wonder]. 632 Bp u.p. 634 Cp thra'u. U'- [R (aa) normal (aa')]. 640 N káu. 643 NB naa, CpBp naa'. 648 B aar. 650 B ebá'et, A ebáit [see 616, only two instances heard], HCpI ebaat. U': [MoDh rather (aa') than aa)]. 658 D dáun [from people of good education], BW daan, StACpRI daa'n, I dá'en, UA daín. 659 D táun [see 658], BW taan, U táin. 663 N áus, H à's', BBp aa's. 667 B aat, HiBpI á't, U áit. 671 I mà'th.

Y- 679 Cp tjátj. Y: 690 N kó'ind. 691 N mó'ind, I má'ind. 694 Bp wark.

II. ENGLISH.

O. — D dag [dog]. 767 I næ'iz, D nóiz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — A teeb'l [table]. 811 A plès. — DB pee [pay], ACvR pii. 866 R púp. E.. 867 Cv tee, I tii. 890 N biest. 891 N fiest, A fist. — Cp pe'ip'l [people]. 893 Cp fláue, fláue. I.. and Y.. — 900 N kró'i [cry]. O.. — D báif [beef], Mi bē'if. 920 Cp pa'int. — B ekaant [account]. — B raand [round], I raa'nd. — NCv rúest [roast], AR rúst. — NC táest [toast], AR túst. 940 A kuut. 947 R bóil. — B kraan [crown]. U.. 965 DR óil, I áil. 969 B shæ'uer.

VAR. iv. SOUTHERN DERBYSHIRE cwl.

wn. by TH.

Q Quarndon (3 nnw.Derby).

A Alvaston (:AAvesten) (3 ese.Derby), said to be under refining influence of Derby.

C Chellaston (:tjelisten) (4 sse.Derby).

S Stenson (4 ssw.Derby).

R Repton (:rep'n) (7 sw.Derby), just s. of the Trent.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 8 R è. A'- 76 R tuud. A': 118 S buun. 124 S stuun.

Æ- 138 S *feedhu*. 152 SR *weeter*. Æ: 161 A *dee* [refined], CSR *dii* [not refined]. Æ'- 182 S *sii*. 200 S *wiit*. Æ': 218 Q *shéip*, R *shép*. — R *stre'it* [street].

E- Q *th*, A *th dh*, S *th dh* [the latter before vowels and perhaps voiced consonants]. 232 R *breck*. E'- 290 R *é'i*. 292 R *mé'i*. 294 S *fé'id*. 299 S *gré'in*. 300 S *kjé'ip*. EA- 317 R *fii*. EA: 322 R *lōf*. 326 S *æ'ud*. 328 S *kæ'ud*. 330 R [sub. (æ'ut)]. 331 S *sæ'ud*. 332 SR *tæ'ud*. 333 S *ka'f*. EA': 350 R *djé'd*. 360 R *tiim*. 361 S *büinz*. — R *díuu* [dew]. EO: — S *daa'rk* [dark]. 399 S *bre'it*. EO'- — S *tre'i* [tree]. — S *wé'id* [weed]. 417 R *tj'ün*. EO': 425 R *lái't*. 426 S *fé'it*. 428 R *se'i*.

I: 458 S *náit*, R *náit*, R *né'it*. 462 S *sít*. I'- [A *ó'i*]. 492 S *so'id*. I': 503 R *láif*.

O- — S *smòk smùk* [smoke]. O'- 556 R *tíu*. — R *fíud* [food, from incumbent]. 559 R *mædher*. 562 SR *míun*. 564 S *síun*. Ó': 578 S *plæ'u plóu*. 586 R *díu*. 588 S *níun*. 589 R *spíun*. 594 R *bíut* [from incumbent].

U: 615 R *peáand*. U'- 640 Q *kjáuz*. 643 R *něáu* [see p. 426]. U': [at A (*čá'u*)]. 658 SR *dčá'un*, R *daa'n*. 659 Q *táun*, S *tâ'un tčá'un*, R *taa'n*. 663 S *čá'us*. 667 R *čáut*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. — S *káin* [they kill-en for meat]. O. — SR *dag* [dog]. U. — S *ta'un* [tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — R *pii* [pay]. E.. 867 A *tii*. O.. — Q *béif* [beef], S *be'if*. 921 R *ekwáint*. 939 AS *thuis*. — R *túst* [toast]. — R *rúst* [roast]. 941 S *fa'ul*. — R *tru_ob'l* [trouble]. 947 S *bó'il*. U.. 965 R *áil*. 969 S *sha'uer*. — S *mæ'uzik* [music], R *míuzik*. 971 S *flæ'ut* [flute].

D 27 = EM. = East Midland.

Boundaries. Those of Nt. Sufficient is not known to assume any other boundaries, and pronunciation is tolerably homogeneous throughout the county, quite distinct from D 20 to the e., and D 26 to the w., but not sufficiently distinct from D 24 at its extreme n., or from D 29 at its extreme s., to mark a line of separation with any confidence. The resemblance to D 26 was apparently much greater in 1844 than at present. But no other boundaries could be safely assumed.

Area. That of Nt.

Authorities. See County List under the following names in Nt., where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || so., ° in io.

°Beckingham, *†Bingham, °Blyth, †Bulwell, †East Retford, †Eastwood, °†Finningley, °Gringley, †Kirkby-in-Ashfield, °Laxton, †Mansfield, †Mansfield Woodhouse, °Mattersey, °Misson, °Misterton, †Newark, †North Carlton, °North Wheatley, †Nottingham, °Radcliffe, °Rempstone, †Southwell, °Sutton, °Walesby, †Workshop.

Characters. The present pron. must be very modern, and due to education, because it agrees so much with rs. TH. was, however, fortunate enough to find from two families at Bulwell (4 nnw. Nottingham) a direct proof of the change since 1844. He learned that the words *keen*, *feet*, *rain*, *lane*, *night*, which are now there called (*kiin*, *fiit*, *keen*, *leen*, *náit*), that is, practically, in rp., were in

1844 called (kjɛ'ín, fe'ít, riín, le'ín, ne'ít'), of which the first three really agree with D 26. It is principally for this reason that I have considered it proper to group this district with D 25, 26. In the same place he also found an instance of the verbal plural in *-en*, (if *wi* wern *taakín* tu v sheperd *dæg'*), if we were-*n* talking to a shepherd dog. The speaker was a labourer born in 1801 in the house where he resided in 1879. This was, however, the only instance that TH. heard.

The characteristic pron. is that the U' words s. of Worksop and East Retford have (âæ), varying occasionally to (âu, a'ʊə,) and even (aa), but the first element is enunciated in a particular way. According to TH.'s observations, the vertical opening of the lips remains as for (a), but the horizontal length is abnormally increased, and the teeth are quite free from the side walls of the mouth. The effect of this is, he says, to introduce a faint (ɿe) before the (a), thus (dɿeâæn) down, and this was probably the sound intended when I appreciated (de'ʊn) in Mr. F. Miles' pron. from Bingham. Generally, I apprehend that it is not so much the shape as the area of the opening of the mouth which affects the vowel sound, and I regard TH.'s description as rather that of his own organs when attempting to imitate the sound, than the practice of natives themselves. The effect can certainly be produced without this peculiar mouth opening. North of Worksop and East Retford, U' seems to be generally (âu).

Nt. also lies in *the teeth* region, that is, where the def. art. appears as (dhæ, t', th), and the (th) is sometimes assimilated to a following (s). The regular usage is (dhæ), then (th) and its (s) form, and finally (t'). Thus TH. heard at Worksop (v)th ru_q âæs) of the wrong house, at Bulwell (A)m th)last âæt v)th màrk'it) I'm the last out of the market, and at Kirkby (let mî táí th)at on) let me tie the hat on, but (dh) is used occ. before a vowel, as (dh)âæ'æs) the house, heard at Mansfield. Examples of the assimilated (s) form are, from Mansfield and Worksop (frem)s)skuul) from the school, from Bulwell (tə s)skuul) to the school, from Mansfield and Worksop (dɒnt tek)s)stʌ_{nt}) don't take the stunt, don't be sulky, from Newark (i)z pu_ol'in)s signal) he's pulling the signal. Examples of (t') are from Mansfield Woodhouse (t' tjàld, tɒt' dùv) the child, to the door, (ev t' lu_oqgist dee) have the longest day.

The *r* not before a vowel is practically lost, as TH. was told at Bingham, or vocalised, but TH. very frequently writes it in. Such an (r) is, however, nearly (r_c) or (r).

The *h* generally disappears.

There are very few peculiar words or expressions, as (-sen) for *-self* and *it falls*, probably. Boys (jə) you, *i.e.* use you in speaking to each other.

The sp. is therefore like rs. without the vanishes and with (u_o) for (æ). It is almost entirely free from fractures, which abound in the adjoining D 20.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE dt.

from Mansfield Woodhouse (2 n. Mansfield), pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of a labourer, native, 59, and in all cases of different usage compared with others, also pal. by TH. from dict. of other natives from

B Bulwell (4 nnw. Nottingham), retired labourer, 78.

M Mansfield, patten-maker, 58 to 60.

N Newark, from a butcher.

R East Retford (7 e-by-n. Worksop), from the lock-keeper, 71.

W Worksop (:wæsep), from a porter at the canal wharf, 56.

1. [we'l N, náu R] A see, tjaps [ladz R, meets M], jo [je B] si nâa dhut A'm re'it [ráit BMNR] ebâat [abâut R] dhat lit'l gjel [gjerl MNW, gje'l B, las R] ku_omin frém jən skuul [frém)s skuul jənder N].

2. shi)z gu'in dān [dāun R] dhe rood dhíu [dhéur R, dhéu W] thruu dhe red gjeet ən dhe left and sáid v)dh rood [ev dhe rood BM, N and R omit the words ev dhe wái W].

3. luuk! [A)m shúer N, shúe enu_of R] t' [dhe BWM] tjáild)z ga'n stre'it [stráit R] u_op te't' [te dhe BMN, te)th W] dūe ev dhe [dóe v)th W] roq [ru_oq BW] āas [inclined to (āus)].

4. wíe shi)l ap'n [me)bi B] fáind dhat dru_oqk'n def [dif B] wiz'nd [sloqki N] fele káld :təm.

5. wi aal noo im veri we'l.

6. we'ínt [wónt MR] dhi a'ud [a'uld BW] tjap suun titj [laan N] er not te du it egjen, púe thiq'!

7. luuk [lu_ok je N, dju_ost luuk W]! iz'nt it trúu [træ'ù BM, truú R]? v tóud je shi wer ru_oq N].

A few insignificant variants have been omitted.

This gives a practical uniformity with only an occasional variety of (áu) for (āu) = U'.

OTHER EXAMPLES DICTATED TO TH.

1. At Bingham, being an old woman's account of what she said to a clergyman who asked her for subscriptions [(ju sii, ser, sez ái, ái)v enu_of te dù widh wət lit'l ái e'v te gjiv ewee, en a láik te gi it misen, en dhen a noo dhe)l gjet it), you see, sir, says I, I've enough to do with what little I have to give away, and I like to give it myself, and then I know they'll get it.

2. At Mansfield (i)z got it ən im tənA'it), he's got it on him—is tipsy—to-night.

BINGHAM (7 e. Nottingham).

fragments of the es. (1) as pal. by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Frank Miles, artist, son of the former rector, marked M, and (2) as pal. in 1879 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Henry Doncaster, a native and retired tradesman, marked D. The numbers in () shew the paragraphs of the es. where the passages occur.

M (4) ái)m saatín ái híied em see—dhæt ái did seef enu_of
D ái)m saatín shùe[r ái ied em see—dhat ái did sēf enu_of

M —(6) dhæt dh)ood wu_omen eself (8) feund dhe druqk'n biis.
D — dhæt dh)a'ud wu_omen ersen fá'ənd dhe dru_oqk'n biis.

M (7) wət d)juu thiqk? (9) shi siid im wi her oon o'iz b'o'i-iq
D war)e)je thiqk? shi siid im wi er oon áiz, de'd

M deun ən)th gre'und, tloos b'o'i dhe dūuer ɐa v heus. (13) en
D dru_oqk ən dhe grá'ənd, egje'n iz oon á'əs dūe. en

M d)je noo? (11) dhat hapt ɔn ɐ wəʃɪn dee ɐz shii ɛn ɐr
D dhat ap'nd ɔn (dh)wəʃɪn dee, ɐs shii ɛn ɐr

M da'uter in laa kəm thruu dhə bæk jaad frəm iq'in e'ut dhə wɛt
D da'uter in laa kəm thruu dhə bæk' jaad frəm iq'in á'et dhə wɛt

M flooz tɛ drii. (1) uu kúuz [kéəz]? (14) ái)m ɐ goo'in hoom
D fluuz tɛ drái. uu kɛv[rz ɐbá'et juo? A)m gu'in òm)

M tɛ supɐ. gud nɔ'it.
D p'mi su_ɐpɛ[r. gu_d na'it [náit].

This shews a few points of difference, principally in the U' and I' words. I am not certain if I appreciated Mr. Miles correctly as (e'u) in place of (á'a) for the first, and for the second, which varied from (ái) to (j'i), the (ái) of Doncaster was probably more correct. But under these circumstances I do not consider it advisable to give more of Mr. Miles' version and words, with which he so obligingly furnished me. Transcripts from natural dialect speakers are always more satisfactory than from gentlemen who can only speak from memory, based possibly upon an originally incorrect appreciation.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE cwl.

Containing the principal wn. by TH. from natives at Bingham, Nottingham, Bulwell, Mansfield, Mansfield Woodhouse, Newark, Southwell (:su_dhɪl), Worksop, and East Retford. The general sameness, as shewn by the dt., renders it unnecessary to distinguish the places.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 ták. 8 e'v. 18 kjeek. 21 neem. A: — kjat [cat, observe (kát) cart]. A: or O: 60 lu_q. 64 ru_q. A'- 67 goo, gu, gu'in. 69 nòo noo. 73 soo. 81 leen. 86 ɔts, ɔts. A': 104 rood. 115 oom òm a'm ùem. 117 wan won. 118 bóun. 123 nu_thi_qk. 124 stòon sto'en.

Æ- 138 faadhə fædhə. — lɛdhə [ladder]. — stéevz [stairs]. Æ: 159 e'z. 161 dee. — kát [cart]. Æ'- 193 thiin. 197 tpiiz. Æ': 209 nive. 212 wee. 224 wiv.

E- 231 th, dhə, dh, t'. 233 spiik speak. 243 plee ple'i. 251 miit.
E: 262 wee. 265 stre'it stráit. 278 wensh. E'- 299 griin. E': 312 iv. 314 iv_rɪd.

EA: 324 e'it. 326 a'ud. 328 kə'ud. 330 óud. 332 tɛ'ud [usually (teld)]. 334 ɛpəth [halfpenny worth]. 335 aal. 340 jaad. 346 gjet. EA'- 347 e'd. EA': 355 def. 360 tiem. 361 biin, bién. 366 greet gret [usually (big)]. EI- 372 aa. EI: 377 stéik. EO: — jalə [yellow]. 396 wak. 402 laan. EO'- — trɪ [tree]. EO': 426 fe'it. 435 jo juo. 436 trúu, trúu. 437 trúuth. EY- 438 dáí da'i.

I: — bád [bird]. 458 náit. 459 ráit re'it. 465 sitj. 466 [between] tjo'ild tjo'ild. 487 jisterdee. I'- 492 [between] sa'id sáid.

O- 519 ove. O: — traf [water trough]. 528 tha'ut. 531 da atv. 541 wənt wənt we'nt. 550 wə'rd. O'- 555 shuu. 558 luuk. 559 fædhə [fodder]. 560 skuul. 564 suun. 567 t' tu_dher. O': 578 plá'u [with laterally elongated mouth opening, see p. 448]. 579 enu_f. 587 dū_n.

U- 606 dūu. 607 bu_tɛ. U: 612 su_mut [somewhat]. 616 gr_ɛaund. 629 su_n. 632 u_p. U'- 643 nâx, [between] nâx ná'a [at Bingham], nâu naa ná'i. 650 ebaat. U': 658 dā'un [mouth as for 578], dāæn d_ɛaæn daan. 663 âs [as for 578], âus. 667 âet [as for 578], âet á'et àt.

Y- 679 tja_tj. Y: 694 [between] wokin wək'in [working]. Y'- 706 wái.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. 758 gjel [uncommon]. O. 767 nôiz. 789 râu. U. 796 blû. 805 kardz kru_odz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 f's. E.. 888 saatin. 890 bîes [pl. cows]. I.. *and* Y.. 898 [between] naïst n'ist. 901 [between] fâin f'in. — sarv sari [sirrah]. O.. 947 bôil. 948 bâal. — tan [turn]. U.. 965 ôil. 970 dy_os.

D 28 = w.SM. = western South Midland.

Boundaries. Begin between Flint and Connah's Quay in main Fl., n. Wales, on the river Dee, and follow the CB to Chirk, Dn., on the b. of Sh., and hence pass in Fl. southwards, leaving Northop and Mold on the w. and Hope on the e. Entering Dn., deflect slightly to the se., then, passing through Wrexham, go s. to the e. of Ruabon and w. of Chirk to the b. of Sh. Enter Sh. on the n. *sum* line 1, and go se. between Oswestry on the s. and Ellesmere on the n. Pass through Hordley and w. of Upton Magna till you strike the Severn by Atcham (4se. Shrewsbury). Then probably go n., passing e. of Upton Magna, Wem, Whixall, and Prees, but w. of Hodnet, to Whitechurch, Sh., and Wirwall, Ch. (2 n. Whitechurch). Enter the s. b. of D 25, and proceed along it sw. of Malpas and e. of Farndon to Aldford and Eccleston, and then, avoiding Chester, to the Dee, which pursue till the starting-point is reached nw. of Connah's Quay.

Area. This small district comprises the se. of main or Welsh Fl. and ne. of Dn., with the whole of detached or English Fl., a small portion of the n. of Sh. and a still smaller slip to the w. of Ch. It is a district not well known phonetically, but, thanks to the exertions of TH., some very fair conception of its character may be formed.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County List under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., || so., ° io.

Wales, Dn. °Chirk, °†Holt, °†Wrexham.

England, Ch. †Churton, †Eccleston, °†Farndon, †Shocklach.

Wales, Fl. (detached). †Bettisfield, °†Hanmer.

Wales, Fl. (main). †Bretton, °†Hawarden, °Hope, °Northop.

England, Sh. †Ellesmere, †Hadnall, °Hordley, °Loppington, °Prees, †Upton Magna, †Welsh Frankton, †Wem, †Whitechurch, °†Whixall, †Yorton.

Characters. This small district, composed of five distinct constituents Sh., det. Fl., Ch., Dn., main Fl., is not at all homogeneous; even each constituent is not so. But it is chiefly under the domination of Ch. A comparison of all the information obtained leads to the following as the general characters.

A- (ii ee), as (niim neem) name.

A' (oo uu), as (stoon stuun) stone.

E' (ii), as (grin) green, slight leaning to (î éi).

IH (ii E'i), as (niit ne'it) night, the last chiefly in *good-night*.

I' (ə'i a'i ai A'i), say about (ai).

O' (ə'u iu), as (næ'un niun) noon, the former observed by TH., the latter is felt by others.

U (u_o) this is regular.

U' (ə'u æ'u au ou), say (au).

The whole of these characters together mark the dialectal pron. The U = (u_o) distinguishes it from Sh. on the one hand, the U' = (au) connects it with s.Ch. on the other, and the U' = (ə'u) connects it with Sh. A- = (ii) is a Ch. form. The

IH=(ii) is singular, but occurs in w.Ch. There is most schism about O', TH. having almost invariably observed $\langle\omega'u\rangle$, as Mr. Darlington does in s.Ch., whereas other informants give $\langle iu\rangle$, a form we know in s. D 26 and D 29. But $\langle\omega'u\rangle$ is a remarkably unstable combination, as we already know.

The *r* has become Midland, say $\langle r\rangle$, instead of Welsh, except in most of the Sh. portion. The Welsh rising inflexion is uncertain. As a rule the Midland character prevails. The detached Flint is called English Flint by the Welsh, and, although the names of places are still Welsh, the language has been English for nearly a thousand years.

Varieties. There is so much uncertainty of speech everywhere, that it is not possible to define any particular varieties. It has therefore seemed best to make the varieties purely geographical, Var. i. containing the parts of Sh. involved, Var. ii. detached Flint, Var. iii. the small part of w.Ch., and Var. iv. parts of the Welsh counties of Dn. and main Fl. These are easily delimited. The phonetic limits may be taken as $U=\langle u_{\circ}\rangle$ from the $U=\langle \circ\rangle$ of Sh., and $U'=\langle \acute{a}u \ \acute{o}u\rangle$ from the $U'=\langle \acute{a}i\rangle$ of Ch., and English as against Welsh in Dn. and Fl. But the distinctions between the varieties are difficult to seize, if only because of the non-homogeneity of each variety. The e. b. as already mentioned is not certain.

Illustrations. The forms of speech in this district are illustrated by four dialect tests, of which two were from dictation. The other two are rather uncertain, though one was written by a native, because of the difficulty in understanding the notation of the writers without personal interviews. These represent varieties i., ii., iii., and are arranged interlinearly. It will be seen that the Ellesmere and Hanmer forms are almost identical. Besides these there are 4 cwl., arranged almost entirely from wn. by TH. from trustworthy sources. So far as they go, they give the best information possible; but they are necessarily defective, because as a general rule the information was obtained as it was offered, and there was no opportunity for systematic investigation. We must rather be surprised at the amount of information obtained, than disappointed by its paucity.

FOUR INTERLINEAR DIALECT TESTS.

These illustrate three out of the four varieties. I was unfortunately unable to interpret the dt. sent me from Hawarden, Fl. Two of these were written from dictation of natives by TH. The other two are my own interpretations of io.

Var. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE.

E. Ellesmere, Sh., pal. in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of the town-crier, Davenport, b. 1809, native, and son and grandson of natives. See also cwl.

W. Whixall, Sh., written in 1879 by the Rev. J. Evans, vicar, not a native, but resident from 1844 (he was still so in 1886), who had much examined the dialect and gave full details respecting the pron., by which the dt. has been pal. by AJE.

Var. ii. DETACHED OR ENGLISH FLINT.

H. Hanmer, written in 1882 by TH. from the dict. of Mr. John Heatley, b. about 1828, bricklayer, of the Arowry, a hamlet of Hanmer. Another dt. given me by Mr. Bateman, of the same place, could not be interpreted. See also cwl.

Var. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE.

F. Farndon, written in 1879 by Mr. E. French, native, and pal. by AJE.

from his indications and the wl. I have retained his (iu'), although he says the sound is *not* that of *u* in *mute*, and TH. heard *u'u*. Mr. F. says that Farndon is not in the slightest degree affected by Dn., but rather the contrary, and thinks that "the first effect that the Welsh influence has on English is to destroy all provincial pron." The pron. of Farndon is perhaps more correctly given in the following cwl.

Var. iv. WELSH FLINT and DENBIGH is illustrated only by the cwl. formed from TH.'s wn.

1. *Ellesmere.* ə'i see, ladz, ʝe sii nə'u dhut ə'i'm rīt
Whixall. suuə əi sez, tʝaps, ʝe sɪn nʔáu vɜ́ áu əi'm rīt
Hanmer. ə'i sii, ladz, ʝe siin nə'u vɜ́ ə'i'm rīt
Farndon suu a'i sii, miits, ʝe séi náu dhɛt ai'm rīt

E ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl wɛnsh kə'mɪn frem dhɛ skuul
W ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl wɛnsh vɜ́ ɪz ɛkʊ'mɪn frɛ dhɛ skɪul
H ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl wɛnsh kʊ'mɪn frem) s) skuul
F ɛbə'ut dhat lɪ'tl wɛnsh kʊ'mɪn frem dhɛ skɪul

E ʝander.
W ʝander.
H ʝander.
F ʝander.

2. E ɛr)z gù'ɪn dɛ'ʊn dhɛ rood dhɪər θruu dhɛ red wɪkɪt
W ɛr)z ɛgɪɪn dʔáun dhɛ léen dhɪər θruu dhɛ red géet
H ɛr)z gə'u)ɪn dɔ'ʊn dhɛ ró'd dhɪər θrə'u dhɛ red wɪkɪt
F iu)z gu'ɪn dáun dhɛ ruud dhɪər θrɪu dhɛ red giit

E ɔn dhɛ lɪft and sə'id ɐ dhɛ rood.
W o dhɛ lɪft and sáid o dhɛ léen.
H ɔn dhɛ lɪft an' sə'id dhɛ ró'd.
F ɔn dhɛ left and sa'id ɐv dhɛ wii.

3. E séf ɛnu_f dhɛ tʝe'ɪld)z gə'n stre'ɪt u_p tɛ dhɛ raq
W sàrtɪnli ɛnəf dhɛ tʝáld vɜ́ gɛɔn rīt u_p tɛ dúer ɐ
H luk ʝe! dhɛ tʝə'ɪld)z gə'n stre'ɪt u_p tɛ dhɛ rəq'
F shúr ɛnu_f dhɛ tʝa'ɪld vɜ́ gɔn strɪt u_p tɛ dhɛ dúer

E dúer.
W dhɛ raq ʝháus.
H dóer.
F ɐv dhɛ ru_q áus.

4. E wàr ɛr mee fə'ɪnd dhat dru_qk'n dʝɛf
W wíer ɛr)l mɛ ap fáind dhat dru_qk'n dɛɛf
H meebii ɛr)l fə'ɪnd dhat dru_qk'n dʝɛf θɪn
F wíer iu)l tʝans tɛ fáind dhat dru_qk'n dɛf

E ɛ'ud tʝap kʌld :tu_m.
W srɪvɛld fɛlɛr o dhɛ néem o :tu_mes.
H rɪq'ld fɛlɛ dhɪər, vɜ́ dhɛ kʌ'n :tu_m.
F wɪz'nd fɛlɛr ɐ dhɛ nɪm ɐv :tu_mes.

5. E wi aal noo ðm veri wel.
 W æs aal noon ðm vare wel.
 H wi aal noon ðm veri we'l.
 F wi aa nuu ðm veri wel.
6. E wu_one dhe æ'ud tʃap suun tètʃ ɛr nəd te du)it
 W wu_oned dh)æ'ud tʃap siun larn ɛr nəd te doo it
 H wu_one dhe æ'ud tʃap sæ'un larn ɛr beter tɪl dæ'u it
 F wu_one dhe æ'ud tʃap siun teetʃ ɛr nɒt te diu it
- E ɛgʃe'n, puer thiq!
 W nəd nɒ mɔer, puer thin!
 H ɛgʃe'n, pæ'uer thiq!
 F ɛgen, piur thiq!
7. E luk ʒe! in'ed it tru?u?
 W liuk, in'ed it driu?
 H luk ʒe! in'et it træ'u?
 F liuk, izn't it triu?

Notes to Ellesmere dt.

2. *wicket* or (atʃet) hatch-et, little hatch, common low garden gate.

3. *child* or (ʃu_oq ɛn) young one.—*door* or (æ'us) house.

5. *we all know him very well*, or (æməst ɛvəri bɔdi nooz ðm) almost everybody knows him.

shr- initial, is replaced by (sr-), as (srimps sru_obz) shrimps shrubs.

Notes to Whixall dt.

1. *chaps*, (ladz), or (ʃo félez), not *mates*.—*a coming*, with either (u_o) or (æ).

2. *left* or (laft).

3. *enough*, probably (ɛnu_of).—*child* or (brat), which means pinafore, and hence one who wears a pinafore.—*right up to*, occ. (striet u_op tɪl).—*house*, the aspirate was especially said to be used.

4. *may hap to find*, to omitted.—*deaf* or (dʒɛf).—*shrivelled*, this word was noted to have been heard.—*name* or (niem).

5. *us*, this looks like an error.

6. *learn* or (teetʃ), the (ɛn) for (ɛr) seems to be a mistake.—*do*, as (doo), was marked occ., perhaps (diu) is the usual word.—*thing*, possibly (thin) is an error for (thiq).

7. *true*, here (driu) looks like an error.

Notes to Hanmer dt.

1. *lad*s or (tʃaps) chaps.—*school* or (skæ'ul).—*wicket* or (atʃ) hatch.

3. *door* or (æ'us) house.—*may be*, perhaps.

6. *learn* or (tètʃ) teach.

Notes to Farndon dt.

The U' words are altered from (éu) to (áu). TH. heard (áu) generally, and sometimes (æ'u æ'u), but with no approach to (éu ɛ'u), unlikely sounds in this part of the country. The (iu) was almost constantly heard by TH. as (æ'u), but the two forms are often confused, see O' words in D 26, s.Db., and D 29, Le. Mr. French was very positive of the (iu), though he said it was not *u* in *mute*, and repudiated what he understood by (æ'u). The (A'i) was heard by TH. as (ái); the confusion is common among (ái A'i ɔ'i ói).

1. *say*, *see*, Mr. F. wrote (sí sēi), TH. (sü sī) respectively.—*right*, TH. (rīt).—*coming*, TH. (kəmin) the (æ u_o) in this is always uncertain in this neighbourhood.—*yonder* should probably be (jander).

2. *she's* (iu)z should probably be (æ)z, the customary form, but TH. heard (æ'u) once.—*road*, TH. (rood).—*gate*, TH. (gʃɛt).—*way*, TH. had (wii), and F. had (wī).

4. *name*, TH. heard (neem) twice, and (niem) once; there is much uncertainty of usage here, just as there was a fight between (ee ii) in the E, E-, E' words in received English in the xvth and xvith centuries.

5. *know*, probably (noon) would be more correct.

VAR. i. NORTH SHROPSHIRE cwl.

E Ellesmere, wn. by TH. Said to have no verbal pl. in *-en*, but (*noo dhis ku ntri dæ n ju?*, know this country, do-en you? was heard. No Welsh *r*; that is to say, (*r*), and not (*r*), was used when not before a vowel. Negatives, [*shanə, bɛnə, wu nə*] *shan't, ben't, won't*.

F Welsh Frankton (3 w. Ellesmere), wn. by TH.

Y Yorton (7 n. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

W Wem, wn. by TH. and † from Miss Jackson's Wood-Book.

L Loppington, wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Davis, Vicar.

H Hordley (13 nw. Shrewsbury), wl. io. by Rev. J. W. Moore, Rector.

U Upton Magna (4 e. Shrewsbury), wn. by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 EU *neem*. 25 H *maan*. 28 ELH *aar*. 31 U *leet*. 33 L *reedher*. A: 50 H *tu qz*. 51 EU *ma'n*, L *mən*. 56 W *wash*, L *wash*, H *wesh*. A: or O: 58 F *frəm*. 61 L *ɛ mu qst*. 64 E *raq*, U *ru q'* [occ.] *raq*. A'- 67 F *goo*, U *guin*. 84 E *mûer*. 86 L *wu ts*. 90 L *blāu*. 91 L *māu*. A': 104 YU *rood*, W† *ru ed*. 108 H *du f*. 113 E *uul*. 115 E *oom wôm wə'm*, EFU *wa'm*. 118 U *boon*. 124 U *stoon*.

Æ- 138 UE *faadher*, [occ.] *feedher*, UFYL *feedher*. 144 L *ugen*. — E *staarz* [stairs], F *stærz*. 152 E *waatur, wee-*, L *weetur*. Æ: 158 L *aater*. 161 E *dee¹ dee*. 172 E *gras*, EL *gres*. — E *rət* [rat]. 179 W *wəd*. Æ'- 183 F *tètj*. 190 E *kee*, U *kjee*. 194 L *eeni*, U *ani*. 195 L *meeni*. 196 H *waar*. 197 H *tjeez*, U *tjiiz*. 200 UE *weet*, W† *weet*, H *wiet*. — W† *jeth* [heath]. Æ': 216 E *deed*. 218 L *ship*. 219 F *sliip*. 222 L *jeer*. 223 EU *dhier*, H *dhaar*. 224 EU *wier*, H *waar*. 228 H *sweet*.

E- 232 F *breek*. 233 EU *speek*. 248 L *maar*. 251 U *meet*. E: 261 E *see¹ see*, U *see*. 262 E *wee¹ wee*, U *wee*. 265 W *stre'it*. 270 L *bali*. 272 L *el'm*. 278 U *wensh*. E'- 290 U *i*. 297 W *fələ*. 299 EU *griin*. 300 U *kiip*. E': 312 W *ier*. 314 E *ierd*.

EA- 320 WLH *kaar*. EA: 322 UY *lāf*. 326 EU *ə'ud*, L *auld*. 327 L *be'uld*. 328 EU *kə'ud*. 333 L *kaaf*. 334 L *eeif*. 345 L *dərst* [did dare]. 346 E *gjeet*. EA'- 347 UEY *je'd*. EA: 350 E [between] *də'd dəd*, LHU *djed*. 355 L *diif*, U *djef*. 356 W† *liif*. 360 L *tjem*. 366 E *greet*, U *grət*. EO- 385 L *bineeth*. EO: 388 U *molk*. 395 E *roqg*, U *ru q*. 402 EYLHU *lārɲ*. 404 E *staar*. 407 L *feedhiq*. EO'- 413 H *div'l*. EO': 437 U *trūth*. EY- 438 E *dāi*.

I- 442 LH *ivi*. 449 F *gjet*. I: 458 E *ne'it*, FU *nə'it*, W *nit*. 459 E *rə'it*, W [between] *rə'it rə'it*, W† *rit*. 478 E *grə'ind*. — E *ru n* [run]. 487 H *isterdi*. I'- E [between] *ə'i éi* [or] *ə'i é'i* *ái*, W *á'i ái*. 494 U [between] *tə'im táim*. I': — *də'itj* [ditch]. 500 H *la'ik*. 506 H *wamen*. — E *ee* [hay].

O: 526 H *keuth*. 527 E *bə'ut*. 531 EU *daatur*. 552 U *ka'rn*. — E *a'rs*, EU *a's* [horse]. O'- 555 E *shə'u*, U *shuu*. 558 E *luk luk lək*. 559 E *mu dher mə- mæ-*, F *mə-*. 563 E *mu ndi*. 564 E *sə'un*, U *suun*. 566 F *u dher*. 568 E *bru dher*. O': 569 E *buk buk bək*. 570 E *tuk*. 571 F *gu d*. 573 U *flu d*. 577 H *bín*. 579 U *inu t*. 587 EU *du n*. 588 E *nə'un*, U *nuun*.

U- 603 E *kəm*, U *kəmin*. 604 U *su mer*. — FYW *thu nder* [thunder]. 605 E *sôn*, U *sū n*. 606 EU *dûer*, F *dô lər*. U: 612 EU *sū m*. — Y *tu mb'l* [tumble]. 622 U *u nder*. 625 U *ru q*. 629 U *su n*. 632 EFW *u p*. 633 EYW *ku p*, F *kop*. 636 H *færdher*. 639 U *du st*. U'- 641 EU *ə'u*. 643 E *nə'u*. 645 E *bə'ut*. 647 E *wu let*. U: 658 EU *də'm*, F *dā m*. 659 EU *tə'un*. 663 F *ə'us*. 665 E *mə'us*. 666 U *u zbend*. 667 E *ə'ut*.

Y- 673 EY *mu tj*. 679 E *tjartj*. Y: 700 L *warser*, U *wərst*. Y': 709 E *fæder*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — Y *baqk*. E. 744 H *meez'lz*. 745 H *tjeet*. 751 H *pərt*. I.

and Y. 758 H gal. O. 766 H mə'idhured. 767 H na'iz, U [between] nə'iz na'iz. 769 L mə'ul. U. — E tɹɹ_ɔb [tub]. 794 YW dɹɹ_ɔg. 803 YW dɹɹ_ɔmp. 804 WU dɹɹ_ɔqk'n. 805 H kɹɹ_ɔdz. 807 W pɹɹ_ɔs. 808 F pət, E pɹɹ_ɔt, [between] pɹɹ_ɔt pət.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 U pləs. 817 H rədish. 824 E tɹɹ_ɔr. 835 H rɛɛz'n. 836 H sɛɛz'n. 838 H tɹɛɛt. 841 U tɹɹ_ɔns. 845 H anshent. 850 E deɛns. 851 F nɛnt [old form], H aant. 852 H apɛrn.

E.. 867 UY tee. 868 L dɹɹ_ɔi. 869 UEH veel. 877 L aar. 878 H salɛri. 887 H klaardɹɹ_ɔ. 888 LH sàrtin. 889 H sees. 890 E bèst, H beest. 891 H fɛɛst. 894 H disɛɛv. 895 H riseɛv.

O.. — E bif [beef]. 916 H u_ɔnɹɛn. 918 H feeb'l. 922 H bash'l. 923 H ma'ist. 924 H tɹɹ_ɔis. 926 H spa'il. 929 H ka'ukɛmber. 942 H batɹɹ_ɔr. 947 H ba'il. — Y kolɹ [colour], W ku_ɔlɹ. 950 F su_ɔper. 954 H ku_ɔshin.

U.. 965 H a'il. 968 H a'ister. 969 F shə'uer.

VAR. ii. DETACHED FLINT cwl.

H Hanmer, wn. by TH. from several natives.

B Bettisfield (2½ s. Hanmer), wn. by TH. from a native workman.

Notes.

Construction. H and B both have verbal pl. in *-en*. B (dhe milk'n, dhe kiip'n; an je dɹɹ_ɔn? wu_ɔn je dæ'u it? dɹɹ_ɔn je noo? ə'u bin je?), they milk-en, they keep-en; have-n you done? will-en you do it? do-en you know? how be-n you? H (wɹɹ_ɔm ju)m we am, you am.

Negatives. (wu_ɔne kɹɹ_ɔnɛ dɹɹ_ɔdnɛ shanɛ bɹɹ_ɔnɛ dɹɹ_ɔnɛ) won't can't didn't sha'nt ben't don't.

Letter Names. Old A (aa), E (ii).

Intonation. No final rising inflexion.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — B wɛk [wake, feast]. 21 H neem nee'm, B nee'ɹm. 33 H reedher. A: — H gander [gander]. A: or O: 60 H lu_ɔq. 64 H rɹɹ_ɔq, B ru_ɔqg. A'- 67 [“(ga'z) goes, is a characteristic form in w. and sw.Ch., and in this district.”—TH.] H gu_ɔin. 72 H úv. 73 H sò. 81 H leen. A': 104 HB rood, H rɹɹ_ɔd. 115 H [between] wə'm wòm, HB wòm, H wə'm.

Æ- 138 HB fɛɛdher, [many others said] H faadher fɹɹ_ɔdher. — H steerz, B staarz [stairs]. 152 H wiiter. Æ: 161 H dii, B dee tɹɹ_ɔdee. 172 H gɹɹɛs. Æ'- 183 H tɹɹ_ɔtɹɹ_ɔ. 187 H leev. 200 H wɹɹ_ɔt, B weet. Æ': 216 H dɹɹ_ɔe'l. 223 HB dhɹɹ_ɔr. 224 HB wɹɹ_ɔr.

E- 231 HB dhu. 233 HB speek. 235 H weev. 241 B reen. 248 H meer, B maar. — H eet [eat]. E: — B fatɹɹ_ɔ [fetch]. 261 H sɹɹ_ɔ see. 262 HB wee, H wee'. 265 HB stre'it. E'- 295 B bred. 299 HB griin. 300 H kip kiip. E': 307 B nái. 312 HB ier. 314 B ierd. 315 B fit.

EA: 322 HB laf. 326 H ə'ud, B ə'ud. 328 H kɹɹ_ɔnd. 332 H tɹɹ_ɔnd. 346 H giit gjeet. EA'- 347 H jɹɹ_ɔd. EA': 350 HB dɹɹ_ɔe'd. 355 H dɹɹ_ɔef. 360 H tɹɹ_ɔm. 361 H bɹɹ_ɔenz. 363 H tɹɹ_ɔp. 366 H gree't, B greet. EO: 394 H jander. 395 H ju_ɔqg. 398 H stàrvd. 402 HB larn. 404 B stàrz. EO': 428 H sii. 437 HB trə'uth. EY- 438 HB dái.

I- 440 H wik. 447 H ɹ [she]. I: 458 HB nɹɹ_ɔt nɹɹ_ɔt [but in the farewell] gu_ɔd nɹɹ_ɔt. 459 H rɹɹ_ɔt. 466 B tɹɹ_ɔild. 469 H wɹɹ_ɔl [will]. 477 H fɹɹ_ɔnd. I'- 492 H sɹɹ_ɔid. 494 H taim taim tɹɹ_ɔm, B [between] tɹɹ_ɔm taim tɹɹ_ɔm. I': 509 H wəil.

O: 531 HB daater. — H kɹɹɹɹɹ [crops]. — H əs əs'iz, B əs [horse]. 554 H ɹkɹɹɹ. O'- 555 B shə'u. 559 H mu_ɔdher. 560 H skuul skə'ul. 562 B mə'un. O': 579 H enu_ɔf. 586 HB dæ'u. 587 HB dɹɹ_ɔn. 588 HB nɹɹ_ɔun.

U- 603 H ku_ɔmin ku_ɔmɹn [pres. p.], HB kamin. — B thu_ɔnder [thunder].

605 HB sà'n. 606 HB d'ær. U: 634 H thræ'u. U'- 640 H kə'u'us' [cowhouse]. B kjáuz [cows]. 641 H á'u, B ə'u. 643 H nə'u. 650 HB əb'at. U': 658 HB də'um, H dām. 663 HB ə'us. Y: — B shu't [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 H meet [occ.]. E. 749 H lift. I. and Y. 756 H srimp. 758 B gærl'd, H gje'rl [when used]. O. — B fræk [froek, a woman's gown]. 790 B gə'und. U. 804 B dru'qk'n. — H bu'ti [butty, mate].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 H plès. 841 B tjans. — B sleet [slate]. E.. 867 H tee. 885 H veri. — B fàr [fair for cattle]. O.. — B bif [beef]. 947 H bə'il. 950 B su'pər.

VAR. iii. SOUTH CHESHIRE cwl.

S Shocklach (4 wnw.Malpas), wn. by TH.

Construction. (kos) canst thou.

Negatives. (wu'ne shane kəne du'ne) won't shan't can't don't.

F Farndon (7s.Chester) (:fàrn/, wn. by TH., † from W. Gronnow, a native, b. 1797-8, † from the same and others also.

Constructions. (am jə) am you? verbal pl. in -en (an jə gət'n ə basket lənd əz?) have you got a basket to lend us? Omission of to (as in last sentence).

Negatives. (əne shane du'ne wu'ne kəne) haven't shan't don't won't can't.

Letter Name. J (dʒéi dʒaa).

Vocabulary. No thou, no (weli) well-nigh.

C Churton (1 n.Farndon), wn. by TH.

E Eccleston (:eklɛstən) (2 s Chester/, wn. by TH. The Duke of Westminster's Eaton Hall is called (:eet'n).

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en.

Negatives. (kəne) can't, (ku'dne) couldn't.

Letter Names. A (aa) originally, altered when the Bishop of St. Asaph's daughters came.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 F tak. 5 S miik, F meek. 21 SF niim, F† neem. A: or O: 64 F ru'q rəq'g. F† raq'. A'- 67 F† gu'jn. 69 F† noo. 74 E tæ'u. 80 S ələdi. — S sùp [soap]. 86 F wəts, F† wu't+miil [oatmeal]. A': 102 S aks. 104 SF rood, C ruud. 115 S w'a'm, F'oom w'a'm wòm [and between the two last]. 124 S stuun. — S rùp [rope].

Æ- 138 SF faadher, F†E feedher. 152 F wiiter. Æ: — E gjedherd [gathered]. 161 SF dii. 164 F† mi. 166 S miid. Æ'- 183 SF tēitj, E tēitj. 193 E klēien. 194 E ani. 197 S tjeiz. 200 SF wāiet, F wiet. F† wiit weet. — S jeth [heath]. Æ': 213 F† niidher. 216 E dē'l. 223 F dhier, E dhier.

E- 233 F†E speekin. 241 S riin. 243 S plii. E: — E rēti [reach]. 261 F sii. 262 SF†C wii. E: 278 F† wensh. E'- 290 E ā. 299 S grēin, F† grān. 300 F† kiip. E': 312 E āier. 314 SF† ierd.

EA: 322 S laf. 325 F wāk. 326 SFE ə'ud [they divide (ə nə'ud, an old)]. 328 S kə'ud. 332 E tə'ud. 334 S if. 343 FE wārm. 346 F gjet. EA'- 347 SF jē'd, F† əd. 348 F† aiz. EA': 355 F dēf. 359 F† niiber. 361 SF biien, F biin [refined]. 364 F tɔap. 366 S griit, F† greet. EO: 390 F† sha'uld. 394 SF† jənder, E jan-. 399 F brāt. 402 SF†E lār'n, F lē'rn. EO'- 410 SE ə'u. EO': 425 F lāt. 428 F sāi. 437 F† træ'uth. EY- 438 F† dāi.

I: 452 F† āi. 458 S néit, [between] nait na'it, F nít nait, F† nait, E nüt. 459 F riit. I'- 490 E báii. 494 F† táim. I': 505 E wē'if. 508 F mēil. 509 E wē'il.

O- 522 F oop'n. O: — F sru'b [shrub]. 531 SF† daater. 538 F†

wa'uld. — E a's [horse]. O'- 555 F†shæ'u. 559 F† mædher. 560 F skæ'u skæ'ul. 564 F sæ'un. O': — E bræ_ok [brook]. 586 SF† dæ'u. 587 SF† dū_n. 588 F† nœ'un. 594 F† bæ'ut.
 U- 603 F† kām. 605 SF† sū_n. 606 S dū_{er}, FE dæ'u_{er}. U: — F dū_m [dumb]. 615 F† páund. 636 E fæd_{er}. U'- 640 F káu_z. 643 F† náu. 652 F† kæ'uld. U: 654 F sráud. 658 F† dáun, C dáun. 662 F† ú_z. 663 F† áus' ə'us' E áus'.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — S biibi [baby]. 726 FE tAAk. — S boqk [bank]. — C atjiz [hatches, applied to the small gates themselves, and on this occasion to the valves of double iron gates 4 feet wide each]. — S tiitez [potatoes]. E. — E eez [ease]. I. and Y. 756 F srimp. O. 767 F† náiz. 770 F :tu_{mez}. U. 798 E kwí_{er}.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 S plis. — C wiidjiz [wages]. — S niitiv [native]. — C stiishen [station]. E.. 867 F tee. — E prètj [preach]. — F† piin [pain]. — E sàrvizs [service]. I.. and Y.. 898 F† náis. O.. — S béif [beet]. — E djé'iner [joiner]. 928 F† áuns. — E ráund [round]. 939 F† tloos. — S tòst [toast]. 940 F kúet. 943 F tu_otj.

VAR. iv. WELSH FLINT AND DENBIGH CWL.

H Holt (:a'ut'), Dn., separated from Farndon, Ch., only by a bridge over the Dee, wn. Dec. 1882 by TH. chiefly from Parish Clerk, 58, and wife, 57, both natives.

Negative. (wu_one) won't.

Peculiar (qg). (siqgin) singing.

W Wrexham (:riksem), Dn., wn. Dec. 1882 by TH.

B Bretton (:bret'n), Fl., wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. from S. Mitchell, native.

Constructions. Verbal pl. in -en (an jə got it?) have-n you got it?

Hw Hawarden (:árdin), Fl. 5 w-by-s. Chester, wn. Jan. 1883 by TH. The schoolmaster, Mr. Spencer, at the request of Rev. S. Gladstone, wrote a dt., but I have not succeeded in interpreting it, even with the help of this cwl., and a few words given to TH. by Mr. Spencer. † marks words for Buckley (:ba.kl] (2 wsw.Hw.). Most of the Hw. words were from two old men, b. 1798 and 1802, cutting fire-wood at Hw. Castle, who had been on the estate many years.

Constructions. (dhi an ad it) they have-n had it.

Negative. Hw (wònt) won't, † (wu_one kəne shəne mu_one du_one) won't can't shan't mustn't don't.

Letter name. A (aa).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H biik. 21 B niim. — Hw giim [game]. A: — B pən [pan]. 44 B land. 51 B ma'n. A: or O: 64 H raq, B ru_oqg. A'- 67 H guj_n, B guu. 69 B noo. 72 H wúe+r. 74 Hw tæ'u. 86 W wu_ots. A': 102 W aks. 115 H wæ'm, B wòm, Hw oom. 118 B boon. 122 B nò. 124 B stoon.

Æ- 138 HB faadher, HwB fædher. 152 HB wiiter. Æ: 161 HBHw dii. 172 HB gres. Æ'- 193 B kliin. 194 Hw ani. 200 H wíiet, B wíiet, Hw weet wíiet. Æ': 216 Hw del deel. 223 W dhí_{er}, B dhí_{er}. 224 HWHw wíer, B wí_{er}.

E- 233 HHw speek. 241 HBHw riin. 243 H plii. 251 B meet. E: 261 H sii. 262 H wií. 278 H wentj, B wensh. E'- 290 H á, BHw éi. 299 H griin, B grín. E': 312 H á_{er}. 314 HBHw íerd.

EA: 322 HB laf. 324 Hw e'at. 326 BHw æ'ud. 328 B kæ'ud. 332 Hw tæ'ud. 333 Hw ka'í. — BHw fíarn [a fern]. 346 B gít, Hw grít. EA'- 347 H jē'd, BHw ē'd. EA': 350 Hw† djē'd. 355 Hw díf. 360 H tiim tjē'm. 361 H báienz, B báien. 366 H greet, B gríit. EO: 395 Hw

ju.q. 402 HB larn. EO'- 410 HHw æ'u. 416 H dæ'r. 420 Hw fól'er.
 EO': 437 B tra'uth. EY- 438 HB dæi.
 I- 449 HHw gjet. I: 465 B sity. 466 Hw tjàild. 469 H wu l. —
 Hw ru_n [run]. I'- [W (ə'i æ'i) from various people]. I': — W daitj
 [ditch]. 509 H wail.
 O: — BHw kraft [croft, field]. 531 H daater dóut'er, B daater. — B
 krap [crop]. 552 B ka'rn. O'- 555 H shuu, B shæ'u [pl. (shæ'un)]. 560
 BHw skæ'u, Hw skiu. 564 H sæ'un. 566 W u dher. 568 H bra_dher, W
 brædher. O': 569 H bæ'uk. — W bræk [brook]. 571 Hw gù'd. 578 W
 [between] plæ'u plæ'u. 586 Hw da'u. 587 HHw dū_n. 588 HB næ'un.
 U- 603 H kām. 604 H su_mer [-summer]. — HB thu_nder [thunder].
 605 HBHw sū_n. 606 HB dæ'uer, Hw dûr. 607 W bâte bu_ter. U:
 [W, both (ə u_) used, but mostly (u_)]. 612 W sū_m. — Hw su_met [some-
 what]. 616 Hw græ'und. 629 H su_n. 632 H u_p. 633 H ku_p, W kəp
 kop. U'- 640 B kjāu [pl. (kjæ'i) kine]. 641 B āu. 643 Hw nāu. U':
 658 HBHw dāun, W dōun [various speakers]. 659 H tāun, W tōun [various
 speakers]. 662 Hw ū_z. 663 HB āus. 667 H æ'ut. Y- 682 B lit'l.
 Y: 701 Hw iost.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 B ladz [often, (traps) occ.] — W bæqk. — 738 H teetēz, W titūz,
 B petiitēz. O. — H dæg [dog]. U. — W tob [tub]. 794 W djoq
 dju_g. 803 W djəmp.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — B teeb'l. 811 H plis. 835 Hw ræz'n. 848 H tjiindj. E..
 867 Hw tee. — B piin [pain]. I.. and Y.. — W lə'inz [lines]. O.. —
 B pu_mmp [pump]. — W kœrd [cord]. — W soop [a sup]. — H mu_t'n
 [mutton].

D 29 = e.SM. = eastern South Midland.

Boundaries. Start from near Atcham on the Severn (4 se. Shrewsbury), and
 proceed northwards to e. of Upton Magna, of Wem, of Whixall, and of Prees,
 but w. of Hodnet and just e. of Whitechurch, to the b. of Sh. near Marbury, Ch.
 (7 sw. Nantwich). Then turn e. and se. along the b. of Sh. to Burley Dam, and,
 following the s. *teeth* line 4, proceed ne. to n. of Audlem, Ch., round which turn
 suddenly, re-entering Sh. near Adderley. Cut across the ne. horn of Sh., passing
 s. of Norton-in-Hales and going ese. by Mucklestone, St., and s. of Ashley and
 Standon to Stone, and then ene. to Rochester, on b. of Db. Follow the b. of Db.
 to the s. and e. till just s. of Repton. Cut across the s. tail of Db. to the Trent
 on the b. of Db. and Le. From this point circumbulate Le., following its
 b. to the b. of Wa., which pursue till you strike the n. *sum* line 1, where it coin-
 cides with the reverted *ur* line 3, and follow it to the w. and sw., passing through
 Wa. s. of Southam and Warwick, e. of Henley-in-Arden, w. of Solihull. Enter
 Wo., passing n. of King's Norton and s. of Hales Owen and Stourbridge, but n.
 of Kidderminster to the Severn, where quit the reverted *ur* line 3, but continue
 the n. *sum* line 1 and go up the Severn to the starting-point, Atcham.

Area. Sh. e. of Wem and the Severn; St. s. of Stone, a slip on
 n. of Wo., the greater part of Wa., the s. tail of Db., and all Le.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where
 * means vv. per A.J.E., † per TH., || so., ° io.

Ibb. No authority, but this narrow peninsula is assumed to belong to the same
 district as m.St. on its w. and Le. on its e., and from the analogy of Repton,
 Db., D 26, it, as well as the outlying parts of Db., probably resemble Le. more
 than St., but this little peninsula has not been explored phonetically.

Le. † Ansty, † Barlestone, ° Barwell, || Belgrave, ° Birstall, † Blaby, ° Cottesbach,

*†Enderby, †Glenfield, °Harby, †Ilston-on-the-Hill, *†||Leicester, †Loughborough, †Market Harborough, †Mount Sorrel, °Normanton, *Syston, †Thurcaston, *Waltham.

Sh. †Bolas Magna, †Coalbrookdale, †Crudgington, †Edgmond, †Hodnet, †Ironbridge, †Madeley, †Market Drayton, °Newport (also TH. in Miss Jackson's Sh. Wordbook), †Shifnal, †Wellington.

St. *°Barton-under-Needwood, °Bradley, *†°Burton-on-Trent, †Cannock Chase, †Cannock Town, °Codsall, †Darlaston, †Eccleshall, †°Enville, †Hanbury, †Haughton, †Hopwas, †Leigh, †Lichfield, °Newborough, †Stafford, °Stretton, †Tamworth, †Tutbury, °Upper (or Over) Arley, †Uttoxeter, †Walsall, †Wednesbury, †West Bromwich, †Willenhall, †Wolverhampton, †Wootton, †Yoxall.

Wa. †Allesley Gate, *†Atherstone, †Bedworth, °Birmingham, †Brandon, †Bulkington, †Coventry, °Curdworth, °Elmdon, †Leamington, †Nuneaton, †Polesworth, †Saltley, †Sherborne, †Warwick.

Wo. †Cradley, °Dudley (locally in St.), †Hagley, *†Selly Oak, †Stourbridge.

Notwithstanding this large number of authorities, there is a deficiency of exact information in the outskirts, which has rendered much of the boundary conjectural, as through *Wa.*, and has obliged me frequently to take refuge in county boundaries, a confession of ignorance in itself.

Character. Although the speech of this district is at once recognised in contrast with its immediate neighbours, it is difficult to find one determinative character on which reliance can be placed. The speech is on the whole very homogeneous, and I have found it impossible to maintain a division into three parts, which I at one time tried. But I have noted four so-called varieties, the first three with several subforms. These are, however, scarcely more than geographical, and hence I append to each a list of some of the places from which information has been obtained.

Var. i. ne.Shropshire and nm.Stafford.

ia in *Sh.*, Edgmond, Hodnet, Market Drayton, Newport; in *St.*, Eccleshall, Wootton.

ib *wm.St.*, n. of Watling Street.

Bradley, Cannock, Haughton, Stretton.

ic *em.St.*

Barton-under-Needwood, Burton-upon-Trent, Hanbury, Hopwas, Lichfield, Tamworth, Tutbury, Yoxall.

Var. ii. ne. and se.Shropshire, s. Stafford, and n.Worcester.

ii a *me. and se.Sh.*, Ironbridge, Madeley, Shifnal, Wellington.

ii b *s.St.*, Codsall, Darlaston, Dudley, Walsall, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Willenhall, Wolverhampton.

ii c *n. Wo.*, Cradley, Hagley, Selly Oak, Stourbridge.

Var. iii. Warwickshire.

iii a *e.Wa.*, Allesley Gate, Atherstone, Bedworth, Brandon, Bulkington, Coventry, Nuneaton, Polesworth.

iii b *w.Wa.*, Birmingham, Curdworth, Elmdon, Knowle, Leamington, Warwick.

Var. iv. Leicestershire.

Belgrave, Birstall, Cottesbach, Leicester, Loughborough, Syston, Waltham.

The main points to which attention has to be directed are the treatments of A in open syllables, of AEG in both open and close syllables, of EG, E', EO', I', O', U, U'. Now my information is

not complete enough to furnish an example of each of these cases for each variety and shade of variety, but the following table (p. 462) will show the general character and the extremes of divergence.

In all these, A-=(éè) is the older form; (ee éi) are modern variants. AEG=(ii) and EG=(ii) seem also to be the older form (how old, of course, cannot be said), of which (éè éi) are variants; the (ái) form found at Selly Oak in (náil snáil) nail snail, seems to be an importation from the S. div. But observe the change in Var. iib., s.St., where (éi) is regular. In Var. iii. the (reen wéi) seems to have been quite recent; E', EO' are more commonly (éi). In the S. div. we *say* with our mouths and *see* with our eyes. It might be pretty well said to be reversed in the M. div. The (éi) form is particularly strong in Var. ie, em.St. The O' (iu) has become the regular form for O', as in s.Db., D 26, but it is only a variant or development of (é'u), which also occurs, and the other development (á'u) is likewise found, as in m.Db., D 26. The U' is not very certain, but any form except (á'u) is merely local.

In addition to this the omission of (h) is universal, and even pervades the better-educated classes. In Le. it is sometimes wrongly inserted. The (r) before a vowel is mild, and probably Midland (r). Whether it is really trilled or not I am not prepared to say, but, following TH., who considers it to be "the common English r," as it is his natural r, I use (r) for it, wrongly as I believe. When not before a vowel, I consider it as the Midland (r), which is readily slightly trilled and as readily produces an effect like (v), although by a different collocation of the organ. The definite article is always (dhə), I believe, though TH. gives some cases of (th t') in the neighbourhood of Cannock. m.St. See notes on the Cannock es., par. 3, p. 470.

In s.St., Var. iib., but apparently not in Var. iia., occurs a very peculiar way of marking the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs, tantamount to rec. *I don't*, etc. We generally omit the vowel of *not* and alter the preceding vowel; they generally omit the *n* and also alter the preceding vowel. This occurs, likewise, in Cradley, Wo. The following were heard by TH. at Darlaston, Walsall, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Willenhall, Wolverhampton, and Cradley.

1. *I a'n't* (ái ènt). 2. *I haven't* (ái èt). 3. *it isn't* (it èi, éint).
4. *isn't it* (it it ?). 5. *I ben't* (ái bìt béint). 6. *I don't* (ái dut).
7. *I shan't* (ái shee, sheet, shèt, shaa). 8. *I won't* (ái woo wôu wôu wùt).
9. *I can't* (ái koo koot, kaa ká't). 10. *I wouldn't* (ái u₅d'n).

In the Dudley es. we also find *I don't care* (ái doo kéer), *that doesn't matter* (dhat doo mater), *won't she* (woo er?), *I don't want* (ái doo want), *don't you be* (doo jə bi). This has not been noticed in the Black Country district of se.Sh.

The verbal plural in *-en* is quite distinct in Sh. and St. It is very little heard in Wa., and it is now almost lost in Le., but was not so in the lifetime of the late Dr. Arthur B. Evans, who in his *Leicester Words, Phrases, and Proverbs*, 1848, art. *sen*, p. 89, says: "A shepherd said of some sheep, which did not

See p. 461, line 2.

	VAR. i.			VAR. ii.			VAR. iii.		VAR. iv.
	ia ne.Sh. and nm.St.	ib wm.St.	ic em. St.	ii ^a em. and s.Sh.	ii ^b s.St.	ii ^c n.Wo.	iii ^a e.Wa.	iii ^b w.Wa.	
A-	kém	nem	nem nim	nem	ném ném	ném	ném nem	ném	nem
AEg-	tiil	tiil	—	—	—	éil náil	—	téul	tiil
AEg:	dii	dii, dee	dii	dee	dèi	dèi	dii	—	dii
EG	rün	rün, ren	rün	ren	rèn	rèn	ren	wéi [?]	rün
E'	halev	grün, grén	grén	grün	grün grén	green	grün	—	gréén
EO'	three	thrii, trii	thréi	—	—	thrii, three	thrii	—	thréi
I'	wáif	wáif	wáif wA'if	wáif	wáif wA'if	wáif	wáif	wáif, wó'if	wáif, wó'if
O'	shèn	mám	tín dáu mÁ'en	muun	tín dáu mán	nún mÁ'en	læ'uk sá'un	skúl	mán
U	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	ku _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p	u _o p
U'	á'as	áus, éáut	áus á'as	no'æ	á'ut á'ut áut	dáen de'æn	áus	áus	dáun á'ut no'æ

fatten so well as was expected: 'Lord bless ye, they *worrin* their *sens* to death with *warmint*, and I han baccared 'em, but its no use at all,' i.e. 'They tease' (present tense) 'and torment themselves with vermin, and I have washed them with tobacco-water; but it is of no use.' The present tense is formed in this way—'They *worrin*,' i.e. 'They worry.' 'They *pushin*,' i.e. 'They push.' 'They *pullin* 'em up,' i.e. 'They pull them up.'

Dr. Sebastian Evans, in re-editing the work, with additions, for the E.D.S. in 1881, omits this article, but in his preface, p. 27, inserts:

"A number of monosyllabic verbs have an alternative form ending in 'en' in the present and past tenses indicative, and sometimes in the infinitive. 'Pushen,' 'pullen,' 'looken,' 'gotten,' 'patten,' for 'push,' 'pull,' 'look,' 'got,' 'put,' are of very common occurrence, but most common on the Wa. borders. "An' somehow ye looken sorry, too"—*Adam Bede*, "I allays putten a sprig o' mint in mysen."—*Ib.* 'What d'ye goo fur to pushen a thatns fur?' 'Known, seen, gi'n, done, ta'en,' are always used instead of 'knew, saw, gave, did, took,' and sometimes even stand as the presents of these verbs."

Neither of the two Dr. Evanses seem to have properly appreciated the grammar, and both write apparently in ignorance of the usage of La., Db., Ch., St. George Eliot refused to be considered an authority on dialect, and quotations from her are far from being conclusive in Le. grammar. Here *ye looken* is right enough, but *I putten* could hardly have been said. I should have been glad to see Dr. S. Evans's authority for 'to pushen,' the inf. in *-en* (on which see D 24. p. 404); *known, seen, gi'n*, are probably never used except in the verbal pl. in *-en* in the present tense, in the past they use (*nood, secid, g'id*) *know'd, see'd, give'd, 'done ta'en'* lend themselves to either use. Again, it is quite wrong to suggest that dialect speakers have 'an alternative form ending in *en*' in verbs, for this is the original form which rs. has omitted, and when dialect speakers omit it also, they blindly imitate rs. Dialects are not arbitrary monstrosities, they are really living growths, and the deformative agencies are the results of an incursion of 'received speech' by education and intercommunication.

I think that Dr. S. Evans's statement that '*en* or *un* is a very general substitute for *him*,' must be an error. I have never found *en* = Ws. *hine* out of the S div. When given me from elsewhere, it has disappeared on inquiry. Of course *un* (ʊn) for *one* is common everywhere.

There is a common use of (ʌ)n dʌn for I have done, see above, p. 338, col. 1, l. 8. Dr. S. Evans considers it to be *I'n* for *I han*, and gives also *he han, he'n. He han, we'n*, is of course quite right, but *I han, he han*, seem to be mistakes somewhere or another.

FIVE INTERLINEAR CS.

Var. *ib.* west mid Staffordshire.

C. Cannock Chase, n. side; pal. in 1877 by TH. from dict. of Mr. Thomas Rowley, b. 1823, many years storekeeper to a colliery company, born near Rugeley (:ridʒli) (8 ese.Stafford). In the form of the definite article *the* Mr. Rowley was not consistent, using (th, dh, dhu), which are preserved as he dictated. TH. considered that (th) was the normal form, and wished to use it throughout, but I have thought it best to preserve Mr. R.'s mixed usage, which probably prevails near the s. *teeth* line 4, p. 18. See further in note to Cannock Chase, par. 3, p. 470, where the results of TH.'s examination of this region are given.

Var. *iiδ.* The 'Black Country' of South Staffordshire.

D. Dudley, locally in s.St., practically in n.Wo., may be considered the centre of the Black Country, or coal and iron districts. This cs. was sent by Richard Woolf, Exchange Chambers, Worcester, to LLB. in 1875. It is not known who made the version. The cs. was first transcribed in received spelling, and then certain parts were struck out and re-written dialectally in red ink, after which they were revised by another person who used purple ink. The version is careful, but entirely in "io." I have attempted to pal it by help of the wn. by TH. in the neighbourhood, and I think that it gives a good conception of the Black Country speech. The peculiar form of the negative is well brought out.

Var. *iiia. e.* Warwickshire.

A. Atherstone (8 se. Tamworth). This version was written in 1875 by Mr. R. S. Knight, F.R.S.L., then residing at Atherstone, with the dialect of which he had been 14 years acquainted, and in 1876 he read it to me. He wrote *whoy*, *daunts*, with a \sim extending over the *aow*, and it was difficult from his pron. to be quite sure how I should represent them. But in some wn. from natives by TH. at Atherstone in 1886, which did not reach me till this page was in type, I find long *i* and *ou* represented by ($A''i$, $\acute{a}u$), and hence I have adopted these forms. The long *i* varied within the limits ($\acute{a}i$, $A''i$), the *ou* remained invariably ($\acute{a}u$). See the cwl. p. 487.

Var. *iv.* Leicestershire.

It was intended to insert a cs. for Leicester, which had been written by the late Mr. Findley, a second-hand bookseller of that town, in Glossic, and then read to me. After much correspondence TH. went to Leicester to examine some of the sounds, and his correction of Mr. Findley's writing made it so little different from that of Waltham, while it still left some points in doubt, that I have unwillingly omitted it. The cwl. for Le. contains Mr. F.'s words as heard by TH., marked Lr. They were essentially town and modern pronunciations.

W. Waltham (16 ene. Loughborough), in the n. of Le., just at the base of the e. horn of Le., was written for me by Miss H. Ball, then a student at Whitelands Training College, a native of Waltham, and subsequently read to me by her, in 1877, when I noted the principal points in pal.

E. Enderby (4 sw. Leicester). Miss E. Hirst, of Enderby, was present when Miss Ball read her version, and gave the variants inserted in the last line. Where no words are found in the line E, it must be understood that the words above in W are to be substituted. In the notes are several remarks obtained by questioning these students. These last three versions should be compared together and with the cwl. for Syston, given and read to me by Miss Adcock, a native, and one of the teachers at Whitelands Training College.

0. <i>Cannock Chase.</i>	$wái$	$:dʒən$	z	$nò$	$dáuts.$
<i>Dudley.</i>	$wái$	$:dʒən$	ez	noo	$dáuts.$
<i>Atherstone.</i>	$wa''i$	$:dʒən$	ez	noo	$dáuts.$
<i>Waltham.</i>	$wái$	$:dʒən$	ez	$nóu$	$dəuts.$
<i>Enderby variants.</i>					

1. C	wel, :djak,	dhì	en	im	mə	bóth		lɒf	et	wɒt
D	wel, neebur,	joo	en	im	kən	búeth		lɒf	et	wɒt
A	wel, níeber,	joo			kən	booth	ən jə	lɒf	et	dhɪs
W	wel, neebe,	jəu	en	ii	mə	booth		læf	et	dhɪs
E		joo		ee						

C	A)m	guyin	te	tel	je.	uu	kjeerz ?	dhat)s	niidher
D	ái)m			telin	je.	ái	doo kéer !	bu _t	dhat doo
A	níuz	o	ma''in.			uu	kíerz ?	dhat)s	náidher
W	níuz	ɜ	mɔ'in.			uu	kaaz ?	dhat)s	niidher
E	nuuz		máin.				kéerz ?		náidher

C	$íer$	$nɜr$	$dhíer.$
D	$mater.$		
A	$íer$	$nɜr$	$dhier.$
W	$íɜ$	$nɜ$	$dhíe.$
E			

- [illegible]

C	noon,	du _o)nə	wi ?	wət	əd	meek	əm ?	it	eent	veri
D	noon,	du _o n	wi ?	wət	shed	mak	əm ?	it	eent	veri
A	noo,	dúv)nt	es ?	wət	shed	mak	əm ?	tjeent	veri	
W	nóu,	dóent	wi ?	wət	shu _o d	mak	əm ?	tjeent	veri	
E						mek				

C lá'kli, iz it?
D lá'kli, wət)s dhi se'i?
A la'ikli, ez it?
W ló'kli, is)t?
E la'ikli,

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|------------|-------|-----|-----|-------|--------|-------------------|
| 3. | C | áu)íver, | dhiiz | er | dhe | faks, | | se |
| | D | áusemever, | dhiiz | bin | dhe | ráits | e | dhe kéés, soo 100 |
| | A | áu)iver | dhis | iz | dhi | wii | on it, | soo 100 |
| | W | au)ive, | dhiiz | e | dhe | fæks | e | dhe kees, so |
| | E | | | | | | | |

C óud dhí náiz, men, en bi kwáiet til áiv finisht,
D d_yu_ost shu_ot u_op, frend, en bi kwáiet til ái)n du_on.
A d_yast oold j_er ná'iz, en bi kwá'iet til á'i)n du_on.
W d_yist á'ud j_e rá'u, frend, en bi kwáiet tel ái)v du_on.
E

C ark dhi!
D aarken!
A aarki.
W
E

4. C *ái)m* shæ'uer A íerd em sîi soo—su_om en em
D *ái)m* shúuer *ái* íerd em séi —su_om e dhem fooks
A A''*i)m* særtin ez A'*i* íerd em see —su_om o dhem fooks
W a)*m* sætín a íed em see —su_om e dhem fooks
E

C	eʒ	went	thrə'u	it	aal			dheɪnsenz—
D	wət	noun	dhe	wuəl	thiq	frəm	dhe	veri fæst —
A	eʒ	went	θruː	dhe	hol ən	it	frəm	dhe fæst dheɪnsenz—
W	eʒ	went	θriː	dh)əl	thiq	frəm	dhe	fæst dheɪnsenz —
E								

C dhat ái díd, shæ'uer enu_of.

D ái íerd em séi dhis:

A dhat á'i díd, síef inu_of.

W dhat a díd, seef enu_of.

E

5. C es dhe ju_oqgist lād imsen, e big lād e náin íer

D dhut dhe ju_oqgist su_on iz self, e big t̃jap náin íer

A ez dhe ju_oqest lād imsen, e gret bā'í e nā'ín,

W dhut dhe ju_oqgist su_on iz sen, e gret bō'í e nō'ín

E náin

C óul, nood is feedherz váis in e minit, iv it

D ood, wel, éi nooz iz fíedherz váis et wu_onst dhoo it

A nood iz feedherz vā'is et wons, dhoo it

W nood iz fe'edhez vō'is et wu_ons dhoo it

E

C wes sē kwíer, en ái)d warent dhat lād

D wez soo ru_om en skweekin, en ái)d tru_ost im

A wez sē kwíer en skwiikin, en á'i)d tru_ost im

W wā'e sē kwíer en skwíekin, en a wēd tru_ost im

E

C tē spiik dhe tríuth aniwii.

D tē spéik dhe tríuth oni déi, dhat)s wot ái u_od.

A tē spiik dhe truuth oni dii, aa, á'i wod.

W tē spíi,ek dhe tríuuth eni dee, aa dhar)a wu_od!

E speak dii.

6. C en dh)óud wu_omen ersen' ed tel ani en je ez lōf'n

D en dhe ood u_omen erself el tel oni en je

A en dhe áuld wu_omen ersen el tel oni en je ez lææf

W e dh)ool wu_omen esen wil tel eni e je dhut læf

E

C náu, en tel je stre'it áut', widháut ani bōdher

D en tel je stréit of widháut oni bōdher

A náu, en tel je stret of, tu, wi)áut mu_ot̃j bōdher

W nē'u, en tel je'u street of, en aal, wi)áut mu_ot̃j bōdher

E jo striit

C et aal ev je)d dju_ost eks er, ái)l warent.

D if je)l oonli aks er aa! woo er? dhat)s aal.

A if ju_o)l ooni aks er, oo wóoent er?

W if ju_o)l oni æks)er, oo wiient shi?

E

7. C aniwii, ær toud it 'mii wen ái ekst er, tíu er
 D áusemever, er tood 'mii wen ái akst er, mǝni v
 A liistwiiz, shi too'ld 'mii wen A'i akst er, tu_othri
 W eni)æ'u shi tæ'ud 'mii et wen a ækst er, tuu er
 E 'mee tí'u

- C thrii táimz óer, ær did, en ær A't tɛ noo AAl
 D táim, er did, en ær AAt tɛ noo
 A tA'imz óer, did shi, en 'shii ed'nt AAt tɛ bi ru_oq
 W thrii tǝ'imz, ǝvɛ, did shi, en 'shii hed'nt AAt tɛ bi rǝq
 E táimz

- C ebáut it, wɛt)n 'joɔ thiɔk?
 D wɛt er)z tAakɪn ebáut, wɛt du_on jo thiɔk?
 A óer sɪtɪ v thiɔ ez dhɪs, wɛt du 'joɔ thiɔk?
 W ɔn sɪtɪ v páint ez dhɪs, hed shi, wɛ)re jǝ'u thiɔk?
 E wɔ)da jo

8. C wel, ez ái se'd dju_ost náu, ær)d tel jɛ
 D wel, ez ái wɛz guɪn tɛ séi, ær)d tel jɛ
 A wel, ez A'i wɛz v sii)ɪn shii)d tel jɛ
 W wel, ez ái wɛr v seeɪn, 'shii wu_od tel jǝ'u
 E jo

- C wíer en wen' ær fu_ond dhe dru_oqk'n as ez
 D áu wíer en wen er fáund dhe dru_oqk'n beest v
 A áu en wíer en wen shi fu_on dhe dru_oqk'n biist ez
 W æ'u wíer en wen shi fáund dhe dru_oqk'n bíest ez
 E

- C ær kAAlz er u_ozbend.
 D v mǝn v'ærn.
 A shi kAAlz er u_ozben.
 W shi kAAlz er u_ozben.
 E

9. C ær swóer ær siid ðm wídh er oon áiz, lái)ɪn
 D er swóer er sɪn ðm wídh er oon áiz lái)ɪn
 A shi swóer ez shi sid ðm wí er oon A'iz, v lA'i)ɪn
 W shi swóer ez æ'u shi siid ðm wí er oon j'iz leeɪn
 E áiz lái)ɪn

- C AAl iz leqth ɔn th) gráund, en t')mend t')mater i'd
 D AAl vlu_oq ɔn dhe gráund,
 A stretɪt AAl iz leqth ɔ) dhe gráund,
 W sprAald et fu_ol leqth ɔn dhe grǝ'und
 E

C gət's best koot ən, tlōs tu iz oon dóer,
 D in iz su_ondi kúet, kloos táí dhe dúer
 A wi iz god su_ondi kúet ən, klúues tu dhe dúer
 W in iz gu_od su_ondi koot, tlōs bi dhe dóoer
 E

C dáun et th)ka'rner v)th leen jonder.
 D v dhe áus, dáun et dhe karnar v)the leen dhier.
 A v dhe áus, dáun et dhe kórner o jon léen.
 W v)dh)á'us, dá'un et dhe kaaner v jon leen.
 E léen.

10. C i wēz groonin fer aal dhe wald láik
 D éi wēz blaatin ewéi, sez 'er, fer aal dhe wald láik
 A ii wēz wa'inin ewii, shi sez, fer aal dhe wald lá'ik
 W ii waar v wá'inin ewee, shi sez, fer aal dhe wald láik
 E wáinin

C sū_om óud pig.
 D a babi.
 A a sik tja'ild, er v lit'l gel in v fret.
 W a badli tjáild in v fret.
 E

11. C en it ap'nd dju_ost ez 'er en er daater i laa wēs
 D wiil, dhat ap'nd ez 'er en er daater v laa
 A en dhat ap'nd ez shien er daater in laa wēz
 W en dhæt æp'nd ez shien er daater v laa
 E

C kəmin thrə'u th)bak jərd frəm iqgin th)
 D kəm thru dhe bak jərd frəm aqin áut dhe
 A ekomin thruu dhe bak jæərd frəm iqin áut dhe wēt
 W kəm thriúu dhe bæc jæəd thrəm iqin 'áut dhe wēt
 E

C tluuz áut ən th)washin dii.
 D kluuz ən v weshin déi.
 A kluuez tu dra'i ev v weshin dii.
 W tlooz te drái on v weshin dee.
 E

12. C wáil th'tii ket'l wēz báilín, wá'n fáin
 D wáil dhe tee ket'l wēz báilín fer tee, wən fáin
 A wá'il dhe kit'l wēz báilín fer téi wən fa'in
 W wáil dhe kit'l waar a bó'ilín fer tii wu_on fə'in
 E tee fáin

C su_omerz afternæ'un, en it)'l bi' e wiik t'
 D brá'it su_omer aftern'ūn, dju_o-st e wiik eguu kām
 A bra''it su_omer aaternuun, ooni e wiik eguu kōm
 W brá'it su_omer aatenuun e wíiek sīn ku_om
 E brá'it niún

C neks thæzdi.
 D nekst thæzdi.
 A la'st thæzdi.
 W neks thæzdi.
 E thææzdi.

13 C en du_on juo noo? ái niver ierd noo móer ebáut it
 D en wot's thiik? ái never ierd òni múer e dhis
 A en duu je noo? ez a'i niver lærnd noo móoer ner dhis
 W en d,je nóu? a nive laant eni móor ne dhis
 E

C frem dhat dii te dhis, esh shæ'uer ez mái neem'z
 D u_op te tedei, ez shúuer ez mái neem z
 A e dhat biznis u_op te tedii ez shúuer ez ma'i niem z
 W e dhææ efée tel tedee ez séeef ez ma'i neem z
 E mai

C wot it iz, en ái du_one want te noo niidher.
 D :djæk :shæpæd, en ái doo want te noo néedher, dhier
 A :djæn :sh'iperd, en a'i dóoent want tu na'idher, dhier
 W :djæk :shæpæd, en a dóoene want te iidhe, dhie
 E náidhe dhéæ

C
 D náu!
 A náu!
 W na'u!
 E

14. C su náu ái)'l gu wæ'm te mi su_oper, gu_od náit
 D en soo ái)'m gu_oin wæm te ee mi su_oper, gu_od néit
 A en soo a'i)'m e gu_oin wōm tu su_oper, god na''it
 W en soo a)'m gu_oin om te hæ'mi su_ope, gu_od no'it
 E na'it

C en du_one dhii bi se redi te meek gjeem ev e feler
 D en doo je bi so fast te kroo òver òni bædi
 A en du_one jo bi se kwik te kroo ó'er e mæn
 W en dúuent bii so fast te króou óer e bædi
 E

C agj'en wɛn i tɑ'ks ɛbáut ɹ'ut.
 D ɛg'in, wɛn i tɑaks ɛ dhis dhat ɛr tu_odher.
 A ɛgɛn, wɛn i tɑaɛks o dhis dhat ɛr dhɛ tɔdher.
 W ɛgɛn, wɛn ɛ tɑaks ɛ dhis dhat ɛr dhɛ t)u_odhe.
 E

15. C i wu_od bi ɛ fæ'ul ɛz tɑ'kt wiðháut ani sɛns. ɛn
 D éi)z ɛ sili fíul ɛz rat'lz wi_oáut ɔni reez'n. ɛn
 A it)s ɛ wéik féul ɛz preets wi_oáut réiz'n. ɛn
 W it iz ɛ wíek fuul ɛz preets wi_oáut ri'z'n. ɛn
 E wiik fíul riiz'n.

C dhat)s ʌʌl ái gɔt t̥ sii ɛbáut it. su gu_od náit.
 D dhat)s ʌʌl ái)ɥ gɔt tɛ séi. gu_od báí.
 A dhat)s mɑ'i laast wɛɹd. god bɑ'i.
 W dhat)s mi laast wéɹd. gu_obbái.
 E wæd.

Notes to the Cannock Chase cs. p. 464.

2. *know-en*, the v. pl. in *-en* is well marked in this form.

3. *are the facts*. TH. wrote (th) here and in some other places, where the informant dictated (dhɛ), and that form is here restored; similarly in par. 5, *speak the truth*; and par. 8, *found the drunken*, TH. changed the informant's (dhɛ) into (t̥), which in these cases he considered to be "the normal form undoubtedly," and which was dictated in par. 12, *the next*. In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the usage, TH. examined the whole of his notes respecting m.St. for places a few miles on either side of the s.*teeth* line 4, p. 18. On the n. of this line the places were Rough Close near Longton, Barlaston, Stone, Leigh, Uttoxeter, Oakamoor, Rocester, and Alton. In these places, out of 13 definite articles observed, TH. found 7 (th) and 6 (dh), but no (dhɛ). On the s. of the line in Eccleshall, Wootton, Haughton, Hanbury, Tutbury, Burton-on-Trent, Cannock Town, Littleworth, Bony Hay (n. side of Cannock Chase), Lichfield, and Tamworth, TH. observed 65 instances of this use of the definite article. Of these there were 10 (th), 17 (dh), 35 (dhɛ), and 3 assimilations to (s) and (t). This shows a mixed region, but a prevailing (dhɛ) on the s., and a balance between (th, dh) on the north. It was not to be expected that there would be a perfectly sharp delimitation of usage, and mixed regions were to be looked for.

It is satisfactory to find that the mixed region is so narrow in the present case. This is another result due to TH.'s exceptional diligence and untiring powers of collation, to which I already owe so much.

3. *quiet*, either (kwáɪt) or (kwɑ'iɪt). —*finished* or (d̥i_on).

9. *best coat* or (su_ondi koot, best djakit, su_ondi djakit).

12. *fine* or (bráit) bright.

14. *make game* or (gjam).

15. *he would be a fool as talked without any sense*, or (it)s ɔonli fæ'ulz ɛs tɑ'ks wiðháut sɛns) it's only fools as talk without sense.

Notes to Dudley cs. p. 464.

1. *I don't care, that don't matter*, see p. 461, and the Darlaston note 7, p. 475, and example p. 477, for the peculiar method of expressing the negative in conjunction with auxiliary verbs. I have not met with it elsewhere, but Mr. Elworthy says he has met with it in Sm.; it is, however, so far as I know, unrecorded.

2. *they are*, represented by (dhéi)m) they am, is suspicious. *what is it thou say'st*, (dhi) is unaccented (dhéi) thee.

8. *a man of hers*.

Notes to Atherstone cs. p. 464.

0. *why* (wɑ'i). The exact sound was not determinable. TH. found that it lay between (ɑ'i, ái) in this neighbourhood, and gave (ɑ'i) from the pron. of a

native, which perhaps agrees with Mr. Knight's *oy*, but Mr. K. did not say (ɔ'i) except in a very few cases, as (nɔ'idhɜr).—*doubts* (dɑʊts), this diphthong was also quite uncertain. Mr. K. had no clear idea of the sound, and varied it. TH. finds (tɑʊn) at Nuneaton, and (ɑʊt) at Polesworth, and Mr. K. said (dɑ'ɪn æə't) which shews a mixture of both. I have therefore selected the neutral (ɑʊ) throughout, which, indeed, I now find that TH. heard at Atherstone.

1. *neighbour*, the final *r* seemed to have the usual M. character, and as Mr. K. always felt it I have left (r), as in TH.'s notes, to be pronounced probably (r), but very faintly. Indeed as informants in this district constantly wrote *corfe* to indicate (kaʊf) they could not have much notion of a final (r), unless indeed they meant (karf).—*laugh*, the miners say (lɑf).

2. *don't us*, this is a S. form widely diffused, but here (dʊənt wi) is also used.—*it is not*, (t)eeɪt is a very common form, as in many places (beɪnt biɪt) are not used.

3. *I have*, (ɑi)n is very common all about, even when it might not stand for (ɑi)m as here, see p. 338, col. 1, l. 8, and p. 463, for Dr. Evans's opinion.

4. *certain*, not (saartin).—*say* (si, see, sei) are all heard.—*laugh*, (læʊf) as pron., but compare par. 1 (laf) and (lɑf) in note and par. 2 (laaft).

6. *without*, here Mr. K. said (wi)ɑæt which is like Nuneaton.

7. *she*, it is very probable that (shi) she, should be (ʃr) her, throughout.—*wrong*, (rɔq) was also said. I continually found it difficult to distinguish (o, u) in Mr. K.'s pron. of closed syllables.

8. *saying*, in such cases (si)ɪn would be used.—*beast*, Mr. K. has heard (beɪst, thrɛi), the two sounds (ii, ɛi) are not kept well apart, probably through an intermediate (iɪ).

13. *do you know*. Mr. K. had never heard (dʊn jə), but he had heard (ɛn jo) have-n you? and also (wii)n biɪn ɑæt tʊdii we have-n been out to-day, but as a general rule the verbal plural in -en is not used. It is, however, used commonly at Baddesley-Ensor (3 n.w. Atherstone), a mining village. The Atherstone farmers regard a (:badʒli mən) Baddesley man as a 'foreigner,' and declare they cannot tell what he says.

Notes to the Waltham and Enderby cs.
p. 464.

0. *has*, the villages use (ɑ'z), (ɑ') is about the pron. of the unlettered.—*no* inclined to (nɔʊ).

1. *he, me*. W has (ii mii), E (ee mee) or (ɛɛi mɛɛi), (sniil) snail, is recognised in E, not in W.—*may* emphatic is (mɛɛi) at E.—*neighbour*, *r* final is not pron. except before a vowel, but becomes a vowel (ə) as in London.

2. *row*, noise, (rə'u) approached (rɛ'u).

3. *friend* (meet, tʃʊm) mate, chum, would be used rather than 'friend.'—*till I've done* (wɑil ɑi)v dʊn is more common.

8. *beast* (biɛst), pl. (biɪsez).—The plurals (ɑ'uz'n pleɛz'n) houses places, are found at both W and E, but (nest nez'n) nest nests, at W only.—*door* (dooɛstɛd) is used in W for threshold.—*yon* (dhɔn) has been heard among little children.

10. *whining*, *squealing* (wɔ'inɪn skwi:ɪlɪn) are both used.—*fret* used in W, not in E, (baalɪn) was suggested.

12. *boil*, (bɔ'ɪl) both W and E (pɑint ɑil dʒɑin), etc., point oil join, etc., used at W, not at E.—*ago* is seldom used for (sin).

15. *goodbye*, made into one word (guɔbbai), is used on all occasions, even when the parting is but for a short time.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. *ia*.

1. *Edymond*, *Sh.* (1½ w. Newport), pal. by TH. in 1885 from the dict. of D. Pigott, shoemaker, native, b. 1818.

Var. *ia*.

2. *Eccleshall*, *St.* (7 n.w. Stafford), pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of T. Key, native, formerly workman, b. 1807.

Var. *ic*.

3. *Burton-on-Trent*, *St.*, pal. by TH. in 1879 from dict. of J. Hill, tailor, b. 1820, native, "as spoken when he was young."

Var. *ic*.

4. *Lichfield, St.*, pal. by TH. in 1885 from dict. of E. Tredgold, labourer and native, b. about 1840.

Var. *ia*.

5. *Wellington, Sh.*, pal. by TH. in 1881 from dict. of W. Griffiths, working man and native, b. about 1850.

Var. *ia*.

6. *Coalbrookdale, St.*, pal. by AJE. from the writing in io. with full indications by Rev. F. W. Ragg, since 1880 vicar of Marsworth (15 wnw.St. Albans and 2 n.Tring, Ht.), formerly of Ratling, Ke., see p. 142.

Var. *iib*.

7. *Darlaston, St.* (4 ese. Wolverhampton), pal. by TH. in 1879 from the dict. of H. Blackhouse, foreman ironroller, native, b. 1833.

Var. *iv*.

8. *Belgrave, Le.* (2 ne.Leicester), pal. by AJE. from the writing of Miss C. S. Ellis (no connection of the author), of Belgrave, in io. with very full indications and numbered wl.

Notes upon these tests are given immediately after the interlinear arrangement.

1. 1	<i>Edgmond.</i>	A)	si,	tjaps,	je)	sín	náu	
2	<i>Eccleshall.</i>	A)	sii,	tjaps,	je	se'in	náu	
3	<i>Burton.</i>	ái	sii,	tjaps,	jo	sên	náu	
4	<i>Lichfield.</i>	ái	sii,	tjaps,	je	sín		
5	<i>Wellington.</i>	ə'i	see,	mets,	jò	siin	nə'u	
6	<i>Coalbrookdale.</i>	sôu	sez	ái, mi	bu ₅ tiz,	jo	sin	néu
7	<i>Darlaston.</i>	ái	sêi,	ladz,	du _o n	je	sì	
8	<i>Belgrave.</i>	soo	A'i	séei,	tjaps,	je	see	ná'u

1	dhət	ái)m	riit	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin	
2		A)m	re'it	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin	
3	ez	ái)m	re'it	ebáut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin	
4	dhət	A)m	réit	ebâut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin	
5		ə'i)m	rə'it	ebə'ut	dhat	lit'l	wensh	kəmin	
6	ez	ái)m	riit	ebóut	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin	
7		ái)m	ra''it	ná'v	ebá'et	dhat	lit'l	wentj	kəmin
8	dhət	a)m	ra'it	ebá'ut	dhàt	lit'l	gel	ek _u min	

- 1 *frəm)dhə skə'ul* *jander.*
- 2 *frəm skə'ul* *jander.*
- 3 *frəm skíul* *jənder.*
- 4 *frəm skə'ul* *jəndə.*
- 5 *frəm)dhə)skíul* *jənder.*
- 6 *frəm dhə skíul* *jander.*
- 7 *frəm)s)skíul* *jander.*
- 8 *thrəm dhə skíul* *jənder.*

2. 1 ær)z gjæ'u'in dāun dhe)rood dhier thræ'u dhe)red gjeet
 2 ær)z gu'in dāun dhe)rood dhier thræ'u dhe)red gjeet
 3 ær)z gu'in dāun)dh rood dhie thræ'u)dh red gjeet
 4 ær)z gū'in dāun dhe rood dhie thruu dhe)red gjeit
 5 ær)z gō'in dā'un dhe rood dhier thræ'u dhe)red wikit
 6 ær)z gw'in dōun dhe rōud dhier thru dhe)red géet
 7 ær)z gu'in dá'en dhe rôud dhier thrū dhat red gjeet
 8 shéi)z ego'in dá'un dhe rood dhier thrū dhe)red giit

- 1 ɔn dhe)lift and sáid ev)dhe)rood.
 2 ɔn dhe)lift and sáid ev)dhe)rood.
 3 ɔn)dh lift and sáid v)dh rood.
 4 ɔn dhe lift and sáid v)dhe)wii.
 5 ɔn dhe lift and sáid v)dhe)rood.
 6 v)dh lift and sáid v)dhe)wéi.
 7 ɔn dhe lift and sáid v)dhe)rōud.
 8 ɔn dhe left and sáid v)dhe)wii.

3. 1 lu_k)je! dhe)tjáild)z gā'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 2 wái! dhe)tjáild)z gā'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 3 læ'uk dhie! dhat)tjáilt)s gā'n stre'it u_p te)dh)ru_qg
 4 lu_k je! dhe)tjáild)z gā'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_q
 5 luk! dhe)tjáild)z gā'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_qg
 6 shúer enu_f, dhe)tjáild)z gā'n striit u_p te)dh)doer v)dh
 7 lu_k je! ær)z gā'n stre'it u_p te)dhe)ru_q
 8 shúer iná'u, dhe)tjáild)z gā'n striit u_p te)dhe)doer v)dhe

- 1 áus.
 2 áus.
 3 áus.
 4 áus.
 5 ə'us.
 6 raq óus.
 7 á'us.
 8 raqg áus.

4. 1 wíer ær)l bi láikli enu_f te fáind dhat
 2 wíer ær)l mè)ap'n fáind dhat
 3 wíer ær)l fáind dhat
 4 wíer ær)l veri láikli fáind dhat
 5 wíer ær)l veri lə'ikli fáind dhat
 6 wíe ær)l tjaans tɐ fáind dhat
 7 ái shed thi_qk ær)l fá'ind óud árd
 8 wíer shi)l tjaa'nsh fá'ind dhat

- 1 dru_oqk'n djef widherd fele ez dhi kAAln :tu_om.
- 2 dru_oqk'n def widherd læ'ukin fele —dhe kAAN)im :tu_om.
- 3 dru_oqk'n dif drái-skj'nd æ'ud :təmi.
- 4 dru_oqk'n def widhed u_op ma'n ez dhi kAAl :tu_om.
- 5 dru_oqk'n àrd ierín rí'ld fele ez)dhe kAAN æ'ud :tu_om.
- 6 dru_oqk'n djéuf sniv'lin fele widh néum e :tu_omes.
- 7 ierín skini dru_oqk'n :tu_omi.
- 8 dru_oqk'n diif sriv'ld fele e dhe niim e :tu_om.

5. 1 wi AAl noon)im wel.
- 2 wi AAl noon)im veri wel.
- 3 we'i AAl noon)im wel.
- 4 jó AAl noon)im, du_o)ne je? wel enu_of.
- 5 wi) AAl noon)im veri wel.
- 6 wi aal noon im veri wel.
- 7 jóu AAl nôun im ra'it enu_of.
- 8 wi AAl nóouz im veri wel.

6. 1 wu_one dhe æ'ud tjaþ sæ'un lårn)er not te dæ'u)it
- 2 wu_one dhe óud tjaþ sæ'un lårn)er not te dæ'u)it
- 3 wu_ont dhat æ'ud ma'n sæ'un te'itj er not te kəm ta
- 4 wu_od)'nt dh)æ'ud ma'n sæ'un titj er not te) dæ'u)it
- 5 wu_o)ne dhe æ'ud tjaþ' sæ'un teetj er not te diu)it
- 6 wi)ne dh)óud tjaþ síun laan' e nu_ot te duu)t
- 7 wù)t i mak er bóut, púer thiqg! er wù)t diu it
- 8 wuunt dhe á'ud tjaþ síun teetj er not te diu it

- 1 egjén, pæ'uer thiq_lg!
- 2 egjén, púer th_iq_lg!
- 3 iz áus egjén, púe wentj!
- 4 egjén, púe wentj!
- 5 egjén, púer thiq'!
- 6 egéen, púer thiq!
- 7 egjén!
- 8 egen, póoer thiq!

7. 1 læ'uk! ént)it træ'u?
- 2 læ'uk! i)ner)it træ'ù?
- 3 læ'uk! iz'nt it re'it?
- 4 lu_ok je! i)ner)it dhe træ'uth?
- 5 luk at)er! i)z snapt)er!
- 6 luuk)i! eent it truu?
- 7 luk! di)t ái tel je?
- 8 liuk! iz'nt it tríu?

Notes on No. 1, *Edgmond, Sh.*, dt.

1. *coming*, marked as between (kəmin, komin).

2. *road* or (leen) lane, both here and at end of par.

3. *wrong house*, or (ru_oq dæ'uer) wrong door.

5. *him*, (im) or (im).

7. *isnot* (ent).

Sentences. (A am)nə kləmd), I am not starved. (A wu_osh jə ad'n), I wish you had-en. (pikt in jəd fəst), pitched in head first.

Notes to No. 2, *Eccleshall, St.*, dt.

2. *road* or (leen), sometimes (loon) old.

3. *up* (u_op), but (ru_oq, dru_oqk'n, :tum, wu_onə), considering this inconsistency to be an accident of transcribing, I have used (u_o) throughout.—*wrong house* or (ru_oq dūer), wrong door.

7. *true*, marked as between (trə'u, trə'u).

Notes to No. 3, *Burton-on-Trent, St.*, dt., with omitted words.

1. *so*, if used, would be (suu), as in (təmi, di tæ'ud dhi suu), Tommy, I told you so.—*girl*, when used, called (gjel).—*way* would be (wii).

3. *sure* (shæ'ue).—*enough* (enu_of).

4. *chance* (tjəns).—*shrivelled* not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srīmp, srāud) shrimp, shroud.—*name* (néim).—*old Tommy*, because they know him well; if they did not, they would use some such phrase as (æ'ud mæn əz dhe kaal :təmi) old man as they call Tommy.

5. *very well*, the *very* (veri) seldom used.

6. *fellow* (felə).

7. *true* (trə'u).

Notes to No. 4, *Lichfield, St.*, dt.

1. *so*, (dhe sen sū'en)suu, et su_otj v pləs), they say-en so-and-so at such a place.—*right* (i)z réit, (i)ner)i?, he's right, is'n't he? (jo noon it)s réit) you know-en it's right.—*now* (náu).

3. *child*, between (tjāild tjā'ild).—*wrong house*, or (ru_oq dūe), wrong door.

4. *chance* (tjəns).—*shrivelled*, not used, but *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (sru_obz sru_oberi) shrubs shrubbery. (púer widhed u_op faler, x)ner)i?, poor withered up fellow, isn't he?—*they call* (dhi) or (dhe kaal), no verbal pl.

in -en here, possibly a slip, see (noon) = know-en, par. 5.

6. *teach*, or (læn læn), learn.

7. *truth*, between (trə'uth trə'uth).

Notes to No. 5, *Wellington, Sh.*, dt.

2. *wicket* (wikit) is in common use for a small gate.—*road, way* is used in (dhat)s dhæ wee ær)z gā'n).

3. *sure enough* (shúer enu_of).—*wrong house* (ru_oqg ə'us) or (ru_oq dōer) wrong door.

4. *rivelled* = wrinkled or shrivelled, it occurs both in Chaucer and Gower, and is referred to Ws. *ge-rifian*, or *ge-rifian*, to wrinkle, as a diminutive of *to rive*, to tear, to split. *shr-* initial becomes (sr-), as (srīmps srə'ud) shrimps shroud.

7. *snapped* = snubbed, or has spoken snappishly to. *To snap a person up or short* is a common phrase. TH. considers it a form of *sneap*, or *sneap*, which is widely diffused.

Notes to No. 6, *Coalbrookdale, Sh.*, dt.

4. *snivelling*, my informant had *snivelled*, which must be wrong.

6. *the*, the original has (t'), which also must be wrong, hence I have written (dh), as in No. 4. There is no tendency to (t') in these regions. Mr. Ragg was not always quite certain. We can really only trust uneducated natives.

Notes to No. 7, *Darlaston* dt.

The text has been rather freely treated by the translator. The (A'i) throughout approaches (ái).

3. *wrong house*, observe the diphthong (á'ə) for U': (ru_oq dūer) wrong door, may also be used.

6. *will not*, (wùt) that is (wu_ol nət).—*bolt*, run away.

7. *did not* (di)t)=(did nət), the second (d) elided with the (n). This is the peculiar Black Country negative form. For (di)t ái tel jə) it was suggested to use (i)t ar bótin ná'ə), is)n't she (the little girl) bolting (running away) now.

Notes to No. 8, *Belgrave, Le.*, dt.

1. *so* (soo, sə).—*I* (ói, oi, ə).—*say* (séi see ə'u), (sez ói, sez ii) common.—*now*, Miss Ellis says, "a in pat, received English, and ǝ, is, I should say, the most common form amongst

the working people of my district of Le.” I conjecture that she means my (á'u) rather than my (æ'u), and have therefore so written it.—*you* (joo), emphatic.—*that* as (vz) almost universally.—*I am* (ɔ̃m) or (A m).—*right*, ‘r just trilled with the tip of the tongue,’ in the wl. she refers to the ‘uvula rise’ (r_o), but I suppose she means the Midland (r) even before a vowel.—*that* (dha't), ‘a in pass,’ constantly followed by (dhiir) there.—*girl*, (wentj) is more common, (la's) lass less so.—*coming*, Miss E. thinks the verbal noun -ing is distinguished from the participle, but does not say how.—*from* (threm, threm), regular.—*school*, ‘*skee*ool or F. eul,’ this would give (skiul skæal), I have used (íu), TH. writes (y'u), that is, nearly (i₁u), but I translate him also by (íu).—*yonder* was not given in the dt. or wl., but I have added (jonder), which TH. heard at Loughborough.

2. *she*, (shi, shéi, shee) are given by Miss E., for which (shéi) is a compromise; TH. at Loughborough heard (she'í).—*is*, (h) often inserted when emphatic, as (shi hiz A tel jə) she is I tell you.—*going* (gojín, gujín).—*on*, ‘o in homme,’ giving (on) not (ɔn), constantly (v) unaccented.

3. *enough*, ‘now as in allow,’ which must be taken as *now* in par. 1, (inu-_u) often, and also (vnu_of).—*has*, emphatic (vz), as (shi vz'nt got wɔn) she 'has'nt got 'one.—*gone*, ‘been and went are commoner than gone,’ ‘the child has been’ would be most normal.—*to*, emphatic (tíu).—*door*, Miss E. ‘*thinks*

dour as *our* (dá'u_r) is used, but *dower* as *ower* in *mower* is perhaps most common.’—*wrong*, the (g) is added only before a following vowel as (veri raqg vɔ̃m) very wrong of him.—*house*, ‘home is (oom) and often (wam).’

4. *will*, Miss E. has heard (wu_ol).—*shrivelled*, ‘*wizened* is used often of an apple, and also (sriveld),’ (sril sriqk sru_ob), Midland (r).—*name* (niim níem), but (neem) was to be expected, see cwl. ‘The people here often say *in* the name, for *of* the name,’ both *in* and *of* become (v) when unemphatic.—*Thomas*, as the name was not supplied, I have inserted (:tu_om) as in the other versions.

5. *we*, at times (wéi wee), and with less emphasis (wí).—*all*, constantly (haal). “We knows, they knows present, I we they known in the past tense; I known 'im years ago, I seen 'im yesterday, I or we (dæn nóou) don't know.” That is, Miss Ellis was entirely unacquainted with the verbal plural in -en in Le.—*very* sometimes (verv).

6. *won't*, sometimes (uunt).—*old* ‘owed as in *cow*,’ which she called (ká'u), but I think (x'ud) as TH. heard at Loughborough was meant. The EAL is never treated in the same way as the U'.—*teach* may also be used, but (lærn) is more common, (r) slightly marked.—*do it*, *it* is commonly used for *its* to a child or animal, as *it head*, *it feet*.

7. *look* (luuk) also used.—*isn't* (eent) is the usual word.

ADDITIONAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

VAR. ia, *Market Drayton*, Sh., noted by TH. in 1882.

(an jə dū_on) have you done?—(lɛ)s gə skjíu) let's go [to] school.—(dhv iimer wii) the eamer [shorter] way.

Edgmond, Sh., noted by TH.

(xɔ̃z ga'n) she's gone.—(áu bin jə?) how are you?—(vɔ̃ tu_oq)z u_oq i)dhv mɪd'l, vɔ̃ wagz ɛt éitj end) her tongue's hung in the middle, and wags at each end.

Eccleshall, St., noted by TH.

(vz íf dhíi kɔ̃snv stɔ̃r) as if thou could'st or canst not stir.—(wí mɛn av vz tíi) we must have us [=our] tea.—(A sì, sɛr'i, ù du_os thíqk A sɛ'id last nɛ'ít vz spɔk tæ'u mɪ?) I say, sirrah, who dost think I seed [=saw] last night as [=dhat] spoke to me?

VAR. *ib*, *Haughton*, noted by TH. in 1882.

(tèk it i)dh'áus') take it in the house.—(an je dù_on ?) have you done?—(dhe milk'n, je noon) they milk-en, you know-n.—(v su_op mûer *weeter on fer ba'il) a sup [drop] more water on for [to, omitted] boil. * Not recorded, but supplied.

VAR. *ic*, *Burton-on-Trent*, noted by TH. and *Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

(wíu_r)z jêr modhê? ái noo dhê)s su_omet u_op, er æ'r wu_odhê be'i ewii: en dhê)s su_omet u_op wi joo, fer jò kôner iit jêr dîne). Father at dinner to daughter, "Where's your mother? I know there's something up, or she wouldn't be away: and there's something up with you, for you cannot eat your dinner," the girl had lost £2, and the mother had gone to look for it.—(Jo)n bîn v fa'in wá'il) or between that and (fáin wá'il), you have-n been a fine while.—(E'i)z gu_in v)dh' áus) he's going into the house.—(E'i livz egjê'n dhîer in djenêlî) he lives against (opposite) there in general.—(iz'nt E'i gu_in tē dō'u it?) isn't he going to do it.—(Jo)n brook v wînde, Jo)n e'i)t' pii fa'l r)t) you have-n broke a window, you will-en have to pay for it.—(it in v jón, gî)t' mē'i) it is not yours, give it me.—(gjer)u_op'! jò)n gar)it) get up! you've got it.—(nôt æt jê nōu) not hot you know.—*(eef pæst iit) half-past eight.—*(o'i)l duu)t v dhatenz) I'll do it in that way.

VAR. *ic*, *Barton-under-Needwood*.

Carol as dictated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood, of Hollyhurst.

(az o'i sat on v su_oni baqk
on :kræsmes dii i)dh' maan'in,
o'i saa thrêi ships ku_om siiln bō'i,
on :kræsmes dii i)dh' maan'in.
en iu su_od bēi in dhēiz thrēi ships
but :djoozef en iz fēev ledi,
en E'i did wis'l en shēi did siq,
en aal dhe belz on éeuth did riq,
fa djo'i dhut dhe :seevier éi wēz
baan,
on :kræsmes dii i)dh' maan'in).

As I sat on a sunny bank
On Christmas day in the morning,
I saw three ships come sailing by,
On Christmas day in the morning.
And who should be in these three ships
But Joseph and his fair lady,
And he did whistle and she did sing,
And all the bells on earth did ring,
For joy that the Saviour He was born
On Christmas day in the morning.

TH. thinks (saa, ledi, aal) should have been (séid, leedi, aal.)

VAR. *iib*, *Darlaston*. Sentences noted by TH.

(ái koot dū it, en ái bit v gu)in tē dū it, nor ái sheet, bikAAZ ái du't' nōu wōt it iz) I can't do it, and I be not a going to do it, nor I shan't, because I don't know what it is.—(dhî shudst tēl dhê trîuth) thou shouldest tell the truth.—(i)z á'et v wæ_rk, en i koo gjēt nā'n) he's out of work, and he can't get none.—(wî)m of dhîs afern'un) we am=are off this afternoon —(wî)m gu)in wòm tîu er su_operz) we am=are going home to our suppers.—(íer)z kóukē nu_ot wōt jê)v thrōud ewēi) here's cocoa nut what (=that) you've throwed=thrown away.

Dialogue on the Darlaston "Wake Beef," between H. Blackhouse and J. Reynolds, a fellow-workman, on 22 August, 1879, related by himself on 29 August, and pal. by TH. The "Wake" is an annual feast and occurred that year on Sunday, 24 August. Printed afterwards in the *Wolverhampton Magpie*, 20 Sept. 1879.

B. :las fra'idi na'it, wen mi
en a'uer :tu_om wen gu_in u_op
dhe strit t)av v luk et dhe
:wêek :bif, wi went vs fêr ez
dhe :wa'it :la'ien; en tærnd
egj'en, en kamin bak thrù dhe
:a'li dhi wes thrii er fôuer sitin
et dhe dûer kol'ier fashen, lit'l
:djaki :renelz, :djôu :kjerlis, en
tiu mûer ev iz palz, dog-ru_on'erz.

R. wier vs' bîn, :ari?

B. t)av v luk et dhe :bif.

R. wi)n bîn t)av v luk at it,
en dhat)s á'uer shéer, iz it
dha'in?

B. aa, di rek'n it iz. gu_od
na'it.

B. Last Friday night [(A'i) approach-
ing (ái)] when me and our Tom were-n
going up the street to have a look at
the Wake Beef, we went as far as the
White Lion, and turned again; and
coming through the Alley there was
three or four sitting at the door collier
fashion, little Jacky Reynolds, Joe
Careless, and two more of his palz
[companions], dog-runners.

R. Where hast been, Harry?

B. To have a look at the Beef.

R. We have-n been to have a look
at it, and that's our share, is it thine?

B. Ay, I reckon it is. Good-night.

VAR. iib. *Walsall*.

A servant girl's account of how her brother Jim's leg was hurt, pal. at Cannock from her dict. 1877, by TH. and two other sentences

(aar :djim wa' ku_omin bak frém si)in iz ànt :sali, en i ku_om
vkra's dhe filz, en gjetin over dhe stáil, en i ært)s leg, en it waa
bad ever sê loq_g, en shi got su_om póultis tæ'u it, en it waa ever sê
mu_otj beter), our Jim was coming back from seeing his aunt Sally,
and he came across the fields, and getting over the stile, and he
hurt his leg, and it was bad ever so long, and she got some poultice
to it, and it was ever so much better.—(jis, sêr, dhis iz it, dju_ost
ôuer dhe brîdj íer), yes, sir, this is it, just over the bridge here.
—(ái wu_od'nt gi thrî eepens foo jê), I wouldn't give three half-
pence for you.

VAR. ia.

NORTH-EAST SHROPSHIRE AND NORTH-WEST STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

N Newport, all the words referred to Newport (:nuupert) in Miss Jackson's account of Sh. pron. as prepared by TH.

B preceding a word from Newport shews that it was sent by Mrs. Burne; following a word, that Mrs. Burne gave the same sound as Miss Jackson.

The following are from wn. by TH. :—

E Edgmond, Sh. (1½ w. Newport).

Nh Newport in 1885 [as distinguished from Miss Jackson].

M Market Drayton, Sh.

H Hodnet, Sh. (5 sw. Market Drayton) in 1881.

Ec Eccleshall, St. (7 nw. Stafford), including words given by Miss Burne, and wn. at Wootton (1½ ssw. Ec.)

The line separating Var. ia, b from Var. iia, seems to pass s. of Bolas Magna, Edgmond, Newport, Sh., and n. of Crudgington, Wellington, Sh., and s. of Cannock, St., but n. of Wolverhampton and Walsall, St.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 N *tək* B [before vowels], *tee* B [before consonants]. 5 N *mək* B [before vowels], *mee* B [before consonants], M *miik*. — M *griiv* [grave]. 19 B *tiil*. 20 B *lēm*. 21 M *niim*, Ec *neem*. 23 B *sém*. 31 B *liit*. 33 E *redher*. A: 39 BE *kam*. 41 B *theqk*. 43 B *ond*, Ec *and*. 51 B *mən*, MEc *ma'n*. 54 EM *want*. 55 B *es*. 56 NM *wesh* B.

A: or O: 60 B *luq*. 61 B *emucq*. 64 BNhEc *ruq*, EM *ruqg*.

A'- 67 N *gù'in* [going] B, E *gju'in* *gu'u'in*, Ec *gu*, H *guu*. 69 M *noo*. 70 Ec *tuu*. 72 B *uu*. 73 B *soo se*. 74 Ec *ta'u*. 76 B *tóed*. 81 Nh *leen*. 82 NhEc *wuust*. 84 EcN *múuer* B. 86 BNhEEc *wu_{ts}*, M *òts*. 87 M *thuuz*. 89 B *búeth*. 92 EEcU *noo*.

A': 102 B *aks*. 104 N *rood*, E *rood*, B *róed*. 106 Ec *brood*. 110 N *nati* [naughty], B *kane*. 113 Ec *oolsem* [wholesome]. 115 B *óm* [?], EcNhE *wóm*, Ec [occ.] *oom*, M *wə'm*. 118 B *bóen*, E *bə'uēn*, Ec *buun*. 120 E *egoo*. 123 N *na_{thin}*. B 124 N *stoon* [accented], -*sten* [in composition and unaccented], E *stə'uēn*, M *sta'n*, Ec *stuun*.

Æ- 138 BNhEMEc *feedher*, M *fidher*. — E *gjedher*. 140 E *iil*. 141 B *niil*. 143 B *tiil*. 144 B *egen*. 148 B *fir*. — N *lez'er* [a leasow, pasture]. 152 Nh *weeter*, M *wiiter*. Æ: 155 NM *thetj*. — N *gjedher*. 158 B *aater*. 161 NNhEMHEc *dii* B. 169 E *wen*. 171 Ec *barli*. 172 NEM *gres* B. 179 *wot*. Æ'- 185 Ec *re'id*. 187 E *liiv*. 193 B *kleen*. 194 N *ænithin* [anything]. 195 B *moni*. 197 M *tpiiz*, *tpiiz tpe'iz*, Ec *tpē'iz*. 200 N *wéet*, B, Nh *wáiet*, ME *wiet*, Ec *wiit*. 202 B *jet*. Æ': 207 B *need'l*. 209 E *niver*. 213 N *eedher* B, *aidher*, B *iidher*. 216 N *diē'l* B. 217 B *etj*, E *éitj*. 218 E *ship*. 223 BMEc *dhier*, Ec *dhier*. 224 BMEc *wier*. 226 Ec *múst múest*. 228 B *swat*.

E- 232 N *briik* B, B *breek*. 233 B *speek spiik*, MEc *spiik*. 241 N *rin riien* B, NhEMHEc *riin*. 243 BEEc *pli*. — N *bier* [to bear]. 248 N *múier* B. 249 N *wier*. 251 B *meet*, EEc *miit*. — N *fidher* [feather]. E: 260 B *lév*. 261 B *séz*, Nh *dhe'seen* [they say], MEEc *sii*. 262 MEHEc *wii*. 264 B *iil*. 265 Ec *stre'it*. 266 H *wel*. — N *feeld* [field occ.], Ec *fe'ld*. 270 *beli*, B *bali*. 287 B *biizem*. E'- 290 M *ái*, Ec *ē'i*. 291 N *dhee*. 292 N *mee*, Ec *me'i*. 296 N *bileev* B, N *bileef* [belief], Ec *bléiv*. 299 M *grin*, MEc *gre'in*. 300 M *kiip*. 302 E *miit*. E': 305 Ec *ái*. 306 EcN *ait*. 312 EcM *fier*. 314 M *ierd*. — Ec *gje'is* [geese].

EA- — N *jíel il* [ale]. 320 B *kier*. EA: 321 N *siid* [used]. 322 N *láf* B, M *laf*. 324 E *ē'it*. 326 B *óud*, EcM *α'ud*. 328 N *kod*, B *kóud*, Ec *kj'ud*. 329 N *tod*. 331 N *sod*, B *sóud*. 335 B *aa*, *aal*, Ec *AAvis* [always]. 336 N *faa*, *faan* [fallen or we fall, less usual than *fel'n*]. 337 B *waa*. 338 NE *kAA*. — N *shíuer* [share, portion]. 343 B *waarm*. 345 B *daar*. 346 B *giēt*, M *giit*, Ec *gjeet*. EA'- 347 BEM *je'd*, M *ē'd*. 349 N *íue* [nearly]. EA': 350 N *de'd* B, EMec *diē'd*, Ec *de'd* [of a person liked *i'z ga'n de'd* he's gone dead, of a person disliked *i'z dje'd en ə'ud dəv'l* he's dead, an old devil]. 355 BEc *diif*, E *djeif* [Ec says *du'm en diif* in this order]. 356 N *leef*. 359 N *niiber*. 360 Ec *tíim*. 361 Nh *báienz*, EcM *biinz*. 363 N *tiip*, B *tyep*. — Ec *íuer* [year]. 366 NEMEENh *gríit* B, Nh *gríid* big *thiq* [great big thing]. 368 N *diē'th*. — N *dúu* [dew].

EI- 372 NEc *ái dai*, EMec *aa*. 376 N *bit*, B *biit*. EI: 377 B *stiik*. EO- 387 N *nuupert*. E *nae'upert* [Newport], E *na'u*. EO: 388 M *milk*. 390 N *shad*. 394 NEEc *jander*. 402 M *lørn lərn*. 405 B *aarth*. 406 B *aarth*. EO'- 409 B *bee*. 411 B *three*. — N *tree* [tree], Ec *tréi*. 413 B *dív'l*. 414 B *fái*. 415 B *lái*. 417 N *tjAA*, B *tjún*. EO': 425 B *láiit*. 426 B *fáit*. 428 Ec *se'in se'i*. 431 M *béier*. — Ec *na'i* [knee]. 436 N *truu*. 437 M *trə'uth*, Ec [between] *trə'uth triuth*. EY- 438 BNhMEc *dái*, M *da'i*.

I- — N *síner* [sinew]. — N *jes* [yes]. 450 N *tuuzdi*. I: 458 N *náit náit* [I take B's *oi* to mean *ai*]. Nh *nít*, M *ne'it náit*, Ec *náit* [approaching *na'it*]. 459 N *ráit ráit*, Ec *re'it*. 460 N *wóit* B. 467 M *we'ld*. I'- 490 N *bái báai*. — Ec *stráik* [(er ken rimember *wiit bá'in e paund e stráik*, she can remember wheat being a pound a strike=bushel, i.e. £8 a

quarter]. 494 M *táim*. 498 N *ráait*. I': 500 NEc *láik láaik*. — EEc *ii* [hay]. 505 B *wáif*, EM *wé'if*. 507 Ec *wu_omén*. 511 B *wáin*.

O- 519 Ec *oover óer*. 522 B *AAP'n*. O: — N *trú_of* [trough]. 526 B *káf*. 527 N *ba'ut* [coarse rough speaking], *bət* [fine]. 528 N *thaut thət* [as in 527]. 531 N *daater* B, EcNhEM *daater*. 533 B *du_ol*. 536 N *gæ'ud* B. 538 N *wəd*. — EEc *əs* [horse]. — N *gəth* [girth].

O'- 555 B *shúu*, M *shæ'u*. 556 E *tæ'u*. 557 B *tíu*, M *tæ'u*. 558 Ec *læ'uk*. 559 B *mu_odher*, MEc *mædher*. 560 N *skíul*, M *skjæ'u skjæ'u*, Ec *skjæ'ul skjéul skíul*. 562 Nh [between] *mæ'un mæ'un*, M *muun*, Ec *mæ'un* [at Wootton between (*míun mæ'un*)]. 567 B *tu_odher*.

O': 569 B *buuk*. — N *shuk* [accented], *shək* [unaccented]. — E *bru_ok* [brook]. 570 N *tuk tək* [as in *shook*]. 572 B *blu_od*. 575 B *stəd*. 578 B *pláu*, Ec *pláu*. 579 B *enuu*. 580 N *tù_of*. — N *píul* [pool]. 584 B *stíul*. 586 B *dúu*, E *dæ'u*. 587 BM *dù_on*. 588 NhM *næ'un*, EcM *næ'un* [at Wootton between (*níun næ'un*)]. 589 M *spæ'un*. 590 N *flúuer*, B *flíuer*. 591 B *móer*. — N *gus* [goose emphatic], *guzbriz* [gooseberries]. 595 B *fət*. 597 B *sət*. — N *tu_oth* [tooth].

U- 600 N *lu_ov* B. 603 B *ku_om*, Nh *kām'in*, M *ku_omin*, E *kəmz*. 604 E *su_omer*. 605 B *su_on*, MEc *sù_on*. 606 N *dúuer* B, M *dûer dæ'uer*, Ec *dûer* [formerly often (*dæ'r*)]. 607 BEEc *bu_oter*.

U: 608 B *u_ogli*. — N *shæ'under shæ'ulder*. 609 B *fəl*. — N *pəl* [pull]. 610 B *wəl*. 611 B *bələk*. 612 B *su_om*. 615 B *pən*, Ec *páund*. 622 B *u_onder*. 629 B Ec *su_on*. 632 BNhEc *u_op*. 633 BH *ku_op*. 639 B *du_ost*.

U'- 640 EEc *kjáu*. 641 B *æ'u* marked as received pron., I have given (*æ'u*) as gen. Sh., it might be (*ə'u áu*), EM *áu*, H *ə'u*. 642 B *dha'u*. 643 B *næ'u*, Ec *náu*. 652 B *ku_od*. 653 M *bu_ot*.

U': 658 NhEc *dáun* [at Wootton (1½ s.Eccleshall) (*dâin*) was heard twice], M *də'un*. 659 E *tâun*, M *tə'un*. 663 B *æ'us*, EEc *áus*, Ec *áu_oz'n*. 667 MEc *áut*.

Y- 673 B *mu_otj*. Y: 697 N *beeri*. 700 H *was*. — N *shu_ot* [shut].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B *bəd*. 714 B *lød*. — MH *riil* [rail]. 722 N *drin driien* B. 723 B *diiri*. 742 B *laazi* [ʔ]. E. 744 B *mæz'lz*. 749 NhEc *lift*. I. and Y. 757 B *táini*. 761 N *lood*. 766 B [also] *midherd*. U. — N *du_ok* [duck]. 794 BEH *dju_og*. 796 N *blu*. 802 B *ru_om*. 803 BH *dju_omp*. 805 B *kradz*. 807 B *pəs*. 808 B *pət*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — M *tüb'l* [table]. 810 B *féus*. 811 Ec *pleez'n*. 813 B *béek'n*. 822 BEc *mii*. 824 Ec *tjier* B, E *tjier*. 829 M *giin*. — Ec *pliin* [plain]. 830 H *triin*. 833 B *pier*. 835 B *reez'n*. 836 B *seez'n*. — N *mæster* [master, refined], *mester* [usual]. — Ec *deem* [dame]. 841 BEc *tjans*. 842 B *pləqk*. 850 B *dans*. 851 B *ant*. 852 *apern*. — M *sliit* [slate]. — M *plint* [plate]. 862 H *siif*. E.. 867 BM *tee*, EEc *tii*. 869 E *viel*, Ec *viil*. 874 N *riienz*. — N *fíuer*. — Ec *pe'ip'l* [people] 893 M *flæ'uer*. I.. and Y.. 898 B *náis*, M *na'is*. 901 B *fáin*, M *fa'in*. 904 B *váilet*. O.. 915 B *stu_of*. — Ec *be'if* [beef]. 920 B *páint*. — N *stuuri* [story]. 924 B *tjáis*. 926 N *spáil* B. 929 B *kuukember*. 930 B *láin*. 933 Ec *iru_ont*. 940 B *kúuet*. 941 N *fíul* B. 942 B *batjer*. — N *oo* [hoe]. 947 B *báil*. 954 B *kashen*. U.. — N *du* [due]. — N *duuk* [duke]. — N *muuzik* [music]. 963 B *kwáit*. 965 B *áil*. 969 Ec *shúer*. — N *kúer* [cure]. — N *kuuries* [curious]. — N *just'n* [we used, were accustomed]. 970 NE *dju_ost*.

VAR. *ib*. WEST MID STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

B Bradley (:breedli), (4 sw.Stafford), sent in io. by Rev. R. L. Lowe, vicar.

Hn Houghton (:AAt'n), (4 wsw. Stafford), wn. by TH. in 1882 from T. Powell, native, b. 1798.

C Cannock and neighbourhood, wn. by TH. in 1877.

S Stretton (8 ssw.Stafford), wl. and dt. by Rev. J. W. Napier, vicar.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 Hn becker. 4 C tak, Hn tēk. 5 C meek. 19 S tiil. 21 S niim. 31 C leet. A: 51 BS mon, C ma'n. 55 B es. 56 C wash, Hn weshin. A: or O: 60 C lu q.g. 62 S stru q. A'- 67 Hn gu in. 74 BHn tū, C tū'u, C tūuthri. 76 C tood, S. tuud. 86 BS wats. 89 C bōth. 92 C noo. A': 101 S uuk. 102 C eks. 104 S ruud. 107 S luuf, Hn lōf. 108 S du f. 110 C kōner wu ner shōner [can't won't shan't], ai ee'nt [I am not], shānt [shall not]. 111 C Aat. 115 B oom, HnC wa'm, S om. 124 BS stūen. 131 S guut.

Æ- 138 CHn feedher. 141 S niil. 142 S sniil. 143 S tiil. 147 B briin. 152 B weeter. Æ: 161 BSC dii. 172 B gres. Æ'- 193 C tliin. 194 B onī, C ani. 197 B tjeiz, C tpiiz. Æ': 209 C niver. 210 C tlii, [occ.] tlee, S klii. 214 C niidher. 218 BSHn ship. 223 C dhier. E- 241 BSHn riin. 243 BS plii. 248 B mūier. — Hn iit. E: 260 S lii. 261 CSHn sii. 262 Hn wiī. 270, ii. B balī. E'- 290 C ii. 291 B dhēi. 300 CHn kiip. E': 314 C ierd.

EA- 318 C lōft, laft [refined]. EA: 322 C lōf, Hn laf. 326 C ā'ud, ōud. 328 C kōud. 330 C ōud. 333 BS kaaī. 334 C ā. 335 C Aal. EA'- 347 B jed. EA': 350 BS dīed. 355 S diif. 359 CS niiber. 353 B tīp. 366 C grit. 368 S diith. — C dīū [dew]. EI- 372 Hn aa.

EO- 386 B jā'u. 394 C jōder. 402 Hn lōrn. EO'- 409 B bēi. 410 Hn aē'u [?]. — C trāi [tree]. 414 B tlii. EO': 424 S ru f. 428 C si. 435 C soo [youths said you and not thou to each other]. 437 C trāuth. EY- 438 CHn dāi.

I- 440 C wik. 442 S ivi. 444 B stō'il, C stāil. 448 C dhiiz dhīiz dhēiz. I: 452 B ō'i, C āi. 458 B noit, C nait, S niit? 459 S riit? 464 Hn wītj. 469 C wu l. 485 BC fis'l. I'- 492 S sād. 494 C tām. I': 500 CSHn lāik. — C ii, [occ.] ee, [hay]. 508 B mōil. 511 S wānd. 514 S āist. 517 C jū.

O- 524 C wald [often]. O: 526 S kaf. 529 Hn braat. 531 Hn daatē. 550 B wād. O'- 556 C tū. 558 C lu k. 559 BHn mōdher, C mōdher. 560 C skō'ul, S skūl. 562 B mūun, C mūūn. 563 C mū'ndi. O': 569 B biuk. 586 C dū [often]. 587 Hn dū'n. 589 B spūun. 597 Hn sō'f.

U- 603 C kam. 606 C dōer, Hn dūe. 607 C bu'ter. U: 612 C sū'm. 619 C m'nd. 620 S grū'nd. 624 B grēnd? 632 CHn v p. 634 C thrū thrō'u. U'- 640 Hn kjāuz. 643 C nāu, Hn nāu. — Hn brā'u [brow] 648 C āu'ern. U': 658 C dīāun dā'n, Hn dāun. 663 C āūs, Hn āus. 667 C āut āaut.

Y- 673 C mū'tj. 679 tjetj. Y: 691 SC mādind. 692 C mū'gist. 701 C fāst [often]. Y'- 705 B skō'i. Y': 709 B fō'ier, Hn fā'ier. 712 B mō'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 B bōd. 722 BS driin. E. 744 B mez'lz. O. 761 S luud. — C dōg' [dog]. 767 B nāiz. 774 puuni. U. 804 S dru qk'n. 805 B kredz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 813 C beek'n. 822 C mii. — C pii [pay]. 824 Hn tpiier. 852 S aprin. 855 B iat. E.. 867 C tii. 894 C d'iiv. O.. — C bif [beef]. 925 C vāis. 940. C koot. 941 B fiul. 947 C bāil. 950 C sa'per. — C kriāun [crown]. 955 C dāut. U.. 969 C sha'uer.

VAR. *ic*. EAST MID STAFFORDSHIRE CWL.

Bn Barton-under-Needwood, words communicated by the late Mrs. Willoughby Wood.

The following were from *wn*. by TH.

Bt Burton-on-Trent.

Ha Hanbury (6 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1880.

Ho Hopwas (:əpez) (2 nw. Tamworth) in 1879.

L Lichfield.

Ta Tamworth (:tameth) in 1879.

T Tutbury (:tidberi) (4 nw. Burton-on-Trent) in 1874.

Y Yoxall 6 ne. Lichfield, *wn*. in 1879 by TH. from a native, b. 1805, and then living at Tamworth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 18 Ha kjeək. 21 Bn niim, HaYTāHo neem, Bt neim neem. A: 39 Bn kām. 55 Bt es. 56 Bt wesh, T wəsh [ʔ]. A: or O: 58 Bt thram threm. 62 BtL struəqg. 64 Bt rəqg, LBtTa ruəqg, TaHo rəqg. A'- 67 BtL guu. 69 BtYHo noo, Ha nē'u. 72 Bn iu. 74 BtY t'ū. 84 Ta mūr. 85 Ta sūv. 86 BtHa ūts, L ōuts. A': 105 Ho rood. 106 Y brood. 110 shu dner wu ne wone shana kane kane [shouldn't won't sha'nt can't, these were from several places in this variety]. Ta ai ċint wōnt shānt kġnt [not so often] kġnt. Ho wōnt wa'nt wa ne kġnt dōnt dū ner [by a few] shaner [by a few]. 113 Bt uul. 115 L wə'm, Bt [between] wə'm wōm, Ha wa'm, YTā ōm. 118 L boon. 123 Bt nū thāk. 124 Bt stuun, L stoön. — L rōup.

Æ- 138 BtHaHoY iædher. TaL iēdher, TaLHo faadher. 152 Bt weete, Ta waater. Æ: 161 BtHaTTaLY dii, Ta dee dēi, Ho dee dii. 164 Bn mii. 172 L gres. — Bt kjaat, L kaat [cart]. 177 Ta edhat'n [of that kind]. Æ'- 197 Bt tjeiz, Ha tjeiz. 200 BtYTāL wit wiit, Ha wē'it, Ho wiit [a few say (wist)]. Æ': 218 LY ship'. 223 BtYHo dhîer, Ho dhêer: 224 BtHoYTā wîer, Ho weer.

E- 231 T th wəsh'in dii [the washing day, (th) ʔ]. 233 BtHaHoTa spiik [Ha p.t. (spək)]. 241 BtHaL riin, Ta riin, [occ.] reen. 243 Bt plii. — Ho eet [eat]. 251 Ta miit. E: 261 BtY sii, Ta see, Ho see [and occ. (sii)], Bt se i. 262 BtHaYL wii, Ta wēi wee wii. 265 Ta stre'it'. — L fiid [field]. 284 L thresh. E'- 290 BtL ē'i, Y ēi, Ho ēi, L īi. 292 Y mē'i. 293 Y wēi. 294 Ta fiid. 299 BnY grēin, BtHa grē'in, BtHo grē'in griin, Ta griin. 300 Bt kje'ip'n, Y kiip'n [both with verbal pl. in -en]. 302 Y mē'it. E': 314 B ied, Ho ied ə'rd, Y əad, ə'rd.

EA: 322 BtHaL lāf, Ta lāf. [occ.] laf. 325 Y dhe waakn [they walk-en]. 326 Bt [between] ōūd ə'ud, Ha ə'ud. 328 Bn kə'ud, Ho kōuld, Bt [between] kə'ud kōuld. 334 Ta ēipni [halipenny]. 336 Ta faal. EA'- 347 BtHoTa jē'd, Y ē'd. EA': — Bt le'ik [a leek]. 350 Ha dpe'd. 355 Ho dif dēf. 366 Bt griit, HaTa greet, Y grit, Ho griit, L grēit. 371 L straa.

EO- 387 Ta nē'u [the first element was between (a) and (i₁), the transitional form to (nū)]. EO: 394 Ta jander. 399 Bt bra'it. 402 BtY laun lāurn, TaHo lāen, Ta lə'rn. — Ta shaat [short]. EO'- 411 Y thre'i, Ta thrii. — Bt trēi [tree], Ta trī [tree]. EO': 425 Bt le'it. 426 Bt fe'it. 437 BtY tra'uth, Ha tra'uth, Ho tra'uth [and nearly] truuth. EY- 438 Bt dāi, HaHo dē'i, YHoTa dāi.

I- 444 L [between] stāil stā'il. 447 BtY ə'r [used for she]. — Bt piiz [pease]. I: 458 Bt nēit nē'it, nāit, Ha nē'it, Ho nēit nā'it, L nōit nā'it. 462 Bn sāt. 469 Bt wūl, Ho wīl [and by a few (wūl)]. 484 Ta edhis'n [of this kind]. I'- 494 BtL tā'im, HaL tāim. I': 504 Ta nā'if. 508 Ta mā'il. 509 Bt wā'il.

O- 519 Ta oover. O: — Bt krōft kraft [croft]. 531 BtHoL daater, Ha dā'ute. — Bt krōp krap [crop]. 551 Ta staam. 552 L kaan. — BtL os [horse]. O'- 555 BtYTāHo shə'u, Bt shə'u shū'u shə'u, [the first element very peculiar, it evidently varied towards shōn) see 562, 588], Ha sha'ū.

557 Bn *táu*. 558 Ta *læ'uk*, L *luk*. 559 Ho *mædher*, BtTaHo *modher*, BnLTa *mædher*. 560 Bt *skæ'ul*, Ho *sk'ul*, Ta *skæ'u skuu*. 562 Bt *mó'm*, Ha *mæ'un*, TaL *muun*. 564 Ta *sæ'un*. 568 Bt *bru.dhe*. O': 569 Bn *bák*. 579 TaL *enæ.f*. 586 Y *dáu*, Bt *dæ'u*. 587 BtHaHo *dæ'n*. 588 Bt *næ'un nó'm*, Ha *næ'un*, TaHo *næ'un*, Ho *náu*, L [between] *næ'un næ'un*. 595 Bn *fat*.

U- 603 LHo *kam*, L *ku.mín*. 604 L *sæ.mv*. 605 BtTa *sæ'n*. 606 Bt *dóe[r dæg*, HaY *dóe*, Ta *dóer*, Ho *dûer*. U: 611 Bn *bælek*. 615 Ta [between] *pá'nd pá'nd*. 632 LBt *u p*. — Bt [between] *kas kos* [curse]. U'- 640 Bn *kjáu*. 643 Ta *ná'æ*. 650 Ha *ebâ'æt* [with elongated lip opening], Y *ebâ'ut*, Ta [between] *ebâ'ut ebâ'æt*. U': 654 Ta *sra'ud*. 658 TaL *dæm*. 661 Ta *shæ'um*. 663 BtYTaHoL *æus*, Ha *â'æs'* [with elongated lip opening], Ho [pl.] *ænziz ænz'n*. 667 Ta [between] *â'ut â'ut*, *â'æt*, L *æut*. Y: 701 Ta *fast*.

II. ENGLISH.

I. *and* Y. 756 BtTa *srimp*. 758 Ta [occ.] *gjel* [which is 'múe pela'i'te] more politer than (wensh)]. O. 761 BtL *luud*. 791 Bt *bái*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. — Bt *pii* [pay]. — Bn *griinz* [grains]. — Ta *plii* [plain]. 830 Ta *tréin*. E.. 867 Bt *tii*, Ha *te'i*. — BnL *piin* [pain]. I.. *and* Y.. 898 Ta *na'is*. 901 Ta *fáin*. O.. 916 L *u.n'ienz*. 940 BtTa *kuut*. U.. — Bt *wit* [wait]. — Ta *æt* [hurt].

VAR. *ia*. MID EAST AND SOUTH EAST SHROPSHIRE cwl.

All from wn. by TH.

W Wellington (:weliten), Sh., in Dec. 1881.

S Shifnal, Sh. (7 sse. Wellington), in Jan. 1882, with verbal pl. in *-en* (an *je?* *æ'u bín æ'?*).

M Madeley, Sh. (6 sse. Wellington) (:mee'dli), in Jan. 1882.

I Ironbridge (6 sse. Wellington), Sh. (*shane*, *kone*, *wa'ne*, *shan't*, *can't*, *won't*).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 W *tak*. 21 W *neem* [(naam) at Ketley, (1 se.W).], S *néim*. A: *or* O: 60 M *lu.qg*. 64 W *ru.qg*, S *roqg rû.q*, I *roqg*. A'- 67 W *ga'z gò'in*, M *gu*. 69 WS *noo*. 73 W *soo*. 74 W *táu*. 82 W *wa nst*. A': 104 WSI *rood*, S *rôud* [also, a modernism?]. 115 W *wæ'm oom*, S *æ'm*, SI *wæ'm*. 117 WS *wa'n*. 121 WS *ga'n*. 124 S *stoon*, I *stæ'un?* 130 I *bôt*.

Æ- 138 W *feedher*, S *faadher*, I *feedher*. Æ: 161 WSI *dee*. 179 W *wod* [wod'z *jer neem?*], S *wot*. Æ'- 182 WS *see*. 197 I *tpiiz*. 200 W *wiet*, SI *wit*. Æ': 223 W *dhier*. 224 WSM *wier*.

E- 233 W *speek*, S *spiik*. 235 W *weev*. 241 S *réin*, I *reen*. E: 261 W *see*. 262 WI *wee*. 265 W *stre'it*. E'- 290 W *i*. 297 W *felv*. 299 W *griin*, S *gríin*. 300 I *kiip*. E': 312 I *îer*. 314 WS *îerd*, I *ard*.

EA: 322 WSI *laf*. 326 W *æ'ud*, S *ould*. 328 S [betw.] *ke'ud kæ'ud*. 332 W *tæ'ud*. 335 W *aal*. 338 W *kaa*. 346 S *gjeet*. EA'- 347 WSI *je'd*, S *æ'd*. EA': 350 WI *dpe'd*. 351 I *led*. 352 W *red*. 355 I *def*. 365 S *nier*. 366 W *greet*, S *gréit*. EO: 388 I *mælk*. 395 SMI *ju.q*, I *joqg*. 396 S *wark*. 402 W *lærn*, S *læ'rn*, I *læ'rn*. EO': 428 W *sii*. 437 W *træuth*, I *træ'uth*, S *trúth*. EY- 438 W *dæ'i*.

I: 452 W *æ'i á'i*. 458 W *næ'it*, S [betw.] *náit na'it*. 466 W *tjæ'ild*, I [betw.] *tjæ'ild*, *tjæild*. 469 W *wæ'n* [will-en]. 477 W *fæ'ind*. I'- 492 W *sæ'id*. 494 W *tá'im*, S *táim*, I *tæ'im*. I': 500 W *læik læ'ikli*.

O; — W *sru.beri* [shrubbery]. 531 WSI *daater*. — S *A's'* [horse]. O'- 555 WSI *shæ'uz*. 559 W *mædher mu dher*, S *mædher*. 562 SI *muun*. 564 W *sæ'un*. 566 M *u.dher*. 568 WM *bru.dher*. O': 569 S *bæk*. 571 W *gæ'd*. 572 W *blæ'd*. 579 W *enæ.f*. 586 W *dæ'u dáu*. 587 WS *dæ'n*. 588 W *næ'un*, SI *nuun*.

U- 599 M *ebæ.v*. 603 WS *kæm*. 604 I *sæ'mer*. 605 WS *sæ'n*. 606 WSI

dáer. 607 W *bu*ter. — SI *nu*t [nut]. U: — W *pu*l [pull]. 622 W *u*nder. 632 WSM *u*cp. 633 WS *ku*p. 634 W *thra*'u. 636 M *fa*'r. U: 640 W *kə*'u, S *kjə*'u. 641 W *á*u, SI *ə*'u. 643 W *nə*'u. 650 I *ebə*'ut. U: 654 W *sə*'ud. 658 W *də*'un. 659 I *tə*'un. 663 W *ə*'uz'n, S *ə*'us. 667 M *ə*'ut. Y- 673 I *mu*ctj. Y: 701 W *fast*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — W *ba*qk, [at Ketley (*bə*qk), bank]. 737 W *mə*ts. E. 749 W *li*ft. I. and Y. 756 W *sra*mps. O. — S *də*g [dog]. U. — S *də*'ak [to duck]. 794 WS *dju*g. 803 WSMI *dju*mp. 804 W *dra*qk'n.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 830 W *tre*en. 841 W *ti*ans. 866 W *pú*er. E.. 867 WSI *te*r, I *ti*i. 885 W *ve*ri. I.. and Y.. 901 S *fá*in. O.. 915 W *stu*f. 920 W *pə*'int. 947 W *bá*il. U.. 969 W *shó*er.

VAR. *ii*b. SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE cwl.

This is the Black Country proper.

Cs Codsall (5 nw.Wolverhampton), per E. Viles, Esq.

D Darlaston (:dàrlis'n) (3 wsw.Walsall), per TH., 1879, chiefly from Henry Blackhouse, b. 1833, foreman ironroller, and his wife, both natives.

Wa Walsall (:waas'l), per TH., 1877 and 1879.

Wb West Bromwich (5 s.Walsall), per TH., 1877, with verbal pl. in *-en* seldom used.

We Wednesbury (:wɛdzbəri) (3 sw.Walsall), per TH., 1879.

Wi Willenhall (3 e.Wolverhampton), per TH., 1879, from G. Dyke, keystamper, b. 1825, and his family.

Wo Wolverhampton, by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A'- 4 CsD *tak*, Wi *tê*ik. 5 Wo *mek*, Cs *mak*. 8 Wo *av* *je*, an *je* [have you? have-n you?]. 21 D *nê*em, WaWe *nê*im, Wi *nê*em [old], *nê*im [new]. 23 Wo *sê*im. A: 39 D *kôm*, Wb *ke*em. 43 Wb and *ə*nd, Wi *ə*nd [obs.]. 51 WbWi *ma*'n. 56 Wa *wesh*, Wb *wesh* *wash*. A: or O: 60 Wa *loq*g. 64 D *roq* *ru*q *ru*qg, Wi *ru*qg.

A'- 67 D *gô*, Wo *gô*u, Wi *gu*. 69 Wa *náu*, We *nô*u. 73 D *sù*. 74 Wa *tú*. 76 Wb *tood*. 86 DWa *ú*ts, Cs *u*ts. 87 Wb *tluu*s. 92 Wo *nô*u. A': 102 Wi *aks* [old], *ask* [new]. 104 DWi *rô*ud. 106 Cs *brood*. — Wi *lé*idi [lady]. 108 Cs *daf*. 110 [negative, see p. 461], D *ái* *èt* [have not], *wóu* [won't], *shee* *sheet* [shan't], *koo* *koot* [can't], *bit* [be not], *ái* *du* *t' nóu* [I don't know], *it* *it* [isn't it], *éi* [isn't], Wa *ái* *shə*nt, *shAA*, *kà*nt, *kAA*, *wó*unt, *woo*, We *wóu* *kAA* *shèt* [won't can't shan't], Wb *shee* [shan't], Wi *é*nt [is not], Wi *bé*int, Wo *ái* *è*nt [am not], *kAA* [can't], *dó*unt [don't]. 115 DWb *wóm*, We *ô*um, CsWb *wə*'m. 117 Wo *wə*'n. 118 WbCs *bu*un. 122 Wa *nó*u, Cs *nôn*. 123 DWb *nu*q *thi*qk. 124 Cs *stu*un.

Æ- 138 D *faad*her *fê*dher, We *faad*her, Wb *fê*dher, Wi *fê*dher [old]. Æ: 161 DWaWeWbWo *dê*i. 164 Wa *mee*. 172 Wi *gras*. — D *kà*rt [cart]. Æ'- 183 Wa *ti*tj, Cs *tee*tj. 190 Wo *kjé*i. 193 Wo *tl*iin. 194 Wo *ə*ni. 200 WaWeWi *wi*it, WiCs *wi*et [occ.]. 201 Cs *eed*h'n. Æ': 209 Wo *niver*. 216 Cs *de*el [?: déil], Wi *djé*l. 217 Cs *é*itj. 223 D *dhier*. 224 D *wier*. 227 Wa *wet*.

E- 232 Cs *brec*k [?: éi]. 233 DWeWi *spé*ik, We *spi*ik [first form occ. We]. 236 Cs *feev*er [?: éi]. 241 Wi *rê*in. 243 We *plê*i. — We *é*it [eat]. 251 D *mê*it. E: 260 Wo *le*'i. 261 DWaWeWiWo *sê*i. 262 DWaWi *wê*i, WiWo *ewê*i. 265 Wa *stre*'it. 270 Cs *bali*. 278 DWe *wens*h. E'- 290 D *i*, *ii*. 293 Wb *wi*. 299 DWe *gr*iin, Wa *grá*in. 300 WaWb *ki*ip. E': 306 Cs *á*ith. 314 DWe *iér*d.

EA: 322 D lbf. 326 DWa ôud, Wi ôud, Cs ood. 328 D kôud, Cs kood. 331 Cs sood. 333 Cs kaaf. 334 Wo ôipeth [halipenny worth], Cs aaf. 345 Wi dâr [obs.], DEER [new]. 346 Wa gjêet, Wi gjêet [obs.], gjêet [new]. EA'- 347 DWe e'd, DWa jê'd. 348 Wo a'i. EA': 350 Wb ded [coarse torn d'ed], WoCs d'ed [occ.]. 355 Wa dif en d'um [deaf and dumb], Cs dâit. — WbWi krê'm [cream]. 360 Wi tiem. 366 DWeWi grêit. 369 Wo skûn. EO- 387 Wi nœ'u. EO: 394 DWiWo jander. 402 D lœ'rn, We [between] lœen lœn. 404 Wo stâr. — DWa shôt [short]. EO'- 419 D jœ'œn [yourn = yours]. 420 Wa fœuer [approaching] iœ'uer. EO': 425 We lœ'it. 435 Wa jœ'u. 437 WeWi trûth. EY- 438 D dâi, WeWo dœ'i. I- 442 Cs i'vi. 444 Wa sta'il. 447 WiWo ær [=she, frequent]. I: 458 We [between] nœ't nœit, Wi nœit. 459 WaWo ra'it. 466 D tja'ld. 469 Wo wêl. 487 DWa jesterdi. I'- 492 Wo [between] sa'id, sâid. 494 DWi tœim [at D approaching ta'im], Wi tœim. I': 502 WaWo iœ'iv. 504 Wo nœ'if. O- 519 Wo ôuuer. 522 DWa ôuop'n. O: — Wb kœuk [cook]. 527 D bœut, Wb ba't. 528 Wb tha't. 531 D daater dooter. 532 Wa kœul kœal, Wi kœul, Wb kœul kœ'ul. 552 D kœrn [with a pursed rounding]. O'- — Wo ôe [name of letter O]. 555 D sha'u. WaWe shuu, Wi [old] sha'u, [new] shuu. 556 DWo tœu. 558 WoCs huuk. 559 DWo mœdher, Wb mœdher. 562 Wb mœun. 564 DWi sœun. O': 569 Wo bœ'uk, Cs buuk. 570 Cs tœuk. 582 D kœul. 586 DWbWi dœu, Wo dœ'u. 587 DWo dœ'u. 588 D nœun, WaWi nuun, Wi [old] nœ'un. 594 Wi biut [by a few]. U- 603 D kœm kœm, Wi kœm. 605 DWe sœun. 606 We dœu, Cs dœu. U: — Wo sha'ulderz. 615 Wo pâ'and. 625 Cs tœgg. 632 Cs œp. U'- 640 Wa kjâ'œz, Wo kjâ'œ [see 663]. 641 Wo œu. 643 DWo nœ'œ [see 663], We nœ'œ, Wb nœ'œ. 648 D œœrn [ourn = ours, similarly dhœrn, œ'œn œ'œn theirn hissen hern]. 650 WaWiWo œbœ'œt [see 663], Wb œbœ'œt. U': 654 D srœ'œd. 658 Wo dœ'œn. 659 Wa tâ'œn tâ'œn. 663 DWaWo œ'œs [with elongated lip opening], Wi œ'œz'n [houses, by many], Wo œ'œs. 667 Wa jœut dœ'œt [do-out = put out], œ'œt [see 663], Wb jœut, Wi œ'œt. Y- 675 D mœ'œtj. Y: 697 Cs bœri. 700 Cs was. 701 Cs fast.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 Wa mêit. E. 749 Wo lift. I. and Y. 756 DWb srimp. O. 766 Wi mœidherd, dœnt mœidher, i'z mœidherin imself. U. — Wb tjœ'un [old form], tœun [new, for tune]. 806 Wa fu's.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 Wi œab'l œab'l. 811 Wb pleez'n [places]. 822 Wb mœi. — Wo pêi [pay]. 830 Wo trœin. — D tjœinz [chains]. — Wo mœster master. 841 D tjœa'ns. E.. 867 D tœi, We tœi. O.. — WbWo bœi. — D rœ'œnd [round, see 663], Wa rœ'œnd [and approaching rœ'œnd, see 663]. 940 Wa kœât. U.. 969 Wo sha'œuer. 970 Wa dœ'œst.

VAR. iic. NORTH WORCESTERSHIRE cwl.

Near Black Country proper.

C Cradley (:kreedli), (3 e.Stourbridge), per TH. in 1880.

H Hagley 6 ene.Kidderminster, per TH. in 1880, and especially in 1882 from G. Nock, workman, b. 1815, and his wife, b. 1814, both natives. TH. notes "speech quite Mid., (œ) common, verbal pl. in -œn, (œ) in rec. sp. (œi), no reverted (r): medial and final r more strongly trilled than usual Midland r," which to A.J.E.'s ears is not really *trilled* at all.

St Stourbridge (:stœ'rbridj, per TH., "no reverted (r), speech quite Mid."

S Selly Oak 9 e.Stourbridge, pal. by A.J.E. from dict. of Miss Sadler, native, then student at Whitelands, who knew not (r).

So Selly Oak, wn. by TH., 1885.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 17 S laa. 20 S lœm. 21 S nœm. 22 S tœm. 23 S sœm. 24 S shœm. 31 C lœit. 36 S thaa, thaarin [euphonic (r)]. A: 43 S a'nd.

54 S want. A: or O: 58 S fram. 60 H lu q, S loq. 61 S eməq. 62 S strəq. 64 So ru q. A'- 67 C gón, HS guu. 69 S noo [?: nõu]. 70 S too. 73 S soo [?: sôu]. 74 S tuu. 76 S tóod. 79 S óon. 84 S múr. 86 S óots. 87 S flooz. 91 S môu. 94 S krôu. A': 101 S óook. 102 S a'ks. 108 S daf. 110 [negatives] C ka't [can't, said to be different 2 miles distant, but not stated in what direction], H ka'nt [can't]. 111 S aat. 115 C wũm. 123 So nuóthin. 125 S ooni. 130 S boot. 131 S goot.

Æ- 138 CHS feédher, H faadhher, S féedher. 140 S éil. 141 S náil. 142 S snáil. 152 S weeter wéeter. 153 S sēderdi. Æ: 155 S thatt. 161 CHS dēi. 166 S [little used, (gel) not so common, (la's) somewhat used, (wentt) common]. — St glas' [glass]. Æ'- 183 S teett. 185 S reed. 190 S kee. 192 S meen. 194 S eni. 197 H tpiiz, S tpeez. 199 S bleet. 200 HS weet. Æ': 207 S need'l. 213 S iidher. 217 S eet. 223 HS dhær. 224 HS wær.

E- 233 S speek. 234 S niid. 235 S weev. 236 S feever. 241 S rénn. 243 S plév. 251 HS meet. 252 S kit'l. E: 261 HC sēi, S see. 262 S wái. E'- 294 S feed. 296 S bileev. 299 S green, H grūn. E': 308 S need. 314 HS ierd. 315 S fot [same as singular].

EA: 324 S éet. 326 H óud, S ood. 330 ood. 333 S kaaf. 334 S aaf. 346 S gént. EA'- 347 H jē'd, S id. 349 S fiú. EA': 350 C djèd, S diid. 353 S bríud. 354 S sheef. 355 S dif. 356 S leef. 371 S straa.

EI- 373 C dhēi. EO- 386 S joo. 387 S nun. EO: 395 H ju q. 399 S bráit. EO'- 409 S bee. 411 C thri, S three. 413 S dív'l. 414 S flii [flee] = flea. EO': 435 S jau. EY- 438 H dái, S dáli.

I- 440 S wik. 442 S ivi. 446 S náien. 449 S git. 450 S tuuzdi. I: 452 S ái, So ái. 458 S náiet. 459 S ráiet. 462 S sáiet. 465 S sít. 466 S tpiild. 468 S tpiidren. 472 S sriqk [always (sr-) for (shr-) initial]. I'- 494 H t'aim, S táim. I': 504 S náif. 506 C uómen. — S ái [hay]. 513 C wáier. 515 S wáiz.

O- 521 S fōel. 522 S oop'n. O: 527 S ba'ut. 528 S tha'ut. 529 S bra'ut. 531 H daater, S daater. 532 S kóel. 533 S du_l. 536 S guuld. 550 S wod. O'- 558 S lu_k. 559 H madher, S mu_dher. 562 S mú_n. 564 S su_n. O': 569 S bu_k. 570 S tu_k. 571 S gu_d. 572 S blu_d. 573 S flu_d. 574 S brúvd. 579 So vnu_f, S [enow not known]. 586 S duu. 587 H dú_n. 588 HC nuun, S n'un. 589 S sp'ūn. 595 S fot [see 315, where (fot) is the form used]. 597 S sāt.

U- — C ū d [wood]. 600 S lu_v. 606 S dúr. 607 St bu'ter. U: 609 S fol. 610 S u_l. 611 S bole_k. 612 StSo su_m. 614 S ū_nd. 615 S pu_nd. 618 S wáund. 622 S ūnder. 625 S tu_q. 626 S ūgger. 628 S nu_n. 629 S sa_u. 631 S thazdi. 632 HStS ū_p. 633 HS ku_p. 635 S wath. 637 S tu_sk. 639 S du_st. U'- 640 S kē'u. 641 S ē'u. 642 S dhe'u [not used]. 643 So náu. 644 S du_v. 645 S vbu_v. 648 S ē'uer. 653 S bu_t. U': 655 S fē'ul. 658 StH dāun, S de'un. 659 St táun, S tē'un. 663 H é'us é'uz'n, S ē'us. 666 C ūzbend, S ['old man' common]. 671 S mē'uth. 672 S se'uth. Y: 700 S wās. 701 S fāst. Y': 711 S láis. 712 S máis.

II. ENGLISH.

I. Y. 753 S kit'l. 756 S srimp [see 472]. O. 761 S lóord. 772 S buunfá'er. 773 S du qk. 778 S vfuerd. U. 794 H dpu_g. 795 S sru_g. 799 S sku_l. 801 S ru_m. — C tūn [nearly, tune].

III. ROMANCE.

A: 810 S férs. 811 S plérs. 813 S béuk'n. — C pēi [pay]. 824 S tjér. 827 S eeger. 835 S reez'n. 836 S seez'n. 840 S tpaamber. 852 S apen. — S maav'lz [marbles]. 865 S faat. 866 S póer. E.. 867 S tii. 869 S veel. 871 S egrü. 878 S saleri. 879 S feemeel. 887 S tlaadpi. 888 S saatin. 890 S beest [regular pl.]. 894 S diseev. 895 S riseev. I.. and Y.. 899 S nees. 904 S v'let. O.. 913 S kóut. 915 S stu f. 916 S áinjen. 918 S fib'l feeb'l. 920 S páint [= pint measure]. 924 S tpiús. 925 S váis. 926 S spáil. 928 S ūns. 930 S lāin. — StSo mu_ni [money]. 935 SoS ku_ntri. 942 S batjer. 943 S tu_tj. 947 S báil. 948 S ba'ul. 953 S ku_z'n. 955 S dāu. U.. 965 S áil. 970 S djest.

VAR. *iiia.* EAST WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- A Atherstone (8 se.Tamworth), wn. in 1886 by TH. chiefly from J. Holland, hatter, about 40, native.
 Ag Allesley Gate (4 w.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH.
 B Bedworth (be'deth), (5 nne.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from W. Jaques, b. 1808, living in an almshouse.
 Br Brandon (5 ese.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH.
 Bu Bulkington (6 ne.Coventry), wn. in 1880 by TH., chiefly from H. Smith, a platelayer, b. 1850, native, and his mother; also 'marked †', two servants there, natives, who spoke rather refined; verbal pl. in *-en* nearly extinct, (auɹɐ duɹɐ), used, no h.
 Co Coventry, a town refined speech, heard from Mrs. Cole, a tailor's widow, by TH., having a few dialectal forms, as (v-) before present participle, trilled (r) after *draw*, *law*, etc.
 N Nuneaton (9 nne.Coventry), wn. 1880 by TH., chiefly from a native labourer of 18; (:nu_onii-t'n) general local pron.
 P Polesworth (4 ese.Tamworth, St.), wn. by TH., 1879.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

- A- 4 Bu *teek*. — Bu† wēik [a wake, feast]. 8 AP E'v, Pan jo [have, have-n you?]. 12 Co *saar*. 14 Co *draar*. 17 Co *laar*. 20 Bu *léem*. 21 APN *neem*, B *nēm*, ABu† *nēm*. 22 Bu† *tém*. 23 B *sēm*. — BBU *omer* [hammer]. 33 P *re'dher*, Bu† *reedhur*. A: 39 Bu *kam*. 49 A *iqin*. 56 AN *wesh*. A: or O: 58 P *threm*. 60 BuN *lu_oq*. 64 APN *ru_oq*, Br *ròq*. A'- 67 N *gu*, Bu *goo*. 69 A *noo*, P *nōu*. 72 A *uu*. 84 Bu *mūer*. 86 N *òts*, Br *òuts*. 87 A *klúez*. 92 AN *noo*. A': 104 N *rood*, B *róed*. 110 N [negative] *it ènt* [it is not], A *shànt kànt wònt* [shan't can't won't], Bu *kaa'nt shaa'nt wònt dònt* [can't shan't won't don't], Co *cent* [is not]. 115 PBu *òm*, AN *wòm*, B *wa'm*. 122 A *nò*, Bu *na'n*. 123 A *nó ik |*. 124 N *stoon*, B *stūen*, A *stuun*.
 Æ- 138 A *feedher*, P *granfeedher* [grandfather], N *faadher* *feedher*, B *fúdhur*, Bu *faadher* [new], *feedhur* [old], Br *feedher*. — Bu† *ladher* [ladder]. 152 N *wíeter*. Æ: 158 N *átenuun* [afternoon, generally] *afternuun* [rare], A *atenə'un*. 160 P *eg*. 161 APNBBu *di*, N *dee*, BuBr *dèi* [new form]. 177 B *edha-t'n* [in that way]. Æ'- 200 B *wíet*, Bu *wíit*. Æ': 208 P *íver*. 209 BP *níver*. 211 Bu *grii* [most speakers] *gree* [some speakers]. 216 Bu *díl*. 223 A *dhée*, N *dhie*, B *dhier-ie* [there-here, with euphonic r]. 224 AN *wie*.
 E- 233 ANB *spiik*. 241 A *riin*, Bu† *reen*. 243 NBu *plee*. — Bu *it'* [eat]. E: 260 Bu *lii*. 261 N *see*, NB *see*. 262 APN *wii*, Bu *wii* [old], *wēi wee* [new]. 263 Bu *ewee*. — P *iéld* [field]. 278 A *wenti*, B *wensh*. 285 Co *kris*. E'- 290 A *ái*, Bu *i*. 292 Bu *mái*. 293 P *wéi n* [we have-n]. 297 Co *íeler*. 299 NBu *gríin*, A *gráin*. 300 Bu† *kiip*. E': 314 A *íed* [occ.] *ead*, N *íerd*, Br *írd*.
 EA: 322 A *lof*, N *la'f*. Bu *láf laaf*. 326 ANBu *óuld*. EA'- 347 BrP *é'd*, ANB *je'd*, Bu *jed* [a few], *é'd* [most], Co *eed*. 348 AN *a'í*. EA': — NBu *kriim*, B *kre'm* [cream]. 360 N *tiim*. 361 Bu† *bien*. 366 A *grèt* [occ.] *gret*, N *greet*, Bu *gríit*. 368 AN *deth*. EI- 372 AB *aa*. EO: 394 PN *jander*, N *jønder*. 395 ABu *ju_oq*. 402 P *la'rn*, N *lærn læn*. EO'- 411 Bu *thrii*. — Bu *trii* [tree]. 412 Bu *shi*. EO: 427 N *je noo wot dhee* *bii* [ye know what they be], Br *ái bi gu in* [I be going]. 428 Bu *sí sii*. 436 Bu *træ'u*. 437 NB *trùth*, ABu *træ'uth*. EY- 438 AB *da''i*, Bu *i mu_ost dáí tedii* [he must die to-day (tedii) old form].
 I- 447 P *ar* [=she]. — Bu *jís* [yes]. I: 452 Bu *ái*. 458 A *náit náit*, N *na''t*, B *nát*. 459 N *ra''it*. 462 N *sa''it*. 465 ABu *síti*. 469 P *wàl* [will]. — P *wínder* [window]. 477 B *fáind*. I'- 494 NBu *ta''im*. I': 500 Bu *lák*. 507 B *wu_omen*. 509 Bu *wa''il*.
 O: 531 BBr *daater*. 532 Co *kóul*. 552 N *kaan*. — N *as'iz* [horses]. — Bu *naath* [north]. O'- 555 N *shuu*. 558 P *læ'uk*, N *luk*. 559 N *mu dhur*. 562 A *mə'un*. — N *mu nth* [month], Ag *ma_ons* [months]. 564 P *sa'un*. 566 Co *enu dhur*. O': 569 Bu *bák*. 587 B *dūn* [in (*ai n dūn*) probably (*ai m*, I have done, see notes, p. 471, col. 1, par. 3]. 594 A *bə'uts*.

U- 603 N kām, B k_umin. 605 ABN sū n. 606 PN dūr, B dūr [except before vowel, then (dūr)], Bu dūr [old], dōe [new]. U: 612 N sū m. 616 grāund. 632 AP *u*p. 633 BBr k_up. U- 641 N āu. 643 N naa¹. ABu† nāu. 650 A [between] nā¹at nāst. 651 P wiðhāt. U: 658 N dān. ABu† dān. 659 N tām, Bu tām. 663 N āus āuz'n [houses], AB āus.
Y- 673 N mu_utj. 682 AB Bu līt'l.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — B bōk [bank]. 737 Bu mēt [a fellow-workman on railway, (*bu ti*) in collieries]. I. and Y. 758 ABBu g_uel [used at Bu]. O. — N dōg [dog]. 767 N nā¹iz. 789 N rāu. — Co drāund. 791 Bu † bāi.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 811 P pleez'n [places]. 824 A t_uier. 851 N aa'nt. 862 A sēf. E.. 867 BrBu tii. — Bu piip'l [people]. I.. and Y.. 901 PNB fa'in. O.. — B [between] rā¹nd rāund [round, with elongated lip opening]. 947 Bu† bā'il. U.. 963 P k_uaiet. 965 Bu† a'il. 970 B d_us.

VAR. iii*b*. WEST WARWICKSHIRE cwl.

- C Curdworth (7 ne.Birmingham), wl. and dt. in io. by J. Montague Dormer, Esq., almost all the words in the old wl. besides those here cited were asserted to be rec. pron.
Bi Birmingham. The wl. sent by Samuel Timmins, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., indicated simply rec. pron., which he stated was "probably often modified by s.St. and e.Wo." It probably gave town pron. and hence is not here cited. Called (:br_umid_um) at Leamington.
E Elmdon (7 ese. Birmingham), wl. in io. by F. J. Mylins, Esq., apparently son or brother of the Rector, who had then been 14 years there.
K Knowle (10 nnw.Warwick), wl. in io. by Rev. J. Howe, M.A., Vicar since 1855.
L Leamington, a very few wn. in 1880 by TH. from a mason, native, who observed with respect to the dialect, "we find it different all the while." The general sound of the speech was quite Mid.
W Warwick, wn. by TH. in 1880, but no reverted (r), and sound quite Midland. *I be used.*

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 E bék. 4 E ték. 5 E méek, K miek. 8 L ev. 10 C aa. 12 C saaf. 14 C draaf. 17 C laaf. 18 E kéek. 20 C léem, K liem. 21 CE néem, K níum. 23 CE séem, K síum. 24 E shéem. 25 CE mén. 26 C wéem. 31 K liet. 33 K riedher. A: 39 K kéem. 43 K ond. 44 K lond. 50 K tu_uqz. 51 K mon. A: or O: 60 W [between] loq lu_uq. 61 K em_uq. 62 K stru_uq. 66 K thu_uq. A'- 67 C guu, LW gū_un. 69 C nōv. 76 K túed. 81 C léen. 86 C wats, K wóts. 87 C klooz. 98 C nood. 99 C throod. 100 C sood. A': 104 C róed, K rúed. 106 L braad. 107 E lóf. 108 C daf [occ.]. 113 C wál. 115 K wóem, L òm, òz ga'n oom [he's gone home]. 118 C bóen. 124 CK stóen. 125 W ònli. 134 C óeth. Æ- 138 E feedher, K fiedher. 141 C néel, K niel. 142 C snéel, K sniel. 143 C téel, K tiel. 144 C egen. 152 E waater. Æ: 155 C thak. Æ'- 183 K teetj. 190 E kee [ʔ éi]. 193 K kleen. 195 E moni. 197 E tjeez. 201 K erdh'n. Æ: 218 C'W shíp. 223 LW dhier. 224 C wier. E- 232 C briik. 236 C feever. 251 EK meet [ʔ éi]. E: 262 C wéi [ʔ]. 280 K leb'n. 284 E thresh. 287 K bizem. EA- 319 C géep. EA: 322 L lāf. 323 K fā'ut. 325 E waak. 326 E ā'udd. 333 C kaaf, CK kaaf. 346 C géet, K giit. EA'- 347 K jed. EA': 359 K nieber. 363 EK tjep. 368 E dieth, W djeth. EI: 377 C stiik. 378 C week. 382 C dhier. EO- 386 K joo. 387 C nuu. EO: 394 C jander. 399 C bráit. 402 C laan. 403 W fār. EO'- 414 K flō'i. EO': 423 K tho'i. 428 W si.

I- 440 E wik. 442 C ïvi. 446 E nō'in. 447 L æ'r [=she]. 450 C toozð. I: 452 C *ai* ['inclined to *ai*, but not quite equal to it', EK *ai* [no modifying statement], W *ai*. 455 C *lee*. 458 C *nait*, E *nait*, W [between] *na'it* *nait*. 462 E *sait*. 465 C *sait*. 466 C *tiold*. 467 C *waidl*. 477 C *taind*. I'- 496 C *aiern*. I' [From E all I' words are written with *ai*, which may be (*ai*, *ai*)]. 500 EK *l'ik*, L *l'ik*. 503 C *l'it*, E *l'it* [possibly the same sound]. 505 E *w'it*. 506 E *u* men. 509 L *wail*. 510 W *ma i*. 514 E *ai's*. O- 521 C *foold*. O: 526 K *kaf*. O'- 556 C *tiu*. 559 E *mu₂dher*. 560 C *skul*, W *skuul*. 562 K *m'uen*. O': 587 L *d'æn*. 589 K *sp'uen*. 590 E *fl'uer*. U- 603 L *ku₂m'in*, W *kam'in*. 606 K *d'uer*. U: 618 C *w'and*. 622 W *u₂nder*. 625 C *taq*. 632 W *u₂p*. 633 L *ku₂p'*. 636 E *fard'er*. U'- 641 W *au*. 643 W *nau*. U': 658 W *d'æn*. 663 W *aus*. 667 L *s'ut*. Y- 676 E *l'i*. 677 E *dr'i*. Y: 690 E *ko'nd*. 691 E *mo'nd*. 700 C *was*. 701 E *fast*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 C *mét*, K *mét*. E. 744 E *meez'iz*. 749 C *lift*, W *left*. I and Y. 753 C *tig'l*. 757 E *tiini*. 758 E *garl*. O. 761 EK *lód*. 763 C *raam*. 772 C *barn'dier*. U. — L *tu₂b* [tub].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 E *férs*. 811 W *pl'eez*. 813 CEK *bék'n*. 817 C *redish*, K *redish*. 824 *t'pier*. 837 C *liis*. 852 K *apen*. E.. 887 E *klaadj*. I.. and Y.. 904 C *vaiulet*. 911 C *sestern*. O.. 919 C *áentmant*. 920 C *páint*. 925 C *váis*. 926 C *spá'l*. 929 CE *kuukember*. 930 C *láin*. 933 L *iraut*. 947 C *báil*. — W *krá'un* [crown]. U.. 965 C *áil*.

VAR. iv. LEICESTER cwl.

- L Loughborough (1:0 fberg) (10 nww. Leicester), wn. by TH. 1878-9. Verbal pl. in *-en* recently extinct.
 Lr Leicester, wn. in 1884 by TH., see p. 464.
 S Syston (:soisten) (5 nne. Leicester), wl. written by Miss M. A. Adcock, native, teacher at Whitelands Training College, and read by her to AJE., who palaeotyped it. Even before a vowel *r* is very weakly trilled or buzzed [r, r, r].
 B Birstall (:bæstel) (3 nne. Leicester), Miss Allen, of St. Mark's Girls' School, a friend of the above Miss Adcock, who had known the dialect all her life, gave a few words in io.
 E Miss C. Ellis (no connection of the author', residing in Belgrave, '2 ne. Leicester), and purposing to give the pron. at Leicester and 8 miles round, wrote me a numbered wl. For brevity, only the vowel of the word when it differs from S and B is assigned.
 G Glenfield (3 wnw. Leicester), wn. by TH., 1884, from Orme, the carrier, a trustworthy informant.
 C Cottesbach (:kotesbat) ('14 ssw. Leicester), a wl. by Rev. J. S. Watson, rector, native. Only such words as differ from the above four are given, and then generally only the vowel is written in.
 M Market Harbro' (14 se. Leicester), wn. in 1882 by TH.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 S *bakju₂s* [bakehouse]. 4 SE *tek*. 5 LSE *mek*. 6 S *meed*. 8 L *ee*, G *e*, S *ev*. 9 S *bijeev*. 10 S *aa*. 12 SE *saa+r*. 13 E *naa*. 14 SE *draaer*. 15 S *aa*. 17 SE *laa* [+r before a vowel]. SE *kéeik*. 19 LS *teel*. 20 SE *leem*. 21 LG *neem*, LrM *nêim*. 22 SE *teem*. 23 S *seem*. 24 S *sheem*. 25 S *mœn*, E *ii*. 26 S *wœn*. 27 S *neev*. 28 S *ee₂r* [slightly trilled]. 31 S *leet*. 32 S *beedh*. 33 S *reedher*, E *e*, C *æ*, *o*. 34 SE *last*. 36 S *thaa*.

A: 39 S *ku* md. 40 S *kəm*. 41 S *thaaqk*. 43 L and, E *ə*. 44 S *land*, E *ə*. 46 S *kand'l*. 48 S *suqəd*. 50 S *toqz*, E *ɜ*. — L *kjan* [can]. 51 L *màn*, S *man*. 54 LE *want*, S *waant*. 56 LSE *wesh*. 57 SE *as*.

A: or O: [C (q), never qg]. 58 M *frem*. 59 S *lam*. 60 LEGLr *lu_oq*, S *lòq*, Lr *loq*. 61 SE *əm_uq*. 62 S *stròq*, E *u_o*. 64 LLr *roq*, MS *roq*. 65 S *sòq*, Lr *soq*.

A'- 67 L *gu in*, N *góu'in*, SEG *guu*, Lr *gù*, C [goes, becomes occ. /gəz/]. 69 SL *non*, M *nôu*. 70 SE *too*. 71 S *woo*. 72 SE *ù* [or very like /v/]. 73 LSE *soo*, E *v*. 74 SEG *túu*, G *tə'u*, M *tuu*. 75 SE *strook*. 76 SC *tóovd*. 77 SE *lòrd*. 78 SE *oo*. 79 SE *oon*. 80 S *òledii*. 81 SG *leen*. 83 S *moon*. 84 S *mùur* *nur jəu* [more than you], G *mùur*, E *moor*. 85 S *soor*. 86 S *oots*. 87 SE *tlooz*. 89 S *booth*. 90 SE *bloo*. 91 S *moò*. 92 L *nə'u*, LE *noo*. 93 SE *snoo*. 94 S *kroo*. 95 S [(a)l, hurl, used]. 96 S *soo*. 97 SE *sool*. 98 S *nood*. 99 S [see 95]. 100 S *sood*.

A': 101 SE *ook*. 102 SE *aks*. 104 S *rood*, C *róovd* *rúuvd*, MLr *rôud*. 106 S *brood*. 107 S *lòf*, E *oo*. 108 SE *doo*. 109 SE *loo*. 110 S *not*. 111 S *Aat*. 113 SE *əl* [gen.] *wel*, [occ.], G *ool*. 115 L *ə'm oom òm*, SG *òm*, E *ə'*, *ɜ*, Lr *òom*, M *òum*. 117 LE *wa'n*. 118 S *booon*. 121 S *gən*. 122 S *nu_on*, E *nən*, M *nôu*, *na'n*. 123 LG *n^o thèik*, S *noot* [nought], E *nothqk*. 124 S *st^un*. 125 S *ooni*. 126 S *oor*. 127 S *óous*, E *óost*. 128 S [dhem] used]. 129 SE *goost*. 130 E *boot*, Lr *bòat*. 131 E *goot*. 133 S *róited* [used], E *root*. 134 SE *ooth*. 135 SE *klòth*.

Æ- 138 LSG *feedher*, E *a'*, M *faadh_ə*. 139 SE *drii*. 140 LS *iil*. 141 SELr *niil*. 142 SE *snii*. 143 LSE *tiil*. 144 SE *egen*, C *egrin* [adv.] *egen* [prep.]. 146 E *miin*. 147 S *briin*. 148 S *feer*. 149 S *bléeiz*. 150 S *leest*. 152 SE *weter*, Lr *wet_ə*. 153 LS *setərde*, L *setde*.

Æ: 155 SBE *thak*. 158 S *aafter*, E *after*. 160 SE *eg*. 161 LSE *dii*, G *dii* [old], Lr *de'i*, M *dèi*. 163 SE *liid*. 164 SGE *me*, [emphatic] *mii*, Lr *mee*. 165 S *szid*, E *sed*. 166 S *meed*. 168 SE *tal_ə*. 169 SE *wen*. 170 S *eevist*, E *a*, *i*. 171 SE *bæə'rli*. 172 SG *gres*, E *a*. 173 SE *wòz*, SB *waa'v*. 174 S *aash*. 175 SE *fast*. 178 S *nat*. 179 S *wor* [but *d* assimilated]. 180 E *bá'th*. 181 S *pad*, E *á'*.

Æ'- 182 S *séi*, E *sii*. 183 LE *tíiti*, S *téeti*. 184 S *léeid*. 185 S *réeid*, E *riid*, Lr *ríid*. 187 S *léeiv*. 188 S *nii*. 189 S *wii*. 190 S *kéei*. 191 S *ééil*, E *iil*. 192 S *méein*. 193 S *tleein*, EM *tliin*. 194 S *oni*, E *ɛ*, C *a*. 195 S *móni*, BC *mani*, E *ɛ*. 197 L *tj^əiz*, S *tjéeiz*, E *ii*. 199 S *bléeit*. 200 LSEGM *wiit*, G *wiet* [old]. 201 S *éeidh'n*. 202 SE *iit*.

Æ': 203 S *spéeich*. 204 S *decid*. 205 S *thrid*. 206 SE *red*. 207 E *niid'l*. 208 G *ive*. 209 G *nive*. 210 SE *tlii*. 211 S *grii*, E *ee*. 212 S *wii*, E *wee*. 213 SC *edher*, E *ii*. 215 S *teetit*. 216 S *déid*, E *dii*. 217 S *éeti*. 218 S *shéep*, E *ship*. 219 S *shéep*. 221 E *fiir*. 223 S *dhíe*, M *dhée*, E *dheer*. 224 LSLr *wíe*, M *wêe*. 225 SE *flesh*. 226 E *moost*. 227 SE *wet*. 228 S *swéet*, E *ɛ*. 229 S *bræth*, E *ɛ*. 230 S *fat*.

E- 231 L *dhe* [rarely by assimilation *t'*]. 232 S *breck*. 233 LGMLr *spiik*, S *speek*. 234 S *need*. 235 S *weev*. 236 S *feever*, E *ii*. 237 S *bliin*. 238 E *edj*. 239 S *soel*. 240 E *liin*. 241 SEG *riin*, Lr *rèin*. 243 LSE *plii*, Lr *plè'i*. 246 SE *kwéein*. 247 SE *ween*. 248 S *meer*. 249 SE *weer*. 250 SE *sweer*. 251 SE *meet*. 252 SE *ket'l*. 253 SE *net'l*. 254 SE *ledher*. 255 S *wedher*.

E: 257 S *edj*. 259 S *wedj*. 260 SEG *lii*. 261 LM *sêi*, L *see*, S *séi*. 262 L *wéi* *wé'i* *wii*, SE *wii*, Lr *wéi*, M *wéi*. 263 M *wwéi*. 264 S *iil*, E *eel*. 265 Lr *stre'it*, S *stréit*. 267 S *jeeld*. — L *íóid* [field] *tíid*, G *íéiz* *tíiz*. 268 S *goldst* [used]. E *held st*. 270 S *beles*, SE *belé*. 272 SE *elm*. 273 SE *men*. 276 SE *thqk*. 277 S *sok* [used]. 278 LSE *wen-sh*. 280 S *lev'n*. 281 S *leqkth*, E *lenth*. 282 S *streqkth*, E *strenth*. 283 SE *meri*. 284 SE *thresh*, B *thrish*. 285 S *kres*. 286 S *are*. 287 S *beez'm*, E *ɛ*, C *ii*. 288 E *let*.

E'- 290 L *é'i*, S *éi*, E *ii*. 291 S *dhéi*, E *dhi*. 292 L *méi* *mé'i*, S *méi*, E *mee*. 293 S *wéi*, E *wee*. 294 L *fé'id*, SE *féeid*. 296 S *biléeiv*. 297 L *fel_ə* [tiap not so common]. 298 SE *tíid*. 299 L *gréin*, SE *gréein*, G *gréin* *gríin*, M *gríin*. 300 S *kéip*, E *keep*, G *kjéip*, M *kíip*. 301 S *íer*. 302 S *m'éet*.

E': 305 S *óí*. 306 E *a'it*. 307 SE *nói*. 308 L *ne'id*, S *néeid*. 309 S

spéid. 310 S éeil. 311 E ten. 312 S ier, G ie. 314 LGI_r ied, M æd æd. 315 S féit. 316 E nekst.

EA- 317 S [(tə skin) used]. 319 S geep. 320 SE keer.

EA: 321 S [(SEED) used]. 322 LGM lāf, B laaf. 323 SE [(fīt)] used. 324 LG e'it, S āit, E iit. 325 S waak, E aa. 326 LG æ'ud, S ood, E oold, M ould. 327 SE boold. 328 L kæ'ud, LrSE koold. 329 SE foold. 330 S ood, [sb] tak ood on't [take hold of it], C oot [noun]. 331 SE soold. 332 L tæ'ud. 333 SB kaa'f [both spelled it *conf*, shewing that they did not feel the *r*]. 334 S eef. 335 S ol on em [all of them]. 336 SE faal. 337 SE waal. 338 L kaal. 340 SE jaed. 342 S eerm, E aa'. 343 S waam, E aa', aae. 345 L deef_r, S dəs'nt [dare not]. 346 L gjeet, S geejet.

EA'- 347 LSEG e'd, M èd. 348 SE ói, E ai. 349 S fuu [fine, E fín].

EA': 350 SEG de'd. 351 SE led. 352 LSG red. 353 SE bred. 354 S sheef. 355 L def, S deev. 356 S leef, E ii. 357 S [(fer ol dhat for all that, used), E dhoo. 359 SE niiber, B neeber. 360 S teen, E ii, C iie, G tiem [old], tiim [new]. 361 S been. 362 S slii. 363 S tjeep, E e. — G ier [year]. 365 S neer, E ii. 366 L greet, SE gret, M grét. 367 SE thrit. 368 SE deth. 369 SE sloo. 370 S raa'er, E raa. 371 S straa'er, E straa.

EI- 372 S [unused]. 374 S nee. 375 S riiz. 376 S bèit.

EI: 377 C stieek. 378 S week. 380 S dhem. 382 S dher, E ii.

EO- 383 E sev'n. 384 S ev'n. 385 S beneath. 386 E joo. 387 S níu [modern], nuu [gen.], E nuu.

EO: 388 SE milk. 389 S jook. 390 SE shu_od. 393 S bejond. 394 L jonder. 396 SE wæk. 397 S sóoerd, C sward. 398 SE stæerv. 399 L bráit, S bróit. 400 S arnest. 402 LE læn, S laarn, GM læn. 403 SE far. 404 SE steers [also for *stairs*]. 405 S aarth, E ee. 406 SE arth. 407 S fad_r [used], E fardh'n. 408 E níu.

EO'- 409 S bái, E bee. 411 S thréei, E three, G thrèi. 412 L [between] she'i shéi, S shéi, E ee. 413 S dívil devel, E devíl. 414 S flái. — L we'id [weed]. 415 S lói. 416 SE dier. 417 SE tjú. 418 S brú. 420 S fóov. 421 S fóoti.

EO': 423 SE thói. 424 SEC ru_of. 425 L láit, SE lóit. 426 LG fe'it, S feet [no (i) after (e)], G fái. 427 L be'i, S béei, G bēi. 428 S séei, E see, G sēi. 430 E frend. 431 SE bier. 433 SE brest, Lr bresins [breasts]. 434 LrS beet. 435 SE joo. 436 L tráu, SE triu. 437 L tra'uth, SE triuth.

EY- 438 GLS dáí, E do'i. EY: 439 SE tru_ost.

I- 440 S week [used for a feast, wake]. 441 S siv. 442 S divi, B óivi. 443 E fróidi. 444 SE stóil. 446 SE nóin. 448 S dheez, E ii. 449 S gar [certainly before vowels, ? before consonants, E gít] 450 SBE tuuzdee.

I: 452 SE ói. 454 S witj. 455 S lói daan [written *aarn*]. — S bād [bird]. — Lr thæd [third]. 457 S móit. 458 LM náit, SE nóit, G náit. 459 L_r ráit ra'it [almost impossible to decide between them, SB róit. 460 L we'it, S wéit, E wiit. 461 S elóit. 462 SE sóit. 464 E w_otj. 465 SEG sítj. 466 L tja_old, SE tjóld. 467 S wóid. 468 SE tjildm [commonly called *kadz*]. 471 S tímbar. 472 S shriek, E sriek. 473 S bló nd. 474 S pil [used]. 475 S wind, E a'i. 476 S bóind. 477 L fain', SE fóind. 478 S gróind. 479 S wóind. 481 SE figger. 484 E dhis. 485 LB this'l. 486 S baam [barm, used]. 487 SE jisterdii. 488 SE jít. — Lr [betw.] dat, dot [dirt].

I'- [óí was the nearest approach I could make to Miss Adeock's diphthong, which she identified with my *o'i*. Miss Ellis writes (a'i), but I use ói for both, TH once heard (o'i) Lr]. 490 SE bóí. 491 SE sóí. 492 L sáid. 493 S dróiv. 494 LM táim, SBE tóim. 496 SE óien. 498 SE róit.

I': 500 SBE lóik. 501 SE wóid. 502 SBE fóiv. 503 SBE lóif. 504 SE nóif. 505 SE wóif. 506 S wu_omen, E wamen. 507 SE w_omin. — L ii [hay]. 508 G máil, SE móil. 509 SE wóil. 511 L wáin, SB wóin. 512 SE spóier. 513 S wóier. 514 S óis. 515 S wóis. — G wáit [white]. 517 L jáu, E jiu.

O- 519 G ove. 521 SE fool. 522 S ap'n, Lr op'n. 523 S ap, ói ap je mi gar it [I hope you may get it, r for t, as frequently]. 524 S wáld.

O: — M sra_ob [shrub]. — L káuk [cook]. — L [between] fagi fagi [foggy].

526 SE kəf, C kɒf, Lr kɒf'. 527 SE baat. 528 S thiŋkt [used], E thaat. 529 S briŋd [used], E braat. 531 S daater, MEG daater. 532 SE kool. 533 SE du.l. 534 S ɔʊl [pitch rises at end], E ɔʊl. 536 SE goold [not (used)]. 538 SE wu.d. 539 SE bool. 540 S ɔl. 542 SE boolt. — G krap' [crop]. 547 SE bɔʊrd. 549 S ɔʊd. 550 S wəd, EC ɛr. 551 S stɔrɪn, E staam. 552 LE kaan, S kɔrɪn. 553 S ɔrɪn, E aan. 554 SE krɔs, C aa.

O'- 555 L shə'u, SE shu, M shu. 556 SE tɪu, S [omitted before the name of a place, *I'm going church*]. 557 SE tiu. 558 L lɪuk la'uk, SE luuk lɪuk. 559 L mædher, S mædher, E mædher, GM mædher. 560 L skɪl, M skuul. 561 S blɔsɪm [used]. 562 LG mæ'un, SBE mæ'un, Enderby mæ'un. 563 SBE mæ'ndi. 564 LSE sɪun. 565 SE nɔz, E nooz. 566 LSEG u.dher. 568 GLr brɔdher.

O': 569 LSE bɪuk, E buuk. 570 SE tuuk tɪuk. 571 SE gu.d, E gæd? 572 SE bla.d. 573 SE flu.d. 574 S brɪut. 575 SE stu.d. 576 S wenzdi. 577 S bæ'u, E bæ'u. 578 S plæu, E æ'u. 579 LSE ɛnu.f, S ɛnu. 580 SE tu.f. 581 S sætɪt, E saat, lɪukt. 582 SE kɪul. 583 S tɪul. 584 SE stɪul. 585 S brɪum. 586 L dɪu dæ'u, SE dɪu. 587 SE dæ.n, GM dɪn. 588 L næn næn næn, S næn. 589 SE spɪun. 590 S flooer. 591 C mæur. 593 S mæn [used], E mæst. 594 SE bɪut. 595 SE fɪt, C fæt. 596 SE rɪut. 597 SE su.t.

U- 599 SE ɛbu.v. 600 SBE lu.v. 601 S fæul, E æ'u. 602 ES se'u. 603 LM kəm ku.m. 605 SE su.n, LGM sɪn, Lr san. 606 LGM dɔv, S daa'er, E dɔv. 607 S bu.tɛr, G bu.tɛkup.

U: 608 SE u.gli. 609 S fu.l, EC fæl. 610 SE wu.l. 611 S bu.lɛk, EC ɛ. 612 LSE su.m. 613 SE dru.qk. 614 S æ'un. 615 S pænd, E æ'u. 616 L grɛænd, E grɛ'und. 617 E se'umd. 618 S wu.nd, E æ'u. 619 S fu.nd, E æ'u. 620 S grænded. 621 S wu.n. 622 SEG u.nder. 625 SE tɔq. 626 L u.qgri, SE u.qger. 627 G sændi. 628 S mæn. 629 SEG sɪn, Lr san [no difference between *son*, *sun*]. 630 S wu.n. 631 S thæzdɪ, E ɛr. 632 SEG Lr u.p. 633 SEM Lr ku.p, Lr kop. 634 L thræ'u, S thrɪu. 635 SE wæth. 636 SE fæde. 637 S tu.sk. 638 S bu.sk. 639 SE du.st.

U'- 640 S kæ'u, E kɛ'u, C iau. 641 S æ'u, E æ'u, C iau. 642 S dhæ'u, C iau. 643 S næ'u, E nɛ'u, G næn, C iau. 645 S du.v. 646 [S (krɪuk) used], E bæ'u. 647 S æ'ul, E æ'u. 648 L ər, S aarn [ours], C wer [unemphatic]. 652 SE ku.d [used thus, 'I used to couldn't']. 653 SE bu.t.

U': [Miss Adcock said (æ'u) throughout, Miss Ellis gives the numbers for (æ'u) throughout, but very possibly she meant (au), which was accidentally omitted from the numbered lists, and it is most likely that the actual sounds used by both ladies were identical. In her dt., E gives naöö, 'a in pat, öö' which should be (æ'u), but may be (au). The actual diphthong meant is therefore uncertain: see 663 L. The C wl. gives the triphthong (iau, jau, ɛau); see D 26, p. 426, l. 9.] 654 E sræ'ud. 655 E fæ'ul. 656 S rɪum. 657 S bræ'un E æ'u. 658 LGMLr dæn [(ɛau) not used at L], C iau, S dæ'un [see 659], E de'm. 659 LM tæun, S tæ'un [with raised voice at end], E æ'un, C iau. 661 S [rarely used, generally a (pæ'ur), meaning a pouring down of rain], E shæ'ur. 662 SE u.z. 663 L ɔs, [between] ɔas, ɔas; ɔas, S æ'us æ'uz'n, E æ'us, G ɔas ɔuz'n, M ɔas. 665 E mæ'us, C mæ'us. 666 SE u.zben, man, Lr u.zben. 667 S æ'ut, E æ'ut, MLr ɔut. 668 S præ'ud, E æ'u. 670 S bɪudh. 671 S mæ'uth, E æ'u. 672 S sæ'uth, E æ'u.

Y- 673 S mɔtɪ. 674 S ded, E i. 676 SBE lɔi. 677 SE drɔi. 678 S dɪn. 679 L tɪætɪ, Lr [betw.] tɪætɪ, tɪɔtɪ, SE tɪartɪ. 680 SE bɪzi. 682 SE lɪt'l.

Y: 684 S brɪg. 685 S rædɪ [common], rɪg, G rɪdɪz. 686 S bɔi [a slight difference from 490], E bɔi. 687 S flɔit. 688 C sɪtɪ sɛtɪ sɛtɪ. 689 SE bɪld. 690 SE kɔind. 691 SE mɔind. 693 SE sɪn. 694 L wak, Lr wok. 695 S ærk. 696 E bærth [p æə]. 697 E bɛrɪ. 699 S rɔit. 700 LSE was, Lr [between] wæs, wos. 701 CSE fæst. — L shu.t. 703 SE pɪt.

Y'- 705 SE skɔi. 706 SE wɔi. 707 SE thærtɛin, G thærtɛin. 708 SE ɔiɛr. Y': 709 SE fɔiɛr. 711 S lɔis [usually (dɪks)]. 712 S mɔis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 E bad. 714 E la'd. 716 E ad'l. 717 S dɪɛid. 718 S trɪid.

722 S driin. 723 E diiri. 725 S séil, Lr sêil [country] seil [with depressed intonation]. 729 E friim. 733 S ôi wôr amos skéeerd tû deth [I was almost scared to death]. 734 S daen, E ee. 737 S meet. — G tôte [potato]. 740 S wêiv. 742 S liizi.

E. 743 E skriim. 744 S meez'lz, E e. 745 S tjeit. 746 S breeidh, E ii. 747 S indiver. 748 S flêgd. 749 L left. 750 E beg.

I. and Y. 753 S tât'l [more usual], E tât'l. 754 E pig. 756 LSEM srimp. 757 S tîni. 758 SE gël. 759 E fit.

O. 761 SE lood, C ôov. — L dog, Lr dog dôg [dog]. — L tlogz [clogs]. 767 S nôiz, EC âi. 768 S kôvk. 771 SE fônd. 773 S dūqkî, E a. 774 E pōni. 775 S bûbi, E uu. 777 SE shap. 779 E orts. 781 S bôdher. 782 SE pu dhe mûk [? a powder of muck, very dusty]. 783 S pōntrî. 784 S bā'uns, bē'uns. 789 E rē'u. 790 S gā'un. 791 GLr bôî.

U. 792 S skwôb'l. 793 SE u_g. 794 LrM dū_g. 795 S sru_g. 796 L bla'u. 799 SE sku'l. 801 SE ru_m. 803 SELr dūmp. — GLr gūn [gun]. 804 LS drūqk'n [S 'very broad']. 805 SE kârdz, kâdz. 806 SE fū_s. 807 SE pu_s. 808 LS pu_t [S fine, E (pat)].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E tēb'l. 810 SE fēis [rising pitch], [country about Lr] fēis. 811 SE plēis [rising pitch], M plēis, E [pl. plez'n]. 812 S lēis. 813 L bek'n, S bēek'n, E ii. 814 SE mōs'n [usually brik-liier]. 816 S fēid. 817 SE redish. 818 E hēidi [oiten]. 819 SE rēidi. 821 S dilii. 822 SE mii. — LG pii [pay]. 824 SE tjiir. 827 S eeger. 828 SE eege. 830 L trēn, SE triin. 832 S miiir, E ee. 833 S pēeer. 835 S rēiz'n, E ii. 836 S sēiz'n, E ii. 838 S trēit, E ii. 839 S bēil. 840 S tēumber, E æ. 841 S tēans, E e? 842 S plaqk. 845 S eenshen, E h-. 846 C tjaandler. 847 E dēndper. 848 SE tjeandi. 849 SE -strandper. 850 S dēens, E aa. 851 SE aant, E e. 852 SE epen. 853 S baarg'n, E ær. 854 SE barel. 855 SE karēts. 856 S pa'rt, E æ. 857 S kēis. 858 S brēis. 859 E tjeos. 860 SE pēist. 861 S tēist. 863 S tjeef. 864 SE bekōz. 865 S iaat. 866 L pûe.

E.. 867 S tēi, E tii. 868 E dji. 869 S vēil [but vail and veil (veel)]. 870 S btiiti buuti. 871 S egrēi. 872 S tjeif, E ii. 874 S riin. 875 S tiint. 877 S ēeer, E h-. 878 SE saleri. 879 [S never used by dialect-speakers, only went], E fēemel. 880 S egrzempl. 881 SE sens. 882 S panzi. 884 S eprentis. 887 S tlaardi. 888 S saart'n, E æ. 890 S hēst hēsts, E ii. 891 E tiist. 892 S nēte neve, E nevî. 893 S flē'ur. 894 S disēiv. 895 S risēiv.

I. and Y.. 897 SE dēlōit. 898 SE nôis. 899 S nēis, E ii. 900 S pree. 901 SE fōin, Lr tain. 902 S mōn. 903 S [uses only (te ev jer dāner) to have your dinner], E dōn. 904 SE vōlet. 908 SE edvōis. 909 S brēiz. 910 E dje'ist. 911 SE sestern. 912 SE rôis.

O.. 913 SE kooti. 914 E brooti. — L bē'it [? bēif' beet]. 915 S stu'f. 916 S u_npen, E a. 917 SE roog. 918 S fēeb'l. 919 E a'intment. 920 E pa'int. 921 E ekōint. 922 S bā'li, E bāsh'l. 923 EC ma'ist. 924 EC tja'is. 925 S vōis, E a'i. 926 SG spōil, EC a'i. 927 S tru_qk. 928 SE nāuns, E ē'uns. 929 S kā'ukū mber, E kē'u-. 930 SE lōn. 931 S dū_gler. 932 C emāant. 933 SE frū nt. 934 S bā'anti. 935 SE kō ntri. 937 E kōk. 938 S kaarnr. 939 flōs bî, SE flās, S [close the door 'pa'r dhe dômr tū put the door to]. 940 SE koot. 941 SE fūl. 942 S bā'ter, E bā'ter. 943 SE tū'ti. 947 S bōil, E a'i. 948 S bā'ul [this is also used for a hoop, to trundle a hoop, is to bā'ul r bā'ul]. — GM kō lē [colour]. 950 E sū'par. 951 E kō p'l. — L krē'ōn [crown]. — Lr nēs [nurse]. 952 S kuz'n. 954 E kash'n. 955 E dē'ut. 956 S kēver it u_p [cover it up, as frequent as (ku'vēr)]. 957 E empla'i.

U.. 961 SE griuul. — L wēitin [waiting]. 963 SE kwōiet. 964 S sūnet sūet. 965 S ôl, EC a'il. 966 SE irūt. 967 S sūt, E saut. 968 S ôister, E a'i. 969 L shō'un, SE shiūur [never used alone, but always after (saatin)]. 970 S dje'ist nā'u [but] e dje'ist man, E u_g. 971 SE flūt.

V.

NORTHERN DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS.

This comprises D 30, 31 and 32. It is bounded on the s. by the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18), and on the n. by the L. line 10 (p. 21); and on e. and w. by the sea.

Area. The entire North and East Ridings with some of the West Riding of Yo.; n.La., most of Cu. and Nb., all We. and Du.

Districts. Only three districts have been formed, with rather numerous varieties, which, however, do not show any very important differences.

Characters. In the greater part of the division U' is represented by (uu), which in n.La. and Craven becomes (óu, áu). But through Cu. and We. at least if not in Du. and Nb., U' becomes (ú₁u) leading on to (óu). In the whole s. part, up to the n. *tee* line 7, p. 20, the def. art. is simple suspended (t'), but beyond that line (dhu). *I is* or (a)z) is the regular form in the s. part and even in the n. part is more frequent than *I am* (a)m), which however is there heard. The verbal pl. in *-en* is quite unknown. The pron. in Cu. and We. seems to retain more of its original form than on the e. coast, although the use of English in those counties is certainly more recent than on the e. This is partly due no doubt to the mountainous formation of the w. regions.

Phonetically (ú₁u), which forms the transition from (uu) to (a'u), is most important, and is highly developed on the w. and in the n. It consists essentially in beginning the (uu) with a sound much more closely resembling (oo) than (uu), and gradually sinking to (uu), which is sustained. Thus JGG. observes that *soup* in Cu. and We. sounds to a southerner almost like *soap*. Of course this is an exaggeration. The native hears (suup), and hence writes *soop*, the fact being that he associates the conception of *oo* with (ú₁u) and not (uu). But (ú₁u, í₁i) are strictly analogous, and are the means, or one of the means, by which (uu, ii) become (a'u, a'i), see p. 293. Although my information on the e. side gives me (uu, ii), it is very possible that (ú₁u, í₁i) are said in many places. In the M. div. (í₁i) occurs freely, especially in the milder form (íi), but (ú₁u) only occurs in the milder form (úu), and that unfrequently. The variation of the (uu) sound we find there is chiefly (æ'u), arising from beginning the sound of (uu) with the mouth open, producing (æ), which resembles (ə). In reality however the sound may be and is generally produced with the lips considerably closed through an effort of will (see p. 292). But in (ú₁u) the sound of (uu) begins, as has been said, with a sound closely approaching (oo). There is therefore an essential difference

of origin between (æ'u , $\text{ú}_1\text{u}$), though both are varieties of (uu). The first (æ'u) arises from O' , which is quite differently treated in the N. div. The second ($\text{ú}_1\text{u}$) arises directly from Ú' . It is quite true that (æ'u) extends to a few words which do not contain O' , and that in all cases O' must have sunk to (uu) before the change (æ'u) occurred. It is also true that (æ'u) as well as ($\text{ú}_1\text{u}$) generates (a'u), but that is by direct confusion of (æ) with (a , ɛ); whereas ($\text{ú}_1\text{u}$) passes through (ou). The treatment of O' in the N. div. is not at all (æ'u), but rather (iu , iv), which may have had a different origin.

The letter r occasions considerable difficulty. On the e. as far as the two Shields Nb. and Du. it practically disappears when not preceding a vowel. Even on the w. its power is very small. The difficulty of ascertaining the fact is very great, because the speaker, feeling the effect of the written r in modifying the preceding vowel, insists on its presence. In the same way in London people will assert that they pronounce r in *part*, *sort*, which they call (*paat*, *saat*), because had there been no r written, they would have said *pat*, *sot*. (See pp. 189, 234 and 247.) But they will admit that they do not "rattle the r " as in Scotland. In the n. part of Nb. and adjacent to Scotland, the peculiar uvular (r) prevails, and it will be specially discussed hereafter; but it seems to be rather a defective utterance than a distinctive dialectal pronunciation.

The guttural kh , which was sporadically heard even in the M. div., has practically vanished from the N., though on passing the L. line 10, (kh) as well as (r) is strong.

The fact that a small portion of n.Cu. and n.Nb. belongs to the L. division must be particularly noted. The whole of the n. part of the N. div. was for long renowned for its "Border" warfare, but this portion has now quietly settled into possession of L. speech, and mostly L. people, although politically a part of England.

D 30 = EN. = East Northern.

Boundary. Beginning at Middlesborough, Yo., at the mouth of the Tees, proceed along the border of Yo. and Du. as far as Croft 14 sw. Middlesborough. Then go sw. from Croft to Middleham 8 s-by-w. Richmond, passing e. of Richmond and Leyburn. Turn s. and enter the West Riding just e. of Middlesmoor 13 w-by-n. Ripon, when turn slightly se. and go direct to Burley (7 n. Bradford), about where strike the s. *hoose line* 6 p. 19. Follow this line, passing along the Wharfe by Otley, to about Arthington 17 s-by-w. Ripon, when quit the Wharfe, but pursue the s. *hoose line* to the s. of Tadcaster (9 sw. York, w. of Selby and Snaith, passing 8 w. Goole) across Hatfield Chase, se. to the n. part of Nt., and then by the b. of Li. to the Humber, at the mouth of the Trent, and crossing the Ouse opposite Blacktoft (6 e. Goole), go by the Humber and coast round to the Tees mouth and Middlesborough again.

It must be understood that this line from Croft to Burley, separating EN. = D 30 from WN. = D 31, is merely approximative. The upper part of Swaledale, Wensleydale, and Nidderdale belong certainly to D 31, which, as we shall see, differs distinctly in character from D 30, but whether the boundary lies slightly e. or w. of that assigned has not been ascertained. Probably no definite line could be drawn. The one proposed is very nearly the w. b. of the great plain of

Yo., and while it satisfies JGG., my authority for the adjacent part of D 31, does not interfere with any of CCR.'s indications.

Area. This district comprises the greater part of the North Riding, omitting the nw. horn of Yo., all the East Riding and a small portion of the West Riding, a very large extent of country, which has not been completely explored, although there can be but little doubt of the general character of the parts from which no information has been received.

This large area I have found it convenient to divide into four main varieties, which are themselves divided into subvarieties as follows:

VAR. i. *The Great Plain of York.*

(a) Mid Yo., (b) York Ainsty, (c) North Mid Yo., (d) New Malton, (e) Pateley Bridge and Lower Nidderdale, (f) Washburn River.

VAR. ii. *The North East Moors.*

(a) South Cleveland, North Cleveland being spoiled for dialect by the iron works, (b) North East Coast and Whitby.

VAR. iii. *The Wolds and South East Coast.*

(a) Market Weighton, (b) Holderness.

VAR. iv. *The Marshes.*

Goole, and Marshland.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists for Yo. under the following names, where * indicates vv. per AJE., † per TH., || in so., principally CCR.'s Glossic, ° in io.

Var. i. (a) || Mid Yo., ° Ripon to Thirsk. (b) || York Ainsty, || York city. (c) || North Mid Yo., ° Thirsk. (d) || New Malton. (e) || Pateley Bridge. (f) || Washburn River.

Var. ii. (a) || Stokesley for South Cleveland, ° Skelton, ° Danby-in-Cleveland. (b) || North East Coast, ° Hackness, ° Whitby.

Var. iii. (a) * Market Weighton, ° Pocklington. (b) *† Holderness, † Burton Constable, † Hornsea, † Hull, † Leven, ° Sketling, || Sutton, † Swine, ° Waghen.

Var. iv. ° Drax, ° East Huddlesley, * Goole, ° Hatfield, ° Selby, ° Snaith.

Character. Throughout this large extent of country, it is surprising what small varieties exist. Although following principally the lead of CCR., who was my first and has been my chief authority for the central parts of this region, I have laid down 11 forms, it is very difficult if not impossible to say with even moderate certainty (so far as the information I have obtained extends) what are the characteristics of each, and to discover any but a geographical test to distinguish them.

The great uncertainty commences with the chief characteristic, the peculiar mode of fracturing the vowels in the A-, A', E-, E-, EA', O' words by prefixing an accented *ee* or *ii* and reducing the vowel itself to indistinct (*e*): thus A- (néem) *níem* name, A' (twée, *twíe*) two, E (déee, *díe*) day, and so on. All we can say is, that (*éee*) is more affected in the s. and (*íie*) in the n., but both occur everywhere. In case of A', O', this is further confused with (*úue*). Numerous instances will be seen in the subjoined cwl. for Vars. i, ii, iii.

The next great peculiarity is the treatment of I' as aa). This also pervades all the varieties, although it is certainly modified in Var. iii, especially in form b. In this form [aa] occurs principally before voiced consonants, as waad, wide, but even in this case frequently becomes [áa] as wáid, wide. Before voiceless consonants, and even in other cases, the sound is [éi] or possibly [éi] as néií náivz, knife knives. CCR. cannot prevail on himself to believe in these [éi] forms, but the testimony of so many observers is overwhelming in their favour.

The treatment of the vowel in the U' words as (uu) is by no means peculiar

to D 30; we have already met with it in the n. of D 20, but it is characteristic in conjunction with the other marks. In D 31 we shall find it somewhat modified. Here, however, it forms a strong contrast to the (aa) treatment of the same U' in the adjoining D 24, and the whole course of the s. *hoose* line 6 should be carefully observed. The vowel in the U words is (u) apparently, and not (u_o). But my vv. authority for Market Weighton, Rev. Jackson Wray, seemed to incline to an (u₁) sound, and (u₁) certainly occurs in D 31. See introd. to M. div. p. 291.

The r before a vowel seems to be gently trilled, and when not before a vowel, either to be entirely vocalised or reduced to a species of faint unflapped (r) of some kind, but the special kind has not been determined, and hence (r) simply is sometimes written, the value of which must be thus determined.

The definite article is generally reduced to the suspended (t'), and in Holderness is, according to its glossarists, reduced to nothing at all. Mr. Stead, however, one of the glossarists, admits the occasional use of (t'). Much more remarkable is its transformation into (th), which CCR. finds in the Washburn River form *f* of Var. i, and which he has traced sporadically as far as Harrogate. If this is confirmed by other observers, the n. *theeth* line (5) would have to be modified at the point where it at present unites with the s. *hoose* line (6), say at Burley (26 w-by-s.York), and would proceed n. for about 6 miles to Blubberhouses, go round by Harrogate, and join line 6 again about Arthington (20 w-by-s.York). But at present it seems best to preserve the line 5 with this provisional statement.

A further characteristic which separates D 30 from D 24, and from the n. of D 20, is the universal use of *I is* (aa)z for *I am*. But this is common also to D 31, and may even be heard occasionally in Dumbries.

Var. i and ii I cannot separate at all, so far as pronunciation is concerned. But there may be many differences in idiom and vocabulary, with which I am not concerned, and as we have for Var. i CCR.'s Mid Yo. Glossary, for Var. ii Rev. J. C. Atkinson's Cleveland Glossary for form *a*, and Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary for form *b*, all highly elaborated, I have been induced to make the distinction, which, so far as pron. is concerned, seems to me to consist principally in the preference of (iiv) to (éev), compare the cwl. below.

Var. iii is characterised by the threefold treatment of I' (taam, néif, náivz) time, knife, knives, the absence of the def. art. and the use of (thr-, dhr-) for (tr-, dr-), although TH. found only the latter form, and Mr. Stead admits that on his last visit to Holderness, he found those dentals coming into use among the younger people.

Var. iv is still less easy to separate than the others. It gives me the impression of an immigrant form from m.Yo. In the cwl. for Var. iii form *b*, I have marked all those words which were given me at H [Holderness] in a full wl., differently from those at S [Snaith]. They are certainly very few. In A-, made cake tale lame same mane wane, S used (éev) for H.'s (iiv). In A: S (kéem), H (kom). In A' S (gaa naa tuu kláves) for H (gráue níie twiiv tliús) go no two clothes, and bone none stone oar had also (aa), and so on. The principal variants were: Æ'- S (meni), H (moni) many. E: S (seg), H (sed) sedge; EA'- S (feev), H (fiin) few; EA': S (shíief), H (shaf) sheaf, S (néeeber), H (néiber) neighbour. EO S (bréit), H (briit) bright, I- S (stii), H (stáil) stile. I: S (néit eléet), H (niit liit) night alight, S (gránd), H (gráund); the last was the most considerable difference observed. For I', S has (aa) in place of (éi), and for O', S (spáuin búuit), H (spáuin búit) spoon boot, are decidedly singular, and approach D 24.

MARKET WEIGHTON AND MARSHLAND.

The following contrast of W [Market Weighton] and M [Marshland] was given me by Mr. Kirkpatrick (see Introd. to es. No. 9, p. 501, in his own orthography, which I interpret to the best of my ability. W is said to be "gruff and hard," M "soft, whining, and slightly sing-song." I write it interlinearly with R [received speech].

No. 1.

R Good night, Tom, I'll go home at once, and get into bed and
 W gud niit, :tom, aa)l gan Jam ut Jans, en git inti bed en
 M gud niit, :tom, aa)il gúuē úuēu ut wons, en get ti bed, en

R rest my old bones, for I am vastly afraid I shall never get
 W rist mi Aad búēnz, fur aa)z weent en fíeēd aa sal niver get
 M rest mai ood búuēnz, fur aa)z friit'nd aa shel niver get

R to Londesborough Park to-morrow.
 W tē :londesbro :peek ti maaN.
 M ti :usflit :pasther ti more.

Notes to No. 1.

Vastly afraid, the (weent en) used for (weentli); and *when* in Mr. F. K. Robinson's Whitby Glossary is explained as 'vast'; (fíeēd) flayed, is

commonly used for frightened.—*Londesborough's Park* is 2 n. Market Weighton.—*Ousefleet Pasture*, Ousefleet is 6 e. Goole, on the Ouse, the places are varied to suit the speakers.

No. 2.

R Dr. Patrick, you've got upon a bonny-ish horse there.
 W :doktē :pathr'ik, juu geten pon ē bon'ni)ish os dhéev.
 M oo :doktē :pather'ik dhat's ē náist əs júu)er upen.

R What's he gotten with? How old will he be? I don't know
 W wat)s i geten wiv? uu Aad wil)v)bi? ái diēnt NAA
 M uu óud wil)v)bi?

R that I've [or, I haven't] seen such a pretty horse [of a very long while].
 W et a)v siin sáik ē prati os.
 M ái eent siin sitj nē prati əs ev)v vari loq wáil.

Notes to No. 2.

W. Dr. Patrick, he was a general practitioner of course, but in Yo. they style these *doctors*, and speak of the physicians as *Mr.*, which is supposed to imply a higher rank. He never had his full name of *Kirkpatrick* given him. *What's he gotten with?* what were his sire and dam?—*seen* should probably be *seed*.

M. *nice horse*, the pron. (əəs), written *hirse* for horse, is Li., Marshland rather affects the adjoining Isle of Axholme in Li.

Mr. K. said that the dialect of Howden (of which he is a native) and Blacktoft, both just opposite Marshland on the other (or north) side of the Ouse, is rather that of Marshland. The speech of Goole and Snaith are illustrated below.

Illustrations. (1) CCR. and other informants have kindly furnished me with 10 cs. illustrating 10 out of the 11 forms previously mentioned. These I have arranged interlinearly, by which means their relations and differences are readily seen. The form not here contained is Var. iv, Goole. As I had been so much dependent on CCR. for Yo., it seemed advisable to check his pron. by other information; hence I give (2) a set of 4 dt. interlinearly for Var. ii, and (3) a set of 3 dt. interlinearly, two for Var. iii,

and one for Var. iv, written by different hands. I conclude my illustrations by 4 very full word-lists, illustrating (4) Mid Yo. Var. i, (5) n.e.Yo. Var. ii, (6) Market Weighton, Var. iii, (7) Holderness, Var. iii. To the last the differences from Var. iv have been added. These taken together give the completest accounts of the pron. of this district which I have been able to procure. For transliteration of CCR.'s Glossic see p. 394, l. 6 from bottom.

(1) TEN INTERLINEAR CS.

illustrating D 30, Var. i, ii, iii, to shew the small extent of their differences.

1. *Mid Yo.* Var. 1a. The typical form with which the others have to be contrasted; embracing the area defined by lines joining the towns of Ripon, Ripley (7 s-by-w.Ripon), Wetherby (15 sse.Ripon), York, Easingwold (12 nnw.York), and Ripon again, and extending slightly beyond this limit in every direction. This is the district to which CCR.'s *Mid Yorkshire Glossary* refers. The cs. was pal. by AJE. from CCR.'s glossic, after a full discussion. See also the cwl. which follows, and which is likewise due to him. CCR.'s familiarity with this speech was principally with the neighbourhood of Wetherby. He considered that York Ainsty was also involved, but probably only the nw.Ainsty was meant, and it and York City should be omitted, see No. 2.

2. *South Ainsty*, Var. 1b. The Ainsty of York is an irregular quadrilateral, of which York City, the junction of the Wharfe and Ouse (8 s-by-w.York), Wetherby (12 w-by-s.York), and the junction of the Nidd and the Ouse, are the angular points. A line from Wetherby to Easingwold would therefore just avoid the Ainsty, and Mr. Stead, headmaster of Folkestone Grammar School, a native of the Ainsty and for 20 years there resident, thinks that CCR.'s Var. 1a, cs. No. 1, must have just avoided the Ainsty. The following cs. written by Mr. Stead in gl. and pal. by AJE. refers to the undernamed villages in the Ainsty, all less than 6 m. from York: to the s., Bishophthorpe, Naburn, Acaster, and Appleton; to the sw., Dringhouses, both Askhams, Copmanthorpe, and Billbrough; to the w., Acomb, and to the nw., Poppleton. The differences between this version and CCR.'s No. 1, which will be seen at a glance from the interlinear arrangement, formed the subject of an inquiry by me, the results of which are given in notes to this version No. 2. Mr. Stead says that the forms in the s. and e. part of the Ainsty differ in many points from those in the n. and w. villages of the same district, as Nun Monkton (7 nw.York), Tollerton (10 nw.York), Alne (4 sw.Easingwold, 11 nw.York), which lie beyond the Ainsty. After the full exposition in the notes to this version, I do not reproduce the complete wl. for s.Ainsty with which Mr. Stead kindly furnished me. The whole district is influenced by the refined speech of York City on one side, and the ordinary speech of the East Riding, as at Market Weighton, cs. No. 9, on the other. Both CCR. and Mr. Stead gave me a cs. for the refined petty tradesman's speech of York City, differing in minute particulars, and CCR. gave me a cs. for the refined peasant speech of the whole country from Wetherby to Northallerton and Stokesley, ranging therefore over cs. Nos. 1, 3, and 7; but although these are interesting, they are such manifestly modern interferences with hereditary dialect through education and received speech, that I considered they lay beyond the scope of these inquiries.

3. *North Mid Yo.* Var. 1c. This represents CCR.'s "Near North," that is, the district lying immediately north of his Mid Yo. Draw lines connecting Northallerton, Kirkby Moorside (20 ese.Northallerton), Thirsk, Middleham (19 w-by-n.Thirsk), and thence to Northallerton. This gives a flat quadrilateral, beyond which the region is supposed to extend in all directions. To the n. of this region up to Du. I have almost no information. Nor have I any means of checking the present. But as it lay beyond CCR.'s immediate observation, and depends upon memories many years back, some errors are unavoidable. The notes are almost entirely due to CCR.

4. *New Malton*, Var. 1d. This version for New Malton was written to shew

how (aa) prevailed in many words in this part of Yo. The dialect, so far as I know, was not very familiar to CCR., but he endeavoured to convey the impression he had received. It cannot be considered to be a particular study of purely local Malton speech, but merely an exemplification of the use of 'aa'. In other respects it agrees closely with es. Nos. 1 or 3. The following is a list of all the words in which 'aa' occurs either in es. No. 1 or No. 4, with the corresponding sound in the other, arranged in the order of the cwl. The figures 1 and 4 refer to these versions.

A-	1 léee 4 laa <i>law</i> , 1 féee 4 faa <i>fare</i> .	I-	1 and 4 naan <i>nine</i> .
A:	1 géeeuth 4 gaath <i>garth</i> .	I:	1 saak'n 4 sáik'n <i>such</i> .
A'-	1 noo 4 naa <i>know</i> , 1 kréeek 4 kraa <i>to crow</i> .	I'-	1 biv 4 baa <i>by</i> , 1 and 4 taam <i>time</i> , 1 and 4 waan <i>to whine</i> .
A':	1 téeen 4 taan <i>the one</i> .	I':	1 and 4 laak <i>like</i> , 1 and 4 waal <i>while</i> , 1 maan 4 mään <i>mine</i> .
Æ:	1, 4 wáau, wor <i>was</i> .	O-	1 and 4 waald <i>world</i> .
Æ':	1 dhíie 4 dháau <i>there</i> , 1 wíier 4 wáau <i>where</i> .	Y-	1 draa 4 drái <i>to dry</i> , 1 and 4 laal <i>little</i> .
EA-	1 kéeez 4 kaaz <i>cares</i> .	A.	1 tóoek 4 taak <i>talk</i> .
EA:	1 soo 4 saa <i>saw</i> , 1 óóed 4 aad <i>old</i> , 1 éeel 4 aal <i>all</i> , 1 kóool 4 kaal <i>call</i> , 1 and 4 shaap <i>sharp</i> .	I..	1 and 4 faan <i>fine</i> .
		O..	1 níiek 4 kaane <i>corner</i> .
		U..	1 wisht 4 kwaat <i>quiet</i> .

There is certainly a singular preponderance of (aa) if all has been correctly remembered, but there is no evident reason for it, and possibly the change is modern.

5. *Lower Nidderdale*, Var. ie. The lower portion of the valley of the Nidd, including Pateley Bridge and Greenhow Hill, both 11 nw. Harrogate. The pron. here, and in es. No. 6, is transitional to D 31, Var. iii. The district of Lower Nidderdale is not uniform, Lofthouses at the n., Ramsgill a little s. of it, but still n. of Pateley Bridge, and Dacre 4, se. of it, have apparently slight differences in the pronunciation of the long O' words, soon noon done enough plough, and the Fr. U.. word *sure*, which have [iu] in the first, [i:] in the second, and [u] in the last, supposing Dacre and Pateley Bridge to have the same diphthong.

6. *Washburn River district*, Var. if. This extends from Blubberhouses and Fewston '6 wsw. Harrogate, to Otley '9 nw. Leeds, just on the border of D 24. This dialect approaches to that of Skipton, D 31, Var. iii, and is the extreme w. form of D 30, Var. i. It is peculiar as having [th] for the def. art. *the*, although lying in the midst of a (t) speaking population, and n. of the n. *thuth* line 5. See p. 497. Otley, too, which is here included, seems geographically to belong to D 24. The exact position of the line 5 and part of line 6 along this part has not been perfectly traced for want of such a precise phonetic survey as TH. has made for lines 1 and 2. CCR. considers the northern district about Fewston, Thruscross, and Blubberhouses, on the e. bank of Washburn River, and the southern by Otley, to form two subvarieties, but he has not given me the points of difference.

7. *South Cleveland*, Var. iia. This may be taken as slightly exceeding the triangular area of which Stokesley '8 s. Middlesborough, Egton '20 se. Middlesborough, and Pickering '20 w-by-n. Filey, are the points. North of Stokesley the dialect has been corrupted by the development of the ironworks, of which Middlesborough is the head. The line of railway from Stokesley to Egton may be considered to form the n. base of this triangle. The east coast, giving form *b*, is closely connected with this, which includes the Moors of Yorkshire, and has been especially illustrated in the Rev. J. C. Atkinson's 'Cleveland Glossary,' 1868, where he endeavours to trace a connection between these forms and the Scandinavian. The difference as regards pron. between es. Nos. 1 to 6, and es. Nos. 7 and 8, is very slight indeed. This es. is also by CCR.

8. *North-East Coast*, Var. iib. This extends "from Guisborough '8 se. Middlesborough eastwards and from Tees mouth southwards to s. of Filey," as defined by CCR. This is especially the district illustrated by Mr. F. K. Robinson's *Whitby Glossary*. What facilities CCR. had for investigating this

dialect I do not know, but there is a great peculiarity in this version, of which I find no indication in the Cleveland or Whitby glossaries, namely, the use of (éi for the vowel in ye, here, there, we, themselves, himself, great, siekan = such, herself, eyes, me, did, she, well, beast, will, washing, tea, week, deed. This affects only *cs.* No. 8. In other respects this *v.* agrees well with the preceding. See *ne.Yo.* *cwl.* and *dt.* below, Illustrations (5) and (2).

9. *Market Weighton* (:wiit'n), *Var. iiii.* This *cs.* was written in *io.* by Mr. J. W. Kirkpatrick, of Market Weighton, a native of Howden (16 *sse.* York and 11 *sw.* Market Weighton, which is 10 *w-by-n.* Beverley, and may be considered to represent the triangular area of which Pocklington (12 *e-by-s.* York), Beverley, and Howden are the vertices, or the *w.* side of the East Riding. It was then revised by Mr. H. Dove, of Market Weighton, and translated into glossic by CCR., and finally, in 1877, it was gone over with the Rev. Jackson Wray author of an admirable Methodist dialect tale called *Nestleton Magna*, and *pal.* by AJE. CCR. considered it to be "a presentation of dialect in a refined form, which is the general mode of speech in *e.Yo.*," and that it is "faithful and characteristic." Mr. K. also gave me a number of notes respecting this dialect, especially as contrasted with that of Marshland, *Var. iv* (see p. 497).

10. *Holderness*, *Var. iiib.* This is the district on the *se.* coast of *Yo.* from say Bridlington southwards to Spurnhead, the extreme *se.* point of *Yo.*, and eastwards through Driffield, Beverley, and Hull, the *b.* following the line of railway from Hull to Bridlington (:bo:liten). The authors of the Holderness Glossary divide this region roughly into three, termed *n.*, *w.* and *e. Ho.*, by straight lines connecting Hornsea with Driffield (12 *nw.* Hornsea) on the one hand and Hull on the other. The following *cs.* specimen was *pal.* by AJE. in Dec. 1873 from the dictation of the Rev. Henry Ward, who had then been well acquainted with the country for thirty years or more. His information referred especially to *n.* Holderness, but Mr. Stead, who is responsible for the *e.* Holderness part of the Glossary, gave me the variants for that region. This version was also submitted to CCR., who considered it in many respects refined, some of his observations are given in the notes. To examine the peculiar use of (thr- dhr-) TH. visited Hornsea, Burton Constable (7 *ssw.* Hornsea), Leven (7 *ws.* Hornsea), Swine (5 *nne.* Hull), and Hull. From the last, being thoroughly refined, he obtained (tr-, dr-), and from the other places he got (tr-, dr-), which Mr. Stead on a subsequent visit found that it was the tendency of younger people to use in place of (thr-, dhr-), the form he found to prevail among the peasantry. As in Market Weighton (thr-) is constantly written when (tr-) is said, it is the most natural substitute. But Mr. Stead is quite familiar with both (tr-, thr-), and knows the difference in their character, and can pronounce both, as I know by a personal interview. He has also visited every village in *e.* Holderness. Hence I have no hesitation in accepting his conclusion, written to TH. on 20 Feb. 1878, namely, "Amongst persons of somewhat superior education or position there is a modification or sliding towards (t, d), and the same is almost invariably the case where the rustics address strangers of presumably superior position and education; but where a free and unembarrassed utterance by a genuine native can be obtained, we get decided (th, dh). And yet after all it is only in this latter case that we get the true Holderness sounds at all."

Another point is the regular and total omission of the *def. art.* *the*, which is queried by CCR. In the Holderness Glossary it is much insisted on for *n.* and *e.* Holderness, but *the* admittedly occurs (1) as (t' before vowels, as (t' egz), and (2) as (d) added to prepositions, as (i'd uus, up'd grand) in the house, upon the ground. In the Glossary Mr. Stead says, "The peculiar effect on the pronunciation of the omission of the definite article can scarcely be conceived by one who has not heard the dialect spoken." And it must be recollected that Mr. Stead is from birth familiar with suspended (t') for the *def. art.*

CCR. is also sceptical as to the separation of (éi) before voiceless consonants from (ái) before vowels and voiced consonants, the latter of which, and not the former, has a tendency to fall into (aa), and he thinks it must be a refinement; but it seems to be generally admitted by natives of *se.Yo.*

Much information respecting *pron.* is given in the Introduction to the Holderness Glossary.

Arrangement. In order to make evident the coincidences and differences of these ten versions in the clearest possible manner, they have been arranged interlinearly, and when a word in one line is *exactly* repeated in the *next* following line, it is not rewritten, but its place is supplied by (,,). It must be remembered that (,,) means "the same word exactly as in the *next preceding* line." When a word in one line has *no* corresponding word in one or more of the next following, (—) is inserted when it seemed advisable for clearness; otherwise the space has been left blank. Hence (—) means "No word corresponding to that in *any* preceding line." Thus in par. 1. (*tegiðe*) occurs only in cs. No. 6, and blanks are left in the other numbers. But nothing answering to (*o jø*) occurs in cs. Nos. 2, 9 and 10. Hence (*o jø*) have to be rewritten in cs. No. 3, but they are replaced by (,, ,,) being two words in cs. No. 4, then (*on*) supersedes (*o*) in cs. No. 5, but (*jø*) remaining is represented by (,,). In cs. No. 6 (*o*) recurs, and (*o jø*) remain through Nos. 7 and 8, as shewn by (,, ,,,). On the other hand, there is nothing corresponding to them in cs. Nos. 9 and 10. See also the 8 interlinear cs. in D 26, p. 427*.*.

Very minute differences are thus pointed out, much more minute than perhaps the versions were intended to imply. It would be incorrect, especially in the seven cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, which are all due to CCR., to suppose that any slightly different form was *always* heard in the places named, to the exclusion of that in a neighbouring district. But they were certainly his impressions, and he carefully corrected his versions, after many written questions from me.

0.	1	<i>Mid Yorkshire.</i>	wat	fe	:dʒuven	ez	néeʒ	duuts.
	2	<i>South Ainsty.</i>	wái	—	:dʒon	,,	nʒ	,,
	3	<i>North Mid Yo.</i>	wat	fe	:dʒuven	ʒz	níʒ	,,
	4	<i>New Malton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒən	ez	néeʒ	duts.
	5	<i>Lower Nidderdale.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuveni	,,	níʒ	duuts.
	6	<i>Washburn River.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒuven	,,	,,	,,
	7	<i>South Cleveland.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	néeʒ	,,
	8	<i>North-East Coast.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	<i>Market Weighton.</i>	,,	,,	:dʒon	,,	níʒ	duts.
	10	<i>Holderness.</i>	,,	,,	,,	,,	nʒ	duuts.

1.	1	wiil,	néeʒbʒ,	jii	ʒn	im		mʒ	béeʒth	o	jʒ
	2	wel,	néiʒbʒ,	juu	,,	ii		,,	búuʒth	—	—
	3	wiil,	níʒbʒ,	jii	,,	im		,,	bíʒth	o	jʒ
	4	,,	néeʒbʒ,	,,	,,	,,		,,	béeʒth	o	,,
	5	,,	níʒbʒ,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	bíʒth	on	,,
	6	,,	níʒbʒ,	jii	,,	,,	<i>tegiðe</i>	,,	béeʒth	o	,,
	7	,,	níʒbʒ,	,,	,,	,,		,,	bíʒth	,,	,,
	8	,,	níʒber,	Jéi	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	néiʒbʒ,	juu	,,	,,		,,	,,	—	—
	10	,,	néeʒbʒ,	juu	,,	,,		,,	béeʒth	—	—

	1	laf	léik	ʒt	dhis	níʒz	ʒ	maan,	wéʒ)	s)	t	kéeʒ?
	2	,,	,,	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	waa	—	—	—	kéeʒ?
	3	,,	laak	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	wíʒ	—	—	—	kíʒz?
	4	,,	,,	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	wíʒ	—	—	—	kaaz?
	5	,,	,,	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,
	6	,,	lóʒk	,,	,,	,,	,,	móʒn,	,,	—	—	kéeʒ?
	7	,,	,,	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	maan,	,,	—	—	,,
	8	,,	,,	,,	níʒz	,,	,,	wéiʒ	—	—	—	,,
	9	,,	,,	,,	maa	níʒz	—	—	wat	div	a	kaʒ?
	10	,,	,,	,,	dhis	,,	ʒ	maan,	wíʒ	—	—	kéeʒ?

1	dhat)s	néevdher	íiv	ne	dhíiv.
2	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhéevr.
3	" "	nóu _{der}	" "	" "	dhíiv.
4	" "	néevdher	" "	" "	dháav.
5	" "	" "	" "	" "	dhaa.
6	" "	néev _{der}	" "	" "	dhíiv.
7	" "	nóu _{der}	" "	" "	" "
8	" "	nóudher	" "	" "	dhéiv.
9	it) s	níevdher	" "	" "	dhíiv.
10	dhat)s	nóudher	" "	" "	dhéev.

2. 1	jan	kenz	it) s	nubed	v	féev	v	mín	et
2						fíu		fáveks	—
3	jan	nóoaz	it) s	néevbud	v	"	v	men	et
4	"	naaz	" "	nobet	"	"	"	"	"
5	"	nooz et	" "	"	"	fíu	"	"	"
6	"	nóoaz	" "	nobet	"	fíu	"	"	"
7	"	"	" "	nobet	"	"	"	"	"
8	"	"	" "	"	"	"	"	"	"
9	—	—	it iz'nt			moni			"
10	—	—	—	vari		fíu		fooks	—

1	gaqz	en	diiz	eko's	dhv)r	flóutid	at		di)net
2	—	—	"	koz	"	laft	"	wii naa	daant
3	gaqz	en	díev	eko's	dhí)v	flíved	"		du)net
4	—	—	diiz	"	dhv	laft	"		di)net
5	ganz	en	déiz	biko's	dhéi)r	"	"		du)net
6	gaqz	en	diiz	koz	dhv)r	gənd	"		díent
7	—	—	"	kos	dhí)v	laft	"		du)net
8	gaqz	en	"	eko's	"	"	"		du)net
9	—	—	"	kos	dhée)v	"	"	wi nóov	díent
10	—	—	"	—	v bi)in	"	et	wi noo	díent

1	ez ?	préi	wat	səd	mak	em ?		it)s	nut
2	we ?	—	"	shed	"	"		" "	"
3	ez ?	préiv	"	səd	"	"		it bíi)	ent
4	ez nu ?	—	—	—	—	—		it)s	nut
5	wéi ?	pree)v	wat	səd	"	"	nuu ?	" "	"
6	es ?	préi)v	"	"	"	"	nuu ?	" "	"
7	we ?	—	"	"	"	"	"	" "	"
8	wéi ?	—	"	"	"	"	nuu ?	" "	néevn
9	wi ?	—	"	sud	"	"	"	" iz	'nt
10	we ?	—	"	"	"	"	"	")s	not

1	varv	laaklínz	iz	it	nuu ?
2	vari	léiklī	"	"	—
3	varv	laaklínz	bíevz	"	nuu ?
4	"	laaklī	iz	"	nu ?
5	"	laaklīz	"	"	nuu ?
6	"	láiklínz	"	"	—
7	vari	laaklī	"	"	nuu ?
8	varv	"	"	"	—
9	vari	léiklī	is)	t	—
10	"	lā'iklī	"	"	—

3.	1	usemi'va	dhíez)íe	)z	tilínz	e)t'	t'réeth	e)t'
	2	ə'u'íve	dhíez —	iz)t'	fakts	„ „	—	—
	3	uusemi've	„ —	„ —	tilínz	„ „	t'riíeth	e)t'
	4	„	„ —	„ —	„	„ „	„	„ „
	5	uusami've	„ dher	„ t'	matez	— —	—	„ „
	6	usemi've	„ íie	)z —	tilínz	„ —	t'riíeth	„)th
	7	„	„ —	iz t'	matez	„ „	t'riíeth	e)t'
	8	„	„ —	„ —	telínz	„ „	t'riíeth	„ „
	9	uu)íve	„ —	is)t'	faks	— —	—	„ „
	10	u)íve	„ —	iz —	„	o)t'	—	—

	1	kíes,	séeu	djíst	ganz	te	en	óoed	dhe	dhuu	dhi	dín,
	2	kéeus,	súue	djust				od	je		—	nóiz,
	3	kíes,	síe	„				óoedz	te	dhuu	dha	dín,
	4	kíes,	séeu	„	—	dhu	—	óoed	—		„	„
	5	„	síie	„				ood	—	dhuu	dhéi	„
	6	„	„	„				od	—	jii	je	„
	7	„	séeu	djíst				od	—	dhuu	dhi	„
	8	„	„	djust				óoed	—	dhu	„	„
	9	kíes,	síie	„				od	—	—	jer	tuq,
	10	kées,	soo	„				ood	—	je	—	nóiz,

1	frind,	en	bi	—	wisht	—	nu	waal	aa)z	dien.
2	frend,	„	bi	—	kwéiet	—	—	tíl	aa)v	„
3	„	„	—	—	wisht	dhe	nuu	waal	a)v	dien.
4	frind,	„	bi	—	kwaat	—	nu	„	a	dien.
5	frend,	„	—	—	wish	te	nuu	wal	a)v	dien.
6	frind,	„	tak	ood en	wisht	—	„	waal	a	dien.
7	„	„	—	—	wish	te	—	„	aa)v	„
8	frend,	„	bi	—	kwaat	—	—	wal	a	„
9	„	„	„	—	stil	—	—	„	a)v	„
10	„	„	„	—	kwáí)et	—	—	tíl	ái)v	dien.

1 ək tɛ bʊdz nu !

2 lisen !

3 nuu dhen, aaks tɛ ?

4

5 léis)tɛ dhen !

6 nuu den, aaken !

7 aaken nuu !

8 aak nu !

9 aa'k ʝɛ dhéu nuu !

10 aak, nu !

4.	1	aa) z	síier	et a	íied	em	séeu,	sum	e	dhím	fóoek	et
	2	„ „	saaten	— áí	„ „	see,	„ „	„ „	dhem	fúueks	„	„
	3	„ „	síier	et a	íied	„	síie,	„ „	„ „	fúuek	„	„
	4	„ „	„	— a	íied	„	séeu,	„ „	„ „	fóoeks	„	„
	5	„ „	síur	et a	éíed	„	„	„ „	„ „	„	„	„
	6	„ „	síier	„ „	íied	„	„	„ „	„ „	„	„	„
	7	„ „	saaten	„ „	íied	„	„	„ „	„ „	„	„	„
	8	„ „	síier	et a	íied	„	síie,	„ „	„ „	fúuek	„	„
	9	a) z	„	— a	„ „	séeu,	„ „	„ „	„ „	fúueks	„	„
	10	aa) z	saaten	— áí	„ „	„ „	„ „	„ „	dhooz	fóoks	„	„

1	wint	tʁuf)	tʰ	jal	thiq	fre)	tʰ	foſt	dheseilz,	dhat
2	went	thruſ)	„	wol	„	fre	„	„	dhese-nz,	„
3	„	tʁuf)	„	jal	„	freʷ)	„	„	dhese-lvz,	„
4	wint	„	„	éel	„	freʷ)	„	„	dhese-lz,	„
5	went	throu	„	iel	„	freeʷ)	„	„	„	„
6	„	thruſ)	„	jal	„	fréʷ)	th	„	„	„
7	gœed	tʁuf)	tʰ	„	„	free	tʰ	„	„	„
8	went	„	„	wuvel	„	fre)	tʰ	„	dheseilz,	„
9	„	thruſ)	„	wol	„	fréʷ)	d	„	dhese-nz,	—
10	„	„	„	iel	„	fre	„	„	„	dhat

1	a	did,	séef	enief.
2	„	„	séef	„
3	„	„	sief	„
4	„	„	séef	„
5	„	„	sief	enief.
6	„	„	„	enief.
7	did)	a,	„	„
8	„	„	„	„
9	a	did,	sief	„
10	a	did,	„	„

5.	1	et	tʰ	juuqis	san	izse-l,	„	griet	lad	„	naan
	2	„	„	juqist	„	izse-n,	„	„	„	„	naín
	3	„	„	juqis	„	izse-l,	„	„	gaqin	„	niin
	4	„	„	„	„	ise-l,	„	„	„	„	naan
	5	„	„	„	„	izse-l,	„	gæt	„	„	„
	6	„	th	„	„	„	„	griet	„	„	niin
	7	et	tʰ	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	8	et	—	juuqis	„	izse-l,	„	griet	„	„	naan
	9	dhet	—	juqis	„	izse-n,	„	big	„	„	naín
	10	et	—	juqist	„	„	„	gæt	„	„	naan

1	hier	óoed,	kend	iz	fiède	vies	et	jans,	dhuf	it
2			níu	„	fadhé	vóis	„	„	dhaa	„
3			„	„	fadhé	vies	„	„	dhief	„
4	hier	aad,	níu	„	fiédhé	vóis	„	„	dhuf	„
5			„	„	fadhé	„	„	„	dhóef	„
6			„	„	fa de	vóois	„	„	dhuf	„
7			„	„	féedé	„	„	„	dhof	„
8			„	„	fiéde	vóis	„	„	dhief	„
9	hier	óoed,	nood	„	féedha	„	„	„	dhof	„
10			„	„	fédhe	„	„	„	fer ool	„

1	wáau	séiken	„	kwíie	skwéekín	Jan	laak,	en
2	was	se	„	kwíier	en skwíiekin	—	—	„
3	waa	saaken	„	kwéie	„	Jan	—	„
4	wáau	sáiken	„	kwíie	„	„	—	„
5	waa	sáiken	„	kwéie	skwéekín	„	—	„
6	wáau	„	„	kwíie	„	„	—	„
7	„	saaken	„	„	„	„	—	„
8	„	séiken	„	„	skwéekín	„	—	„
9	waz	si	—	kwíier	en skwíiekin	„	—	„
10	waz	„	„	„	skwíiekin	—	—	„

1	a)d	t _r ust	im	te	spiek		t _r éenth	ev	oni
2	a wed	"	"	"	"	— t	truuth	—	"
3	aa)d	"	"	"	"	— —	t _r iúeth		"
4	" "	t _r ist	"	"	"	tiv —	"		"
5	" "	t _r ust	"	"	"	— t	t _r iúth		"
6	" "	"	"	"	"	tel)th	"		óoeni
7	" "	t _r ist	"	"	"	— —	"		"
8	" "	"	"	"	"	ti) t	"		oni
9	" "	t _r ust	"	ti	"	— —	t _r ryy ₁ th		"
10	a wed	thrist	"	"	spiek	— —	thruuth		"

1	dee,	ái	mari	a	wad.
2	déeu,	éi	—	"	"
3	díie,	ái	mari	"	"
4	déeu,	éi	—	"	"
5	"	ái	—	"	"
6	"	"	mari	"	"
7	"	éi	—	aa	wad, aa síie.
8	díie,	ái	nu	a	wad, wad)i.
9	déeu,	E'i	—	"	"
10	dee,	éi	—	"	"

6.	1	en,t	óood	wamen	ese'l	el	tíl	oni	jan	o	je	ut	lafs
	2	" "	Aad	"	ese'n	"	tel	"	—	"	"	"	"
	3	" "	óood	wíien	ese'l	"	"	"	jan	"	"	"	—
	4	" "	aad	wamen	"	"	tíl	"	"	"	"	"	lafs
	5	" "	óood	"	"	"	téil	"	—	"	"	"	"
	6	"th	óod	"	"	"	tel	"	jan	"	"	"	lafs
	7	"t	óood	wíien	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	8	" "	"	"	ese'l	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	9	" "	ood	wamen	ersee'n	"	"	"	—	on	"	"	"
	10	" —	"	"	ese'n	"	"	"	—	o	"	"	"

	1	en	flóuts—nuu,	en	tíl	o	je	stríet	of	en	ind,
	2	—	—	"	tel	"	"	stréit	of,	"	Aal,
	3	—	flíiez—	"	"	"	"	stríet	uut,	—	—
	4	—	—	"	tíl	"	"	"	of,	—	—
	5	—	—	"	téil	"	"	stréit	ofedz	—	—
	6	en	ganz on	"	tel	"	"	stríet	of,	—	—
	7		"	"	"	"	"	stréit	ewéee	—	—
	8		"	"	"	"	"	stríet	of,	—	—
	9		"	"	"	"	"	stréit	of,	en	óool,
	10		"	"	"	"	"	sthreet	of,	"	ool,

	1	tíie,	eduu't	mätj	boder,	en	ji'l	bi)t	aksín
	2	—	widhuut	"	bodher,	if	je'l	onli	aks
	3	tíie,	edut	"	boder,	"	ji'l	néebed	"
	4	"	edhuut	"	bodher,	"	je'l	nobet	as
	5	tíu,	"	"	"	"	ji'l	"	"
	6	tíie,	eduu't	"	boder,	"	"	nobed	aks
	7	"	edhuut	"	"	"	")d	nobet	"
	8	"	edhut	"	bode,	gin	")l	"	"
	9	—	biduu't	"	bodher,	if	ji'l	"	"
	10	—	wívuut	"	"	"	"	"	"

- 1 iv ɛr, oo! wi)net shu?
 2 — „ aa! wii)ent „
 3 — „ óov! wi)net „
 4 — „ „ „ „
 5 — „ wil)et „
 6 — „ óov! wii)ent „
 7 — „ oo! wi)net „
 8 — „ wu)ne „
 9 — „ wii)ent „
 10 — „ oo! „ „ „

7. 1 líestinz she) d tɛlín o)it te 'méi win aa aksɛt ɛr ɛ
 2 oní wéev she teld — — 'mii it, wen áí aakst ɛ
 3 líest liz shíe „ it te „ wen a aksɛt ɛ
 4 oní wíiez she tild — — 'méi it, „ aa ast ɛ
 5 „ gíiets „ téild — — 'méi it „ a „ „
 6 „ réevd „ teld it te 'mii „ aa aksɛt „
 7 „ wíiez „ „ „ „ „ a ast ɛr ɛ
 8 „ „ „ „ — — 'méi it „ aa aksɛt ɛr „
 9 uu)íve „ „ — — 'mii „ a aksɛt ɛr —
 10 líest wéev „ „ it — „ „ áí aksth ɛ —

- 1 téevtri taamz óu)er, ed)shu — ɛn a konséevts ɛt
 2 tuu ɛ thríi „ „ — „ díid „
 3 twíevtri „ óu)ɛ, díid „ — „ aa konséevts
 4 téevtri „ „ — „ díid „
 5 tíitrei „ „ — shéi „ „
 6 twíevtri táimz „ díid shu — „
 7 „ taamz „ — „ díid „
 8 „ „ „ — „ déid „
 9 twíie ɛr thríi „ „ — „ díid „
 10 twíethri „ „ díid „ — „

- 1 she óud'nt te bí raq ɛ saaken ɛ míiet mater ɛz
 2 shíi óut nut „ „ „ óu)ɛ satɟ „ póint „
 3 shíie óud'nt „ „ „ ɛ síeken „ „ „
 4 shéi óut nut „ „ „ „ sái)ken „ „ „
 5 shéi „ „ „ béi „ „ „ „ „
 6 she óud'nt „ bí „ „ sái)ken „ „ „
 7 shíie óut'nt „ „ „ „ saaken „ „ „
 8 shéi „ nut „ „ „ „ séi)ken „ póint „
 9 she ed'nt óut ti „ „ „ upé sái)k „ póint —
 10 „ óut nut „ „ „ upé sitɟ „ dɟob ɛz

- 1 dhís, uu)s)t ɟɛ thíqk? —
 2 „ wat dí „ „ —
 3 „ uu sud „ „ —
 4 „ wat dɛ „ théiqk nu?
 5 „ „ „ jéi thíqk? —
 6 „ uu)d ɟɛ „ „ —
 7 „ „ dí „ „ —
 8 „ uu)s)t „ „ —
 9 — wat d) „ „ —
 10 dhís „ d) juu „ —

8.	1	wiil, ez	aa	we	see'in,	'shii'd	til	je	
	2	wel, ,,	a	wəz	,,	'shii wəd	tel	,,	
	3	wiil, ,,	,,	we	si'in,	'shii'd	,,	,,	jal ubiēt it
	4	,, ,,	aa	wa	see'n,	'shii'd	til	,,	aal ubut ,,
	5	wéil ,,	,,	we	,,	,,	téil	,,	iiel ubiūt ,,
	6	wiil ,,	,,	,,	séee'in,	'shii'd	tel	,,	biieth
	7	,, ,,	,,	,,	se'in,	'shii'd	,,	,,	t'jal mat'er'e't
	8	wéil ,,	,,	,,	,,	'shii'l	,,	,,	
	9	wiil ,,	,,	wəz	see'in,	'shii wəd	,,	,,	
	10	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,	she wəd	,,	,,	

	1	béeth	uu'gets	en	wiier	en	wín	it	wáaer	et	she	fan't
	2	—	uu	,,	,,	,,	wen				,,	,,
	3	biieth	,,	,,	wuur	,,	,,	it	waar	et	,,	,,
	4	ez't	,,	,,	wáaer	,,	wín	,,	waz	,,	,,	,,
	5	ez tev	,,	,,	waar	,,	wen	,,	waar	,,	shéi	,,
	6	ez'te	,,	,,	wiier	,,	,,	,,	,,	she	fan'd't	
	7	biieth	,,	,,	úuer	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	fan't	
	8	,,	,,	,,	wiier	,,	,,	—	—	,,	,,	,,
	9	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,	,,
	10	—	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	—	—	—	,,	fan'd dhat

	1	druk'n	biiēs	et	she'z	te	kóoel	er	uzben	on	en't
	2	,,	biiēst	,,	she	—	kaalz	,,	,,		
	3	,,	biiēs	,,	,,		kóoelz	,,	uzbend	en't	
	4	,,	,,	,,	,,		kaalz	e	uzben	on	
	5	,,	,,	,,	,,		kóoelz	er	uzben	en't	
	6	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	en	
	7	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,	uzbend		
	8	,,	,,	,,	,,		,,	,,	,,	en't	
	9	druqk'n	biiēst	,,	,,		,,	,,	uzben		
	10	dhruqk'n	biiēst	,,	,,		koolz	,,	,,		

	1	jal	padī		aal'l	bi	buund		she	wil.
	2									
	3	jal	padinodī	aa	bi	buun	—	—	,,	wil.
	4				aal'l	bi	buund	on)t	,,	,,
	5	iiel	padinodī	,,	,,	,,	buun	—	—	shéi
	6	jal	ubuut en't	,,	,,	,,	bun	—	—	she
	7			,,	,,	,,	bun	fe't	,,	,,
	8	wúel	naréeshen	,,	,,	,,	bun	,,	,,	wéil.
	9									
	10									

9.	1	she	t'riēpt	et	she	soo	im	wiv	er	éeen	iēn
	2	,,	swaar	—	,,	saa	,,	widh	,,	AAN	iiz
	3	,,	t'riēpt	et	,,	siid	,,	wiv	,,	óoen	iien
	4	,,	t'rept	,,	,,	saa	,,	,,	,,	éeen	iin
	5	shéi	swaar	,,	,,	soo	,,	wéi	,,	óoen	,,
	6	she	thriēpt	,,	,,	,,	o	wi	,,	iien	,,
	7	,,	t'riēpt	,,	,,	siid	,,	,,	,,	óoen	,,
	8	,,	t'ript	,,	,,	soo	,,	,,	,,	éeen	éin
	9	,,	swéer	—	,,	,,	,,	wiv	,,	,,	iin
	10	,,	,,	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	oon	,,

1	l'gin	st'ritjt	et	laq	lenth	etop	e't	grund	
2	"	st'retjt	"	ful	lenth	on	t'	"	
3	"	—	"	laq	st'retjt	etop	e't	"	
4	"	st'ritjt	"	écel	lenth	ape	t'	"	
5	"	—	"	laq	stréekt	"	"	"	dond
6	"	st'ritjt	"	"	leqth	etop	e'th	"	
7	"	st'retjt	"	"	"	et	t'	"	
8	"	st'ritjt	"	"	"	e	)t'	"	
9	"	"	"	ful	lenth	ape	)d	"	
10	"	sthritjt	ool	iz	"	apo	"	"	

1	iv	iz	gi'ed	sande	káuet,	tléus	biv't		us
2	"	"	gud	"	"	tláues	te "		uus
3	in	"	gi'ed	"	"	tlíies	bi "		us
4	iv	"	"	"	"	tléus	baa "		uus
5	i	"	gud	"	"	tlíies	béi "		"
6	iv	"	"	"	"	tlíies	bi)th		"
7	"	"	gi'ed	"	"	"	bi ,t'		"
8	"	"	"	"	káuet,	"	" "		"
9	"	"	gud	"	"	tlíies	bi)d	dí'et e't'	uus
10	"	"	gud	"	kóet,	kloos	biv		uus

1	dí'e,	—	duun	et t'	ní'ek	e	jon	lon.	
2	dí'et,	—	"	" "	KAANER	"	"	léen.	
3	dí'e,	—	dí'en	" —	ní'ek	"	jáuen	lúen'in.	
4	"	—	duun	e) "	kaaner	"	jon	"	
5	dí'et,	—	dí'en	et —	ní'ek	"	jondhe	lúen	
6	dí'et, ewí'ez	duun	e) th	ní'ek	"	jon	"	"	
7	dí'et,	—	"	et —	"	"	"	"	
8	dí'e,	—	"	e) t'	"	"	"	lúen'in.	
9	—	—	"	et —	kóoenr	"	"	lúen.	
10	dí'e,	—	"	et —	KAANER	"	"	lúen.	

10.	1	i	wer	egí'et	e	waan'in	—	sez	shé	fer
	2	"	wéz			wá'in'in	ewé'ee	"	shii	"
	3	"	waar	egí'et	"	wí'en'in	—	"	shé	fe
	4	"	wer	"	"	waan'in	—	"	sez	fer
	5	"	waar	"	"	wí'en'in	—	sez	shéi	"
	6	"	wer	"	"	wá'in'in	—	"	shé	fe
	7	ii	"	"	"	waan'in	—	"	"	"
	8	"	"	egé'et	"	"	—	"	"	fer
	9	i,	wéz	—		pl'en'in	ewé'ee	—	—	"
	10	"	"	—		gréen'in	—	—	shé sez	"

1	écel	t'	waald	laak	tev	e	sí'ek	bé'en	er	e
2	aal	"	wold	lé'ik		"	badli	"	"	"
3	jal	"	waald	laak		"	sí'ek	bí'en	"	"
4	aal	"	"	"		"	"	bé'en	"	"
5	óool	"	wold	lé'ik		"	"	baan	"	"
6	jal	th	waald	sí'om	ez	"	"	bé'en	"	"
7	"	t'	"	laak		"	siik	bé'en	"	"
8	AA'el	"	"	"		"	sí'ek	bé'en	"	"
9	óool	"	wold	lé'ik		"	badli	"	"	els "
10	ool		woold	lé'ik		"	"	"	"	"

1	laal	las	iv	v	tivi.
2	lit'l	"	"	"	fríet.
3	laal	"	"	"	tivi.
4	"	"	et)	s	plievish.
5	lál	"	i	v	tjóefin.
6	laal	"	"	"	jíumæ.
7	lál	"	"	"	puuk.
8	liæl	"	"	"	múendj.
9	laat'l	"	—	—	wimprin.
10	"	gjel	—	—	fretin.

11.	1	en	'dhat	ap'nd	ez	shi	en	t'	dóuter	i	léev	kam	dhe
	2	"	"	"	"	shii	"	v	dóuter	"	laa	kom	
	3	"	"	"	"	shæə	"	t'	dóuter	"	liæ	kam	
	4	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	laa	"	
	5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	lóov	kom	
	6	"	"	"	"	shæə	"	th	"	"	lóv	"	
	7	"	"	"	"	"	"	t'	"	"	lóov	kam	
	8	"	"	"	"	shéi	"	"	"	"	léev	"	
	9	"	"	"	"	óer	"	v	"	"	lóov	kom	
	10	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	dóuther	"	loo	"	

	1	wíez	t'raf)	t'	bak	géeth	frev	aqín—t'	wít	tléenz
	2		thraf	"	"	jaad	"	iqín—	wet	tláuez
	3		t'raf	"	"	géeth	"	aqín—	wít	tlíez
	4		"	"	"	gaath	"	"	wít	tléenz
	5		thróu	"	"	gieth	fre	"	wet	tláuez
	6		t'raf	"	"	géeth	fre	—th	—	tlíez
	7		"	"	"	gaath	frev	iqín—t'	wet	"
	8		"	"	"	jed	"	aqín—	"	"
	9		thraf	—	"	jaad	free	iqín uut t'	"	"
	10		"	—	"	"	frev	aqín	"	"

	1	uut	te	d'raa	ev	v	wéishín	díie.
	2	—	"	d'rái	on	"	weshín	déev.
	3	"	"	d'raa	ev	"	"	díie.
	4	ut	"	d'rái	—	—	—	—
	5	uut	"	"	ev	v	wéishín	déev.
	6	"	"	"	jaa	"	weshín	"
	7	"	"	d'raa	ev	v	"	díie.
	8	"	"	d'ráai	"	"	wéishín	"
	9	—	"	d'rái	"	"	weshín	déev.
	10	—	ti	dhrái	"	"	wéishín	dee.

12.	1	waal	t'	kit'l	wæ	bóovlín	fe) t'	tíie	v	jan
	2	"	"	ket'l	wæz	bóvlín	" "	"	—	"
	3	"	"	kit'l	wa	bóvlín	" "	"	—	jaa
	4	"	"	"	"	bóvlín	" "	"	—	jan
	5	wal	"	ket'l	"	"	" "	téev	—	jaa
	6	"	th	"	"	bóvlín	" "	d'riqkin	v	jan
	7	"	t'	"	wæ	boovlín	fo	tíie	—	"
	8	waal	t'	"	"	búvlín	fe	téev	—	"
	9	"	"	"	wæz	"	"	tíie	—	jaa
	10	wal	—	ket'l	"	"	"	tíi	—	"

1	faan	briit	ifteníien	i	sume,	nabet	e	wiik
2	fáin	bréit	summer efteníien	—	—	nobet	,,	,,
3	faan	bríet	,,	i	sume,	,,	,,	,,
4	,,	briit	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
5	fêin	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
6	fáin	,,	,,	,,	,,	nobet	,,	,,
7	faan	,,	,,	,,	,,	nobet	,,	,,
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	wéik
9	fêin	,,	summer	,,	—	,,	,,	wiik
10	fáin	,,	,,	eftheníien	—	,,	,,	,,

1	sín	kam	)t'	nekst	thozde.
2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
3	,,	,,	,,	níest	,,
4	,,	,,	)t'	nekst	,,
5	,,	,,	,,	nóikst	,,
6	,,	,,	)th	nekst	thúuezde.
7	,,	,,	)t'	,,	thozde.
8	sen	,,	,,	niist	thúuezde.
9	sín	,,	,,	nekst	thozde.
10	sen	,,	,,	,,	,,

13.	1	en	—	—	noo	je	—	béeen?	et	a	níie	liient
	2	,,	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	,,	,,	níie	laant
	3	,,	diie	je	nóoe,	—	—	bíien?	et	,,	níie	liient
	4	,,	di	je	naa?	—	—	—	,,	,,	níie	laant
	5	,,	—	—	noo	dhu,	—	mán?	,,	,,	,,	liend
	6	,,	—	—	noo	je	nobet,	béeen?	et	,,	,,	lied
	7	,,	di	je	nóoe,	—	—	,,	et	,,	,,	liient
	8	,,	di	je	na'e?	—	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,
	9	,,	d)	je	nóe?	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,	lécent
	10	,,	diz	dhe	noo?	—	—	—	,,	,,	,,	laant

1	nóut	ne	méeer	en	dhís	e	dhat	—	diid	up
2	—	,,	múuer	,,	,,	e	buut	,,	—	biznis
3	nóut	,,	míier	,,	,,	e	,,	—	diid	,,
4	oni	—	méeer	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	,,
5	oni	—	maar	,,	,,	,,	,,	dhaa	bizenes	,,
6	nóut	ne	míier	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	diid	,,
7	,,	,,	,,	dhen	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	,,
8	,,	,,	méeer	en	,,	,,	,,	—	déid	,,
9	—	ni	,,	ne	,,	,,	,,	—	biznis	—
10	—	,,	,,	en	,,	e	buut	,,	—	matjther

1	tiv	tel	tedéev,	a	síier,	ez	síier	ez	mi	níiem	z	:djáuen
2	te	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	maa	néem	,,	:djak
3	—	til	tedíie	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ma	níiem	,,	:djáuen
4	tiv	—	tedéev	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	mi	néem	,,	:djøn
5	,,	—	tedéev	,,	síier	,,	,,	,,	méi	níiem	,,	:djáueni
6	—	tel	tedéev	,,	síier	,,	,,	,,	mi	,,	,,	:djáuen
7	tiv	—	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
8	,,	—	tedíie	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	:djáuen
9	—	waal	tedéev	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	ma	,,	,,	:djøn
10	ti	—	,,	,,	séef	,,	,,	,,	mái	néem	,,	:djak

1	:shíped,	en	aa	dis)	'nt	want	te	díiv,	—	—	dhíiv
2	:shéped	„	a	dAA)	nt	„	—	—	néevdhu	—	dhéev
3	:shíped	„	„	du)	net	„	te	díiv	néevde	—	dhíiv
4	:shíped	„	„	diz)	'nt	„	„	„	néevdhu,	sév	dhaa
5	:shéped	„	„	du)	nut	„	„	díu	éidhu,	—	dhaa
6	:shíped	„	aa	dúu)	ent	„	„	díiv	néevde	—	dhíiv
7	:shíped	„	a	di)	net	„	„	„	óudhur	—	—
8	„	„	„	du)	net	„	„	„	néevdhu	—	—
9	:shíped	„	„	díi)	ent	„	—	—	níevdhu	—	dhéev!
10	„	„	ái	díent		„	te	noo	nóvdhu	—	dhéev

1 nuu dhenz!

2 nuu!

3 nuuz te dhenz!

4 nu!

5 nuu dhen!

6 nuuz!

7 nuu dhen!

8 nuu dhen!

9 — —

10 nuu!

14.	1	en	see	aa)	z	ganin	jam	te	—	mi	supé.	gíed	niit,
	2	„	síiv	a	„	of	„	„	—	—	„	gud	„
	3	„	sí	„	„	gaayin	„	„	—	mi	„	gíed	„
	4	„	séev	aa	„	„	Jéem	„	—	„	„	gíed	„
	5	„	síiv	ái	„	gee)	in	íiem	tel	—	„	„	gud
	6	„	„	a	„	gaqin	jam	te	—	„	„	„	„
	7	„	see	aa	„	gaa)	in	íiem	„	—	„	„	gíed
	8	„	séev	„	„	gaqin	íiem	„	gít	„	„	„	„
	9	—	síiv	à	„	ganin	jam	„	ee	„	„	gud	„
	10	„	sév	„	„	„	éem	„	—	—	„	„	„

	1	en	—	—	di)	net	bi	se	shaap	te	kréek	óu)	ur
	2	„	—	—	dAA)	nt	„	„	„	„	kraa	„	„
	3	„	—	—	du)	net	bi	„	„	„	kri	„	„
	4	„	—	—	„	„	béi	„	„	„	kraa	„	„
	5	„	—	—	du)	net	„	„	„	„	kroo	„	„
	6	„	—	—	díiv)	nt	bi	„	„	„	„	„	„
	7	„	—	—	du)	net	bi	„	„	„	„	„	„
	8	„	—	—	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	„	enudher	taam	díi)	ent	ju	„	sí	„	„	„	„
	10	„	—	—	díent		„	si	„	ti	„	„	óur

	1	e	bodi	—	egéen,	win	i	tóoeks	e	téen	en
	2	„	„	—	egíen,	wen	e	taaks	ebuut	dhis	—
	3	„	„	—	„	„	i	tóoeks	e	tíien	en
	4	„	„	—	egéen,	„	„	taaks	„	taan	„
	5	„	„	—	egíen,	„	éi	tóoeks	„	tíien	„
	6	„	„	—	„	„	i	„	„	„	„
	7	„	„	—	„	„	„	„	„	téen	„
	8	„	„	—	egéen,	„	„	„	„	tíien	„
	9	oni	„	oni	méev,	„	„	„	„	dhis	—
	10	„	„	—	egíen,	„	i	tooks	ebuut	„	—

	1	tídhv	—	thíq.					
	2	dhat	v	tudher.					
	3	tude	—	thíq.					
	4	tídhv	—	„					
	5	tudhv	—	„					
	6	tude	—	„					
	7	tídhv	—	„					
	8	tudhv	—	„					
	9	dhat	vn	tudhv.					
	10	„	v	„					
15.	1	it)s	v	wéek	fiel	et	—	pratez	edhuu't oní
	2	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	widhuu't —
	3	„	„	„	„	„	—	príets	edhuu't —
	4	„	„	„	„	„	ganz	préet'n	edhuu't oní
	5	„	„	wíek	fiul	„	—	préets	edhuu't —
	6	„	„	wéek	fiel	„	—	príets	edhuu't —
	7	„	„	„	„	„	—	préets	edhuu't —
	8	„	„	wíek	„	„	—	„	„ —
	9	„	„	wéek	fiel	„	—	„	widhuu't —
	10	„	„	fond	„	„	—	tjat thez	wívuu't —
	1	ríez'n	—	séev	nuu	dhen,	dhat)s	ma	last —
	2	„	vn	—	—	—	„ „	mí	„ —
	3	„	—	séev	nuu	dhenz,	„ „	ma	„ —
	4	„	vn	„	„	dhen	„ „	mí	„ —
	5	„	—	síiv	„	„	„ „	méi	„ —
	6	„	—	„	nuu	—	„ „	mí	„ —
	7	„	—	séev	nuu	dhen	„ „	„	„ —
	8	„	vn	„	„	„	„ „	mí	last —
	9	„	„	—	—	—	„ „	óoel	dhat a
	10	„	„	—	—	—	„ „	mí	last —
	1	—	—	wod,	féev	je	wil,	gafe.	
	2	—	—	„	gud	bái.			
	3	—	—	„	fíus	te	wil.		
	4	—	—	„	faa	dhu	wiil.		
	5	—	—	„	„	„	„		
	6	—	—	wód,	féev	je	„		
	7	—	—	wod,	„	te	„		
	8	—	—	„	„	dhu	wéil.		
	9	ee	te	séev,	gud	niit.			
	10	—	—	wod,	„	„			

Notes to No. 1, *Mid Yo.* cs. p. 502.

0. *what for*; the word *why* is not used in asking questions.

1. *laugh like*, so to speak laugh, this *like* is a common qualification; observe (*léik*), but (*maan*) mine. Mr. Stead says (*léik*) is universal in *m.Yo.*, but *CCR.* has (*laak*) elsewhere.—*who is to care?* apparently.

2. *nought-but*, i.e. only.—*don't us*, Mr. Stead considers (*dí*)net ez) “quite impossible anywhere in *m.Yo.*”—*likely*, the form in the text (*laaklinz*) is not common.

3. meaning: “howsoever, these—here’s tellings of the truth of the case, so just goest thou, and hold thee [*i.e.* for thyself] thou thy din, friend, and

be whisht now, while [*i.e.* until] I is [*i.e.* am, *i.e.* have] done." "hark thou, but now." CCR. says the addition of *s* to *but* is "very common elsewhere, as at Leeds." I suppose it means, "hark only now."

4. Meaning "Some of them (=those) folk (=folks) that went through the whole thing from the first their(=them) selves."

5. *youngest*, CCR. says that *young* has four sounds (juŋ juuŋ, juŋ juuŋ, the last two being uncommon, but gives no law regulating their use.—"a great lad of nine year old."—*father*, the dental (t, d) are preserved before any place where (r) stood, even after the (r) has been lost, as in the present case.—*voice*, the common form.—*marry*! this asseveration is said to be still common.

6. *woman*, (*diwem*) *dame*, is also common.—and *tell all of you straight of an end, too, without much bother, an ye'll be-at asking of her*, here (6v) is *all*, (v,duu:t) is one of the numerous forms for *without* given by CCR. in his glossary, of which he says "the dental *d* (d) forms (v,duut wi,duut) are especially employed by those who speak the dialect broadly." Obs. that this (d) is a descendant of (dh), and is not superinduced by a following (r).—*much*, (mikelz) is also used over a great portion of the north, but here (mitr) would be used.

7. *leastly*, at least; this genitive form of adverb is said by CCR. to be common in -lins, -wards, compare (ja:ri'diz, ted'ivz, sti'enedz, ut'nz, méestl'inz méestl'iz, si'ueliz, aadl'iz éudl'iz, wil'inz, bilaa'ks) etc., already, to-day, soonward, often, mostly, surely, hardly, willingly, belike, etc.—*she had (the) telling of it to me.—a two (or) three times over had she.—moot matter*, if this is the dialectal use of moot, it is hardly correct.—*how*, is it you think?

8. *how-gates*, in what manner.—*that she has to call her husband of, and the whole story*. CCR. says: "*paddy* was a name given to the almanacks, and hence note books, as (aa)l set dhat duun i ma padi I'll make a note of it, and hence came to mean the note made or any story. The word is very common, always on the tongue." The full word is (pa'dino'di), see cs. Nos. 3 and 5. In this form it is given in the Cleveland, Craven, Whitby, and Holderness Glossaries. Hence it is

widely distributed. Mr. Atkinson (Cl. Gl.) suggests its derivation from *pallinode*, or saying back, but this is not a common word, and I would rather suppose *pater-noster* to be the origin, alluding to long mumbling of prayers. This would agree with CCR.'s (*mar*i), Nos. 1, 3, 6, par. 5, also found in the Cleveland and Whitby Glossaries.

9. *she strongly asserted*, this is, however, hardly the general use of *threap*, which is not in CCR.'s Glossary, though Mr. F. K. Robinson in his Whitby Glossary has "*threap*, to assert positively, 'he threap'd me wi' liquor,' protested that I was drunk." Halliwell has "obstinately to maintain or insist upon a thing in contradiction to another, *e.g.* 'he threaped me down it was so,' Li. 'I threpe a matter upon one, I bear one in hand that he hath doone or said a thing amysse.'—Palsgrave." The Ws. *preápián* is usually explained as 'reprobare, corripere,' and Strattmann gives 'arguere,' citing Orrmin and several old works. Coleridge translates 'convict, refute.' In Li. Mr. Peacock has: "to argue, to asseverate, to insist upon, 'he's alus threapin' about summats.' 'She threap'd me down Sam was dead, but I seed him last setterda.' 'I wen't be threp by a bairn like thoo.'"—*house door*, the short (u) is often used in this word.

10. That is, "he was agate, [going on], a whining, says she, for all the world like to [or use (*siivem ez*)] same as] a sick bairn, or a lile [little] lass of [in] a tiff."

11. *daughter-in-law, came their ways through the back garth, from hanging the wet clothes out*.

13. meaning "and know you, bairn? that I ne'er learned nought no more than this of that deed up till to-day, I swear, as sure as my name's John Shepherd, and I doesn't want to do, there, now thens."

15. *gaffer*, properly grandfather, a common word of familiar address, like 'old fellow,' or 'governor'; gaffer is used for the master also.

Notes to No. 2, *South Ainsty* cs. p. 502.

In these notes to No. 2, for brevity S. means Mr. Stead, R. Mr. C. C. Robinson, and G. the latter's *Mid Yorkshire Glossary*. Unsigned pas-

sages in inverted commas refer to S.'s statements.

1. *neighbour*, S. (néi-), R. (néev-), G. (niév-). 'The sound varies considerably, but (néi-) is correct for the villages named in p. 499, No. 2; (niév-) is very uncommon even in R.'s district.'—*both*, ' (búuveth) is universal in this district.'—*news*, 'R.'s (níez) almost unknown.' R. has certainly frequently used uncommon forms and phrases, "to register their existence," which rather defeats my object, but I believe he gave no pronunciation, however rare, which he did not remember to have heard, but of course his memory may have been occasionally at fault.

2. *few*, 'R.'s (féeu) almost unknown.'—*don't we*, 'R.'s (dinet) unknown in s. Ainsty, but right for Boroughbridge (9 ne. Harrogate); R.'s (vz) 'unknown in m. Yo.'—*likely*, R. (laaklins), S. 'thinks R. must have been thinking of villages more to the w. as Wetherby; and that (léik) is universal in m. Yo.' G. (laaks, láhik, léik), the last refined. See notes to p. 513, pars. 1, 2.

3. *just*, 'R.'s (drist) never heard in the district.'—*friend*, 'R.'s (frind) heard more to the n. and e.'—*till* or (waal) S.

4. *folks*, 'We always say (fúueks), and (fúuek) without the (s) is decidedly refined.' R. had written (fúuek) first, and corrected it to (fóuek).—*whole*, R.'s (jal) 'is known, but is extremely rare in the district.'—*themselves*, '(-sen) is the only form known to us, (-sel) or (-sil) would create roars of laughter.' G. p. xxv gives both (-sel, -sen) but not (-sil).

5. *knew*, ' (naad) is used occ.'—*voice*, 'R.'s (víives) astonished me, I never heard it in my life.' R. says it's common.—*trust*, 'occ. (t.rust).'
truth, 'R.'s (tréeth) I never heard in my life; (t.ruuth) is said and occ. (t.ruuth), which is used over a very large area in m., e., and se. Yo. In some of R.'s villages (Nun Monkton (7 nw. York) and Easingwold), as I can attest having stayed there, (t.ruuth) is all but universal.'

6. *straight*. G. (stréit, striit), and occ. (stréiet). 'I never heard the last even in R.'s district.'—*bother*, in such words as *bother father*, (d) would be very uncommon indeed.'

7. *me*, 'with us (méi) is never used, our emphatic forms are invariably (mii dhii shii).'
two or three, 'our numerals are (jan, tuu, thrii, fónjer, fáiv, siks,

sev'n, éit, nain, ten, elev'n, twelv), etc.'

8. *found* or (fun).—*beast*, 'with us (bíi'st) is singular and (bíivs) plural.'

9. *swore*. 'Of course we have *threatened* here also, but it means more like *maintained persistently*, said again and again, than *said emphatically and solemnly*.' See note on cs. No. 1, par. 9, p. 514.—*eyes*, 'we have no other form but (iiz), but (éeven iiven) are right for R.'s district.'—*good*, 'R.'s (giied) unknown, (guud) general,' but S. wrote (gud).—*lane* 'or (láuen),' which is more regular.

10. *whining*, 'R.'s (waanin) is right for R.'s district, and similarly in s. Ainsty and e. or s. Holderness we have (fáin, náin, wáin, láin, káind), but in n. Ainsty and n. and w. Holderness (faan, naan, waan, laan, kaand).'
world, R.'s (waald), 'we use (waak) subs., and (work) vb.'—*little*, 's. Ainsty hardly ever uses (laat'l), I never heard it till I went to Easingwold when young.'

11. *through*, or (thruu), S.—*hanging*, 'R.'s (aqin) is quite York city.'—*clothes*, G. (tlíuez, tléuez, tlúuez, tlóuez), second most used, 'with us (tlúuez) is the only form.'—*day*, 'R.'s (diiv) for the e. and s. Ainsty (déev) is the proper form for his district.'

12. *one*, or (jaa), S.—*only*, G. (nobet, nubet), nought but. The second was unknown to S., who, however, uses (nut) for *not*.

13. *more*, 'we in s. Ainsty have almost dropped R.'s (méeer).'
sure, or (shúuer), S.—*name* ' (néevm) is more common than R.'s (niivm) s. of York.'

14. *I'm going*, (aa)z gujin) also used, S.—*home* or (úuvm), S.

Notes to No. 3, North Mid Yo. cs., p. 502.

2. *that*, CCR. at first wrote (wat) at full, considering (et) to represent *what*, which he says is commonly employed for *that* in Yo., but usually contracted to (et).—*us*, 'never (uz) in the pause, it here means we,' R.—*is not* (biient, bíez, biiz) is not, is, 'common, also at Whitby.'

3. *these* (dhóer, dhá'er) occ. used.—*hold thee thou thy din*, 'not frequently employed, but curious enough to record, I thought,' R.

5. *walking lad*, 'one that can stride

his way anywhere,' R.—*knew*, casually pronounced (nɪ).

6. *quean*, woman, without disrespect by old people, with the initial (k) omitted, like Yo. (wik) quick. See also *wecan* in Whitby Glossary.—*fleers*.—*without*, the vowel is often taken short.

7. *how should you think?* 'This is the manner the emphatic clause would be rendered, with the weight on *think*.'

8. *where*, this (wüvər) is a singular form for (wüvər), but both it and (üvər) are given in CCR.'s Glossary.—*was* (waar) or (war) either might be used.—*husband* with short (u) not (ü), also used in Mid Yo. and Malton way.—*paddynoddy*, long and tedious narration, see notes on cs. No. 1, par. 8, p. 514.

9. *house door*, (us) with a short vowel.—*lane* or (lūenin).

10. *little*, 'both forms (laal, laatl) are common all over Yo.,' CCR.

13. *nows thou thes* or (nuuz tɛ nobɛt) *nows thou only*. CCR. says 'not *knows* thou thenz, for (nōu) for *know* is not heard in peasant speech anywhere; it is a purely idiomatic phrase;' but his translation conveys no meaning. The (tɛ) might stand for *to*, and perhaps *nows to thes*, *nows to only* might be strained to have a meaning. He says the second phrase is common.

Notes to No. 4, *New Malton* cs., p. 502.

5. *youngist*, CCR. says: 'there are four pronunciations of *young* in the rural varieties, and I distinguish each readily, with (u uu, u uu) where the last two forms are not much heard. Thus (u) is looked upon as an old-fashioned pron., and when a youthful dialect speaker imitates the speech of any person accustomed to speak the vernacular at its broadest, you fail not to hear this (uu) drawled and lengthened in an exaggerated manner. In *house* the vowel is either (u) or (uu). I have the greatest hesitation in deciding on the quantity,—the long and short are so common in interchange.'

Notes to No. 5, *Lower Nidderdale* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is* or *I am* (:aa)m).—*whole thing*, both *whole* and *all* appear as (iɪl) in par. 8, but *all* is given as (ōoel) in par. 10.

6. *off-wards*.—*will not*, the *n* of *not* omitted, CCR. says 'singularly at all times.'

10. *chafing*, a heat, passion.

13. *to-day*, here (déiv), but (déev) in par. 5.

Notes to No. 6, *Washburn River* cs., p. 502.

1. *together*, CCR. marks (d) not (ɪd), but in *neither* he has marked (ɪd).—*like*, *mine*, are heard with both (ái) and (ōv), see (láiklɪnz), par. 2.

2. *because* (koz), not (kɔz). CCR. says: "I use (o) in this district, but both in this and the m.Yo. cs. No. 1, (ɔ) finds place in as sharply short a character as possible, as (ma wɔd, a)lɛv ɔd o dhɛ!) my word, I'll have hold of thee! In post, word, hold, first, burst, hurt, host, stir, her, (pɔst, wɔd, ɔd, fɔst, bɔst, ɔt, ɔst, stɔr, ɔr) [the last two I suppose before vowels], and in other words there is an undoubted and a most frequent interchange of (ɔ, o).—*grinned*, *laughed*, *jeered*.—*don't*, it seems as if (dɪvɛnt, dúvɛnt du)nɛt) were used rather promiscuously, see par. 13.

3. *of the case*, throughout this district (th, t') interchange for the def. art.—*And take hold and whisht now until I [have] done*, "a colloquial phrase, but not of any account."—CCR.

8. *and all about on it*, the *on* seems superfluous.

10. *in [a] humour*, "*fret* is only used as a verb; as a noun, it is here and elsewhere unknown," CCR.

11. *dry*, or (ɪdruft) drought, 'a term I might also have used in cs. Nos. 1 and 3, and, using (dr) for (ɪd), in the Leeds cs.' D 24, var. v. p. 374.

13. *don't* or (du)nɛt).

Notes to No. 7, *South Cleveland* cs., p. 502.

4. *I is*, or *I am* (aa)m).—*from*, CCR. says '(frɛ) is correct. There is a wide difference between (ee, ɛɛ) which are nearest allied. The (ɛɛ) seems to be associated with few words—from, to, no, etc.—and but casually.'

5. *I swear* (aa siɪər); if it were *I'm sure*, it would be (a)ziɪvɛ).

8. *beast*, CCR. says: "I see that Mr. Atkinson in his 'Cleveland Glossary' has a note on this word, saying that (biɪs) is the form the plural takes. This must be merely a local usage. In South Cleveland (biɪvɪs) is exceedingly common as the emphatic form. It has seemed to me sometimes that

people everywhere had a habit of saying (bîes on occasions, when the singular number was intended, and (bîies) when more than one was meant. Anyhow (bîies) is the commoner pronunciation, both as a singular and plural form." Out of Yo., except in sw.England, (bîies), or some form without the (t), is commonly used for the plural, the (t) being added for the singular. See p. 515, par. 8.

9. *by the* or (ba't').

10. 'pook and (pa'ek) in town dialect, but they can't be rendered by one spelling. I should write (1) *pouk*, and (2) *pawk*. They are both used as verbs —to *fret*,' CCR.

15. *my* or (ma).

Notes to No. 8, North-East Coast cs.

10. *maunge* is explained in CCR.'s Glossary as 'untoward, confused, accident,' perhaps 'mishap' would be best here.

Notes to No. 9, Market Weighton cs.

For abbreviation I use D. Dove, K. Kirkpatrick, R. Robinson, W. Wray.

0. *for*. W. insisted on trilling the (r), but this is contrary to the general habit of e.Yo., and although the final (r) was always clearly pronounced by Mr. Wray, I retain the vocal forms usually heard.—*has no doubts*, or (diz'nt dut). W. used (u₁) rather than (u), but he also used (i₁) rather than (i). Hence I consider these to be individualities. The (e) may be (ɛ) throughout, but I retain R.'s vowel, and he distinguished (e, ɛ).

1. *well* or (wái).—*you*, R. signals this as a refinement for (dhuu).—*care*, K. wrote (kíiv), which W. asserted could never have been heard.—*there*, old people say (dhíiv), younger (dhéev).

2. *know*, K. wrote (nív), which both R. and W. corrected to (nóov).—*likely*, R. considers it should be (laakli), saying that if one long ī becomes (aa), all must, and we have (taam). Nevertheless, W. says he has not heard (laakli) half a dozen times, and K. writes *leikly*, D. *likely*.

3. *however*, W. seemed to say (a'ui-ver), almost but not quite (áu), but in the wl. he said (uu), hence I retain (uu), which is most natural.—*tongue*, is what K. substituted for noise, but W. said (nóiz) is right.—*friend*, W. never heard the (d) omitted, both (frind) and (frend) are used.—

while for *till*, but (til) is also used.—*hark*, K. wrote *hack*, shewing the shortness of the vowel.

4. *I'm sure*, K. wrote *a sear*, which should be *I swore*, but probably the (z) was omitted by accident, the correction is W.'s.—*through*, W. says (thruu) is also used by the broadest speakers.—*through the whole from the first*, the first *the* is (t'), the second (d), but also, I think, suspended (d'). W. endeavoured to find a reason for the difference, and thought (t') was initial and (d') final. But in looking through Mr. Wray's tale of *Nestleton Magna*, I find plenty of (t'), but no (d'). R. says, however, that the (d) is "nicely correct," but that it is "far more of an habitual than a customary sound."

5. *nine*, (naan) has been heard from older people. K. wrote *nane*, which R. interpreted (néen), and D. wrote *nine*; W. read náin.—*knew*, so K. wrote, and R. interpreted (níu); I owe (nood) to W.—*father*, or (fadh'er) says K., but W. did not allow it; the 's of the possessive is never omitted according to W., but Mrs. Wray said it was never inserted, thus (:djon wéif) has been often heard.—*though*, W. said (dhof) was not much used, and (dhoo) more common.—*was* (waz) expresses emphatic certainty.—*so queer*, K. gives also (siv).—*trust*, K. writes *thrust*, W. gave (tr-); K. gave the variant (a)l up)od' im) I'll uphold him.—*truth*, K. wrote t'trewth, W. pron. what seemed to me as some variation of (t,tryyth), but the mouth was open for the vowel, and there was no projection of the lips.—*aye*, the pron. (ɛ'i) is due to W.—*enough*, W. observed that the verb to plough was (plíu), the subs. (plíu) or (plíef), and observed that *enow* is not known.

7. *however*. See note, par. 3.

8. *how and where and when*, K. says the expression would not be used in this neighbourhood.—*drunken*, K. wrote (dhr-), R. corrected and W. confirmed (d,r-).—*beast*, W. stated that (bîies) was pl.—*husband*, W. says (ma ma'n) is common for 'my husband.'

9. *eyes*, both (iín iiz), equally common, and (it iín, it iiz) would be used for (its iín, iiz), W.—*length*, similarly (st,renth) W.—*ground*, K. omitted (d), W. restored it; K. says that in Marshland, Var. iv, they would say (upe dh gruund).—*by the*, K.

omitted *the*, W. restored it as (d).—*lane*, K. also gives (léén), W. says (lién) is used, R. prefers 'laúen'. This word is never treated as having A', but as having O-, A-.

10. *plaining*, i.e. complaining, suffering, suggested by W., K. said (waanin) would not be used, and suggested (griem'n).—*whimpering*, suggested by W. as *fretting*, was not dialectal.

11. *her*, the pron. (óer) was given by W., who constantly uses *hor* in *Nestleton Magna*.—*through back yard*, R. says "there is no real omission of (t) here. The tongue moves for it, however it may be lost to the ear. In nearly every variety of Yo. dialect it is lost when in this position followed by (b)." It would probably be the same before any mute or sonant. But the tongue being first put in the (t) position and dwelt on, the effect on the ear is different from that of an entire absence of any (t).—*clothes*, W. had (klúv) in par. 9, R. says that the present is the refined and general form.

12. *one*, K. (wun), D. and W. (jaa).—*fine*, W. has heard (faan), but gave (féin).—*since*, D. and K. (sen), W. (sín).

13. *do you know*, K. says this phrase would not be used, R. thinks he would not have objected to (v'n noo v'e, béern).—*learned*, K. had (laand), D. (leent), W. says (léent) is the common form.—*until*, D. and K. had *awhahl*, (waal) is W.'s correction.

15. *weak fool*, K. *wake fool*, which R. says is very refined. I adopt R.'s (wéek) and W.'s (fiel).—*prates*, W. said 'not (priets)'.—*without*, K. wrote *wid-doot* or *bid-doot* (wi,duut bi,duut), observing that they seem dull, but are still heard; W. said (*widhuut bidhuut*) were more common among the peasantry.—*good-night*, R. says good bye (bái) is seldom heard, W. gives (gu'nit, tataa') as common forms, the last being used even among men.

Notes to No. 10, Holderness cs., p. 502.

1. Variants by Mr. Stead for e.Holderness. These are placed first for facility of reference, the others follow.

1. *well*, wel, *argumentative*.—*neighbour*, neeber.—*both*, bi'eth.—*neither*, niidher.

2. *folks*, fúv'eks.—*of being*, v't biin.—*not*, nat.—*likely*, le'ikli.

3. *these*, dhiiz.—*of the case*, v' kévz

no article.—*quiet*, kwé'iet.—*I have done*, a'v din.

4. *folks*, fúv'eks.—*through the whole*, thru' wol.

5. *great*, grut, n.H. griet.—*nine*, náin.—*squeaking*, skwí'ekin n.H.—*trust* and *truth*. Mr. Ward insists on (thr-), but here and in other cases I seemed to hear (tr-).

6. *straight*, sthreet.—*without*, widhuut, wívuut not heard.

7. *I* (ái) is e.H., (a) would be n.H.—*times*, táimz.—*you*, v'e.

8. *well*, wel.—*found*, fand n.H., fun e.H.

9. *sware*, swóov.—*with her own eyes*, wíth er aan iiz, iin also used but not so frequently.—*upon the ground*, up'e grund.—*coat*, kóut.—*close*, tlíevs.—*corner*, kaane.—*lane*, lién.

10. *groaning*, grienín.—*world*, wold.—*like*, léik.—*girl*, las.—*fretting*, ráv'er'n.

11. *clothes*, tlíevz.—*washing day*, weshín déev.

12. *while*, vwal peculiar to e.H.—*tea*, tiiv n.H., tii e.H.—*fine*, faan n.H.—*afternoon* eiteni'én was written.—*since*, sín.

13. *matter*, math'er.—*my*, mai e.H., maa n.H.—*name*, níem.—*neither*, niidhe, both e. and n.H.

14. *so*, sív.—*going home to supper*, gá'ín, buun wóm ti ee m'i súp'e.

15. *fond fool*, wéevk bréevnd fiel.—*chatters*, t'athez.—*without*, widhuut.—*reason*, ríevz'n n.H., riiz'n e.H.

2. Notes other than variants.

1. *you*, refined, vulgar form (jii), CCR.—*that's neither here nor there*, a common phrase, but (nóudher) belongs rather to Mid Yo., Var. i, also (dhéev) is refined form of (dhíiv), CCR.

2. *likely*, CCR. again thinks it ought to be (laakli). This is not the case in the East Riding, see p. 517, par. 2.

3. *of the case*, the insertion of the article here was probably a slip. *I've done*, (aa) always in n.H., (ái) before a vowel in e.H.

4. *those* very refined, (dhem) is the characteristic word, CCR.

8. *found* has (d) in n. but not in e.H.—*beast*, S. made (bívs) pl. only, which surprises CCR.

9. *upon the ground*, CCR. says that this (-d) for the definite article is heard as a casual form in all the other varieties, and in D 24.—*coat*, CCR. says (kóut) is thoroughly refined, and

(*kíuut*) the peasant form.—*close* *kloos*, CCR. says is also refined, but very much used; and “the refined phase is really the dominant one over that section of the East Riding nearest the coast, with its important market towns.”

10. *was*, CCR. finds the constant use of *was* a sure mark of the refined form; and that the characteristic rural types are (war wa wər wo) long or short according to circumstances.—*fretting*, CCR. considers to be quite non-dialectal.

11. *yard*, CCR. says this is refined: “when a rural liver uses *yard* alone of an enclosure, his thoughts run on the flagged and walled courts he sees in town. There are no *yards* in the country according to his idea, and even

in such compounds as stable-yard, church-yard, his tongue is far more ready to say (*stíeb*’l-géeeth, *kork-géeeth*).”

13. *Jack*, CCR. says that he did not use this in his cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, because even among the humblest classes it savours of vulgarity, except when used for children only.

14. *to supper*, CCR. objects to the omission of the personal pronoun *my* as being refined. In his own versions cs. Nos. 1 and 3 to 8, he has always inserted *my*; in cs. No. 2, York Ainsty, Mr. Stead has also omitted it.

15. *fond*, CCR. thinks this common word would convey a wrong notion, and prefers *weak*, which he would write (*wɛ’iək*).

(2) FOUR INTERLINEAR (dt. FOR NORTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

As the cs. for Var. ii were both written by CCR., and I have been fortunate enough to get four dt. from other writers, although in io., which I have been obliged to pal. from indications, or conjecturally, or by the aid of CCR.’s cs., and in one instance by the reading of another native, it seems advisable to give them also in an interlinear arrangement, as a contrast.

1. *Danby-in-Cleveland* 12 wsw. Whitby, written by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson, author of the Cleveland Glossary, with many notes and indications.

2. *Skelton-in-Cleveland* 10 e-by-s. Middlesborough, by Mr. Isaac Wilkinson, of Lingdale, Marske-by-the-Sea, with very full notes. Much of the neighbourhood is like it for ten miles. This specimen was subsequently read to me in Feb. 1887, by Mr. J. W. Langstaff, of Staighow :staɣə 3 sse. Skelton, and 12 ese. Middlesborough, a friend of Mr. Wilkinson, and at that time a student in the Wesleyan Training College, Westminster, and that is the pronunciation which I have used. I subsequently referred the chief points to Mr. T. D. Ridley, who resides at Coatham, Redcar, and he agreed with Mr. Langstaff. Mr. Wilkinson was, however, not quite satisfied with the result, but as I have not had an opportunity of hearing him pronounce, I have let my transcript of Mr. Langstaff’s stand, and only regret that I am not able to do justice to Mr. W.’s views, which he was at great pains to particularise.

3. *Whitby*, by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, the second edition of which was published by the English Dialect Society.

4. *Whitby, Malton, Pickering, and the Moors*, by Rev. John Thornton, Vicar of Aston Abbott, Aylesbury: this is also in io. and with no indications, but by the help of the others there is very little difficulty in interpreting it.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|---|------|----------|-------|------|-----|-----|------|------|---------|
| 1. 1 | <i>Danby.</i> | <i>síiv</i> | a | sez, | mɛ | ladz, | síiz | tɛ | nuu | at | a’z | riit |
| 2 | <i>Skelton.</i> | <i>sí₁</i> | a | SEE, | | ladz, | ɟɛ | síi | nuu | dhut | aa’z | riit |
| 3 | <i>Whitby.</i> | <i>síiv</i> | a | sez, | míivɛts, | | ɟɛ | sii | nuu | dhut | a | bi riit |
| 4 | <i>Moors.</i> | | | | | ladz, | ɟɛ | sii | nuu | | a)m | riit |

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|----------------|
| 1 | ɛbuut | ɟon | laat’l | las | kumín | fre)t’ | skíivl? |
| 2 | ɛbət | dhāt | líut’l | las | kumín | fre)t’ | skíivl ɟəndhv. |
| 3 | ɛbuut | dhāt | laat’l | béevn | kumín | fre)t’ | skíivl ɟəndɛr. |
| 4 | ɛbuut | t’ | laat’l | las | kumín | fre)t’ | skíivl. |

2. 1 shii)z ganen duun t' rúved dhíve t'raf t' rid jat o)t' left
 2 shí,ez gáin duun)t' róoved dhéev thrau t' ríved jat o)t' left
 3 shii)z gáin duun t' rúved dhéev thraf t' ríved jat o)t' left
 4 shii)z gáin duun t' rúved dhíve thraf t' jat o)t'

1 ond saad o)t' wíve.
 2 and saad o)t' wee.
 3 and sáid o)t' rúved.
 4 o)t'

3. 1 síier eníef t' béeen ev gand riit up ti)t' díier o)t'
 2 síier eníef t' béeen)z gíien stráit up ti)t' díier e)t'
 3 síier eníef t' béeen ez gíien stíreet up tu)t' díier o)t'
 4 síier eníef t' béeen)z gíien stíreet up ti)t' díier o)t'

1 raq uus,
 2 raq ús,
 3 raq uus,
 4 raq uus,

4. 1 wíve she)l hap'n fínd dhat d'ruk'n díief wíez'nd t'jap
 2 wéev shí)el mebi fínd dhat d'ruk'n díief wí,z'nd fele
 3 wíve she)l t'jans ti fínd dhat d'ruken díief dwí,z'nd kaal
 4 wíve shii)l mebi fínd dhat d'ruqk'n díief wí,z'nd t'jap

1 et dhe kAA :tomes.
 2 bi t' níem e :tomi.
 3 dhe kAAl :tomes.
 4 o t' níem o :tomes.

5. 1 wi AAl kenz'm vari wiil.
 2 wí₁ AA'l ken ím vari₁ wí₁l.
 3 wi AAl ken ím vari wiil.
 4 ken [nAA] vari wiil.

6. 1 wíient t' AAd t'jap síien laan e nat te dii)t ne méee,
 2 wíient t' AAd t'jap síien líen e nat ti díie)t egiien,
 3 wíient t' AAd t'jap síien tíietj e nat ti díie)t egiien,
 4 wíient t' AAd t'jap síien laan e nat ti díie)t egiien,

1 púuv thi'q!
 2 púuv thi'q!
 3 púuv thi'q.
 4 púuv kreeter!

7. 1 luks)te! íz'nt ít tríu?
 2 lí,ek! íz'nt ít t'ríu?
 3 líuk! íz'nt ít t'ríu?
 4 lííek! t'ríu?

Notes to Danby dt. No. 1.

1. *I*, (ái) emphatic, (a) unemphatic.
 2. *there*. Mr. A. having given no sound, I follow CCR.—*gate* (jat) or (jet).—*left side*, no sound given, I have used (saad) therefore, as given for other words.

3. *enough*. Mr. A. having written *enough* without explanation, I follow CCR.—*gone* (gand) or (geed).

4. *where*, no sound assigned.—*that they call* more usual than, *of the name of* (o t' níem ev), as a rule *of is* (ev) before vowels, and (o, v) before consonants.

6. *old* (ood) is also heard.

There was a schoolmaster at Castle-ton, a hamlet of Danby parish, named Bull, who was constantly called (:bəl), and the same sound occurs in other words, as bushel (bəshəl) or (bishəl).

Notes to Skelton dt. No. 2.

1. *so*, also (sôv, sív), the (v) was lost before the following (a).—*lads*, or (tjaps), commoner than (meets), which however is used, (*butiz*) is not used.—*little*, (laat'l) not usual.—*lass*, also (gəl) very short, but (las) most common.—*from the*, (fre)d'l) was also used.—*yonder*, or (jondhər), *r* not before a vowel very faint, but perceptible.

2. *going*, a distinct diphthong, not (gajin).—*road*, or (lonen), Mr. JWL used (o) distinctly, not (ə), and in ordinary speech he used (oo) in place of (oo).—*there*, the (r) was not heard except as (v).—*through* is (t,ru:f) on the sea-coast between Lofthouse (:loftəs) (12 nw. Whitby) and Whitby.—*gate*, (jat) usual, (gét) also heard, (-git) unaccented as the name of a street.—*way*, rather (róovd, lonen) road, lane.

3. *gone*, (gon) also used.

4. *may be*, or (ap'n) happen; (tjans tɐ) chance to, scarcely used.—*wizzened* used, 'shrivelled' not used; (shr-) initial, used as (shrí,vb) shrub.—*by the name of*, a common expression, but oftener (wí₁) ez ní,emd), who is named, the (wí₁) is suspicious, perhaps I did not hear right, (az)iz seems more probable.—*Tommy*, certainly not Tom nor Thomas.

5. *ken* and *know* (nóov) are distinguished as *connattre* and *savoir*.—*very*, (varɐ) sounded Scotch to Mr. L.

6. *soon learn*, these two words really rhymed by the omission of the (r). (tí,etɐ), teacher, is used at school. The (r) was scarcely audible when not before a vowel. The regular sound of *O'* was (í,v) with the deep (í₁). This Mr. L. pron. in 'moon, soon, book, look, blood, stood, plough sb. (plí,vf), tough (tí,vf), cool, tool, stool [he stole a stool (i stí,ál v stí,vl) the fracture differing, stolen (stóun)], broom [the plant], do, done, noon, spoon, floor, boot, foot, root, soot,' but 'mother, bloom, nose, brother, good, plough vb., sought, moor,' were (mudhər, bluum, nóvz, brudhər, gud, pluuv, sóut, múvɐ), 'sought' was evidently assimilated to 'bought, thought, brought, wrought, daughter,' all of which had (óu), 'coal, hole' were (kúvɐ, úvɐ).

7. *look*, the forms (lí,vks)tɐ, (u)dhv, (u)ɐv) lookest thou, look thou, look you, all occur. All the (u) were very deep, as well as all the (i), and perhaps (u₁) like (i₁) should be used generally.

Notes to Whitby dt. No. 3.

1. *I be right* for *I is right*, is strange, and doubtful. Unfortunately there is no grammar given with the Whitby Glossary, which only contains *be* in the imperative mood.

2. *going*. In his Glossary Mr. FKR. gives 'ganging, gannin, gying.' The pron. here assigned to the last word is quite conjectural, but reminds one of the S. (gwə'in).—*side*. Mr. FKR. writes (sáid) here and in his glossary, but (saad) is more regular.

3. *straight*. Mr. FKR. uses the ordinary spelling both here and in his glossary, hence I write (s,t,reet), the dental (t, d) is not marked, but must be assumed.

4. *where*, the pron. (wíuvɐ) is not given in the Glossary.

5. *carl*, explained in the Glossary as "a coarse old man." *Carlin* is the fem., and is used for a witch.

Notes to the Moors dt. No. 4.

2. *going*, spelled *gaing*, pron. assimilated to No. 3; blanks are left in many places where the sound was not given.

6. *not*, "u as in *smut*," but perhaps after all the Yo. pron. (smut) may be meant.

(3) THREE INTERLINEAR dt. FOR SOUTH-EAST YORKSHIRE.

In order to shew the close connection between the Var. iii and iv, I here give 3 dt.

1. Var. iii, *East Holderness*, pal. by AJE. from dictation of Mr. Stead, see pp. 499, No. 2, 501, No. 10, and Holderness owl. *infra*.

2. Var. iii, *Sutton* 3 ne.Hull, on the borders of E. and W. Holderness, written in glossic by Mr. Edward French, of the Lead Works, Hull, long resident, native of Farndon (see D 28, p. 452, last line), and pal. by AJE.

3. Var. iv, *Goole and Marshland*, written by the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Thompson, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, formerly curate in that neighbourhood, and corrected in pal. from his dictation by AJE.

1. 1 *East Holderness*. *siv* a *séev*, *múets*, *ju* *sii* *nuu* *et* *aa`z*
 2 *Sutton*. *su* *aa* *SEE*, *meets*, *je* *sii* *nuu* *dhat* *aa,z*
 3 *Goole*. *saa* a *SEE*, *méets*, *ji* *sii* *nuu* *et* *aa,z*

- 1 *réit* *ebuut* *dhat* *laat`l* *las* *kum`in* *fre* *skúel* *jondher*.
 2 *riit* *ebuut* *dhat* *laat`l* *las* *kum`in* *fre* *skúel* *jondher*.
 3 *riit* *ebuut* *dhat* *laat`l* *gol* *kum`in* *free* *t`* *skuul* *jonde*.

2. 1 *she`z* *bun* *duun* *rúued* *dhéev* *thruuf* *red* *jat* a *left*
 2 *she`z* *gan`in* *duun* *t`* *raad* *dhéier* *thraf* *red* *jat* *on* *te* *left*
 3 *shi`z* *go`in* *duun* *t`* *raa`vd* *dhíiv*, *thraf* *t`* *red* *jat* *o`t`* *left*

- 1 *and* *sáid* *e* *wee*.
 2 *ond* *sáid* *e`t`* *wee*.
 3 *and* *sáid* *e`t`* *wee*.

3. 1 *síier* *uníief* *béem`z* *gíien* *sthreet* *up* *ti* *díier* *e*
 2 *síier* *uníu`* *t`* *tjaald* *ez* *gan* *sthreit* *up* *te* *díier* *e`t`*
 3 *síuer* *uníu`* *t`* *béem`z* *gon* *street* *up* *te`t`* *dúuer* *e,t`*

- 1 *raq* *uus*.
 2 *raq* *uus*.
 3 *raq* *uus*.

4. 1 *wíiv* *she`l* *me`bi* *find* *dhat* *dhruq`n* *diif* *shriv`ld* *fele*
 2 *wéier* *she`l* *tjons* *fáind* *dhat* *druq`n* *díief* *shriv`ld* *fele*
 3 *wíiv* *shi`l* *me`bi* *find* *dhat* *druq`n* *díief* *wiz`nd* *fele*

- 1 *e* *níiem* *e* :*tomes*.
 2 *e`t`* *níim* *e* :*tomes*.
 3 *e`t`* *néem* *e* :*tomes*.

5. 1 *wi* *aal* *nAA* *im* *vari* *wiil*.
 2 *wi* *aal* *nAA* *im* *vari* *wiil*.
 3 *wi* *aal* *nAA* *im* *vari* *wiil*.

6. 1 *wíient* *AAD* *tjap* *síien* *tiitj* *e* *nut* *ti* *dii* *it* *egíien*,
 2 *wíient* *t`* *AAD* *tjap* *síin* *tíietj* *e* *nat* *ti* *dii* *it* *egíien*,
 3 *wo`nt`* *óud* *tjap* *síien* *tíietj* *e* *not* *te* *duu)t* *egíien*,

- 1 *púuer* thiq!
 2 *púuer* thiq!
 3 *púue* thiq!

7. 1 *liæk* ez'nt it thruu?
 2 *liæk* iz'nt it thriu?
 3 *liæk* iz'nt it triu?

Notes to East Holderness dt. No. 1.

1. *mates*, (méerts) is refined.—*right*, also (riit).—*lass*, (gjel) often used.

2. *gunny*, *ban*, *boun*, and *gai* in are used.—*gate*, or (giit).—*side*, (saad) in n. Holderness.

4. *may be*, more usual than *chance* to (tjans ti).

Notes to Sutton dt. No. 2.

4. *drunken*, probably a slip for (dhruqk'n), compare (thriu) true.

Notes to Goole dt. No. 3.

1. *right* or (ráit), which should probably be (réit).—*girl*, this (gol) has not been given me elsewhere.—*school* (skuul) is probably an erroneous reminiscence; Dr. Thompson had not been at the place for many years.

2. *gate* or (giit).

3. *straight*, here (street), sometimes (stráit), as well as (druqk'n, triu), are probably errors, the dentality of (tr, dr) not having been noticed.

(4) VAR. i, MID Yo. cwl.

Complete wl. for D 30, Var. i *a*, or Mid Yorkshire, written in Glossic by CCR., pal. and arranged as a cwl. by A. J. Ellis. "The rule is very general that when a word has *ie* for vowel, the refined form is *ée*, and the latter is at least in equal and very often in most use." At the end of a word the letters (-d, -r) are heard only before a following vowel. CCR. says the intonation is "a drawl in individual instances, but by rule easy and deliberate, full of body, slow going, firm and clear in enunciation; sentences run short, and the way in which words are mouthed is pregnant with meaning to an accustomed ear. There is hesitancy at times, but it is associated with purpose, and cannot be regarded as a defect. The frequent use of the dental t, d, as it were, thickens the speech in a very striking way."

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *béek* *bîek*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 6 *méerd* *mîed*. 7 *sîek* *séek*. 8 *ev*. 9 *bîéev* *bîiév*. 10 *ôv*. 11 *môv*. 12 *sóov*. 13 *nôv*. 14 *d̥róov*. 15 *óov*. 16 *dôen*. 17 *lôv* *lûv*. 18 *kîek* *kéek*. 19 *tîel*. 20 *liem* [often (*liém*)]. 21 *nîem*. 22 *téem*. 23 *sîem*. 24 *sham*. 25 *méev*. 26 *wéev*. 27 *nîev*. 28 *éev+r*. 31 *liæt*. 32 *béerd* *-îv*. 33 *réev* *d̥v-r* *-îv*. 34 *last*. 35 *óovl*. 36 *thóov* *thôv*. 37 *tlóov*.

A: 39 *kam*. 40 *kém* *kîem*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *an-d*. 44 *land*. 46 *kanel*. 47 *wand̥v-r*. 48 *saq*. 50 *taqz*. 51 *man*. 52 *wan*. 53 *kan*. 54 *want*. 55 *as*. 56 *wesh* *wéish*. 57 *as*.

A: or O: 58 *frév* [(fre) before a vowel]. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *emaq*. 63 *t̥raq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *saq*. 66 *thaq*.

A'- 67 *gaq* *gan* *géev*. 69 *néev* *nîv* *nûv*. 70 *tév*. 71 *wéev*. 72 *wév*. 73 *séev*. 74 *twéev* *twîv*. 75 *st̥réek* *st̥ríek* *st̥ríuék*. 76 *téerd*. 77 *læd*. 78 *óov*. 79 *óoen* *óovnd*. 80 *alid̥v*. 81 *lûven* *lûvenin*. 83 *mûven*. 84 *méev-r*. 85 *séev-r*. 86 *êts* *wots*. 87 *tléevz* *tlîevz*. 88 *tléevth*. 89 *béevth* *bîevth*. 90 *blóov*. 91 *móov*. 92 *nóov*. 93 *snóov*. 94 *króov*. 95 *thróov*. 96 *sóov*. 97 *sóovl*. 98 *nóoven*. 99 *thróoven*. 100 *sóoven*.

A': 101 jak. 102 as aks. 104 réeəd. 105 réeəd. 106 bréeəd. 107 léef lé-ef léuef. 108 díuef. 109 léou. 110 nat nit. 111 óut. 112 éeəl. 113 jal wol. 114 méel. 115 éeem jam íiem jíem. 116 wéeem. 118 béem. 121 géem. 122 néem. 123 nóut [used]. 124 stéem. 125 uueeli. 126 íou-r. 127 éeəs éeəst. 128 [use] dhém dhím em. 129 géest. 130 búet. 131 gúet. 132 jat. 133 réeet. 134 éeth. 135 tléeuth, tlut [rag].

Æ- 138 fíue-de-r -aa-. 139 drív. 140 éeəl agulstóen [hailstone]. 141 néeəl. 142 sníel snéel sníel. 143 tíel téel. 144 egíen. 145 sl en. 146 méem. 147 bréem. 148 fée-r. 149 blíez. 150 líest. 151 let [not much used]. 152 wat-r. 153 seíedz.

Æ: 155 thak. 157 réeuv'n ríev'n. 158 efte-r. 160 íg. 161 díu. 163 líed. 164 míe. 165 síed sed. 166 míed méed. 167 díel déel. 168 ta-le. 169 wen wéin. 170 aavist. 171 baali. 172 gres ges gəs gras. 173 waa. 174 esh esh. 175 fast. 178 nit nat. 179 wat. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 síie. 183 tíietj. 184 líied. 185 ríied. 186 bríedth bríedth bríed. 187 líiev. 188 níie néei. 189 wéi. 190 kíiv. 191 jíiel. 192 míien. 193 tlíien. 194 uní oní. 195 muni moní. 196 waa-r. 197 tpiiz tpiéz. 199 blíiet bléet. 200 wíiet. 201 jíiedhen. 202 íiet jíiet.

Æ': 203 spíetj spíetj. 204 díed díid. 205 thríied. 206 rid. 207 níedel níedel. 210 tléez. 211 gréez. 212 wéi. 213 éeə-de-r. 215 tóut. 216 díel. 217 íietj. 218 shíep shéip. 219 slíep sléip. 221 fíie-r. 222 ée-r. 223 dhíie-r. 224 wíue-r wíie-r. 225 flísh flésh. 226 méeeet. 227 wit wíet. 228 swíet. 229 bríeth bríeth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brek. 233 spíiek. 234 níied. 235 wíuev. 236 fíiever. 237 tpiibíien. 238 íd. 239 séeəl síel. 240 léem líen. 241 réem ríen. 242 twéem twíen. 243 pléez plíiv [only in ref. sp., colloquially (líek) laik]. 246 kwíin [queen]. kwíen [queen]. 247 wíien. 248 míie-r. 249 wíie-r. 250 swíie-r. 251 míiet. 252 kíetl. 253 níetl. 254 le-de-r. 255 íth-r.

E: 257 íd. 258 síeg seg. 259 wídj. 260 léev líe líg [last much used in pres. t.]. 262 wíiv. 264 jéel jíel. 265 stréit. 267 jíeld. 268 íldíst. 270 bdes bels, bíli belí. 272 elm. 273 mín. 274 bíik. 275 [stíik] only used]. 276 thíik. 277 dríntj. 278 wentj wíntj. 280 elíev-ven -iv-. 281 lenth [often (leqth)]. 282 stréenth [often (streəth)]. 283 məri mari. 284 thresh. 285 kris. 286 arv. 287 búezem. 288 lít.

E'- 289 jéi jíi. 290 éi íi. 291 dhéi dhíi. 292 méi míi. 293 wéi wíi. 294 fíid. 295 bríed bríed. 296 bííev bííiv. 298 híil híel. 299 gríin. 300 kíep kíip. 301 jíie-r. 302 míet míit. 303 swíet.

E': 305 íi éi. 306 íit éit. 307 níi néi naa. 308 níed. 309 spíed. 310 íel íil. 311 tén. 312 íie-r. 313 aaken. 314 jíied. 315 fíiet [with long initial sound to the fracture, see 595]. 316 níist níiest níest.

EA- 317 fléez. 319 gíep. 320 kée-r.

EA: 321 sóov síid. 322 íaf. 323 fíout féet. 324 íet. 325 wíiek wíook. 326 óoud úued. 327 bóuld bóuld. 328 kóoud. 329 íóould íóoud. 330 óoud od. 331 [form used] seld síld [sometimes with final t.]. 332 [form used] teld tíld. 333 kíeef kóeef. 334 úeef óeef. 335 jal úel. 336 fíueel. 337 wáel. 340 jéed. 342 éeem. 343 waam. 345 daa-r. 346 gíet.

EA'- 347 jíied. 348 íi [(i)in] gen. pl., but often sg.]. 349 fíie.

EA': 350 díed [ref. (díd)]. 351 líied [ref. (líd)]. 352 rid. 353 bríied [ref. (bríd)]. 354 shíeef shaav shaft. 355 díuef. 356 líuef. 357 dhuf. 359 níiebe-r, neebe-r. 360 tíiem. 361 bíien béem. 362 slé. 363 tpiiep tpiép. 365 níie-r. 366 gríiet. 367 thríet [ref. (thrit)]. 368 díueh. 369 sléee slíe slóov. 370 róov. 371 stréev stríev stríuev.

EI- 372 éi éeí éei éi [very much used]. 373 dhéez. 374 níie néev. 375 réeez réez. 376 béet.

EI: 377 stéek. 378 wéeek. 379 éeəl. 381 swéem swíen. 382 dhée-r.

EO- 383 síven síeven. 384 íven íeven. 385 bíníiedh oníiedh. 386 jóu. 387 níe.

EO: 388 mílk míelk mElk [all very short]. 389 jook. 390 súd síud. 393 bíuud vúud. 396 waak work [ɜ̃ (r)]. 397 sword sword sərd [ɜ̃ (r)]. 398 stéev staa. 399 brit. 400 jíienest. 401 jíien. 402 laan. 403 faa-r. 404 staa-r. 405 éeeth. 406 jíieeth. 407 faadin [the (d) never dental].

EO'- 411 *thrie trîe*. 412 *shîe shéi*. 413 *dil dîvel*. 414 *flîi*. 415 *lii*.
416 *dîue-r*. 417 *tjîue tjáu*. 418 *brîue*. 420 *fôue-r*. 421 *foti*.

EO': 423 *thîi*. 424 *rîief*. 425 *lit*. 426 *fêit*. 427 *béi*. 428 *séi sîe*.
430 *frînd*. 431 *bîue-r*. 432 *fôurt*. 433 *brist briest*. 434 *bet bit*. 435 *jôu*.
436 *trîue*. 437 *trîeth*.

EY'- 438 *dîi*. EY: 439 *trîust*.

I'- 440 *wik*. 441 *sîev*. 442 *aavin*. 443 *fraade*. 444 *sjaal*. 445 *aa*
aan [latter commoner]. 446 *nîn naan*. 448 *dîueuz*. 449 *gât*. 450 *tîezde*.
451 *sôu*.

I: 452 *aa*. 454 *wîjt*. 455 *lig*. 457 *mit*. 458 *nîr n'et*. 459 *rit*. 460
wêit. 461 *lit*. 462 *sîr s'et*. 464 *wîjt*. 465 *sîjt* [but (*saak saik*) are more
used]. 466 *tjaald* [when read, *béeen* used in speaking]. 467 *waald*. 468
tjaldrin [when read, *béeenz* used in speaking]. 471 *tîue-r*. 472 *shriqk*
sraqk. 473 *blind* [ref. (*blaand*)]. 474 *raand* [spoken of as *poel* (*piel*)]. 475
wind. 476 *bind* [ref. (*baand*)]. 477 *fin*. 478 *grând* [ref. (*graand*)]. 479
wind [ref. (*waand*)]. 481 *fîgge*. 484 *dhis*. 485 *thisel*. 486 *jîst*. 487
jîstede justede. 488 *jît*.

I'- 490 *baa*. 491 *saa see*. 493 *draav*. 494 *taam*. 496 *aaren*. 497
raaz. 498 *raat*. 499 *biétel* [when read, otherwise *tlok*, *blak tlok* clock,
black clock].

I: 500 *laak*. 501 *waad*. 502 *faav*. 503 *laaf*. 504 *naaf*. 505 *waaf*.
506 *wamen*. 507 *wîmin*. 508 *maal*. 509 *waal*. 511 *waan*. 512 *spaa-r*
[ref. (*spéie-r*)]. 513 *waa-r*. 514 *aas*. 515 *waaz*. 516 *wîzdem*. 517 *jîue*.

O'- 520 *huu*. 521 *fîaal*. 522 *open upren*. 523 *êep*. 524 *wold*.

O: 526 *kuf kîief*. 527 *bôut*. 528 *thôut*. 529 *brôut*. 530 *rôut*. 531
dôute-r *déete-r*. 532 *kânel*. 533 *dal*. 534 *nael*. 536 *gônd goond*. 537
muuld muud. 538 *wad*. 539 *bôul*. 540 *olîn*. 542 *boli*. 545 *op up*. 547 *bîamal*.
548 *tord* [ref. (*faad*)]. 549 *uud*. 550 *wod*. 551 *storm* [ref. (*stœm*)]. 552
kôorn kâuen. 553 *ôorn ûuen*. 554 *kros krus*.

O'- 555 *shîe shuun* [the last both sg. and pl.]. 556 *tuv*. 557 *tîue*. 558
lîek lûk. 559 *mûde-r*. 561 *blîem*. 562 *mîen*. 563 *munde*. 564 *sîen*.
565 *neerz*. 566 *ude-r*.

O: 569 *bûk*. 570 *tûk*. 571 *gîed* [Mr. Stead says he has never heard
gîed in Mid Yo. CCR. gives it in 30 i c, 30 ii a, b, in 30 iii a, see p. 496.
Mr. Jackson Wray knew it, but as very rare]. 572 *blîed*. 573 *lîied*. 574
brîed. 575 *stîed*. 576 *wadenzde*. 577 *blîef blîe*. 578 *plîef plîe*
plîut plîeut. 579 *enîet*. 580 *tuf tîet*. 581 *sôut*. 582 *kâel*. 583 *tîel*.
584 *stîel*. 585 *brîem* [when read, otherwise 287, meaning a sweeping broom].
586 *dœn*. 587 *dûen*. 588 *nîen*. 589 *spîen*. 590 *flîe-r* [casually *flue-r*].
591 *mûue-r*. 592 *swee-r*. 593 [(*mîen*) used]. 594 *bîet*. 595 *fîet* [with
short initial vowel to the fracture, see 315]. 596 *rîet*. 597 *sîet*. 598 *sîedh*.

U'- 599 *ebîen ebuen*. 600 *lîev luv*. 601 *fuul*. 602 *suu*. 603 *kum*.
605 *sîn sîen*. 606 *dîue-r* [casually *dûe-r*]. 607 *bute-r*.

U: 608 *ugli*. 609 *ful*. 610 *wul*. 611 *bulek*. 612 *sum*. 613 *draqk*.
614 *uund*. 615 *pund*. 616 *grund*. 617 *suund*. 618 *wuund*. 619 *fân*.
620 *gruund*. 621 *wun*. 622 *unde-r*. 625 *tûq*. 626 *uqe-r*. 628 *nun*. 629
sûn. 630 *wun*. 631 *thorzde*. 632 *îp*. 633 *kîp*. 634 *thraf thrîef*. 635
woth. 636 *fodêr*. 637 *tûsk*. 638 *busk*. 639 *dust*.

U'- 640 *kuu*. 641 *uu*. 642 *dhuu*. 643 *nuu*. 645 *dîev duv*. 646 *buu*.
647 *ôul* [occ. (*uul*)]. 648 *uue-r*. 649 *thuuzen*. 653 *bat bud*.

U': 654 *shruud*. 655 *fuul*. 656 *réem rîem*. 657 *braun*. 658 *duun*.
659 *tuun*. 660 *bûue-r*. 661 *shûue-r*. 662 *ûz*. 663 *uus*. 664 *luus*. 665
muus. 666 *ûzben*. 667 *uut*. 668 *pruud*. 669 *wkuuth*. 672 *suuth*.

Y'- 673 *mîjt mîkel*. 674 *dîd* [initial *d* slightly dental]. 676 *lii laa*.
677 *drua*. 678 *dœn*. 679 *kork* [? r], ref. (*tjotj*). 680 *bozi* [when read,
(*tjaq*) *throng* in speech]. 682 *laatel laal*.

Y: 683 *mîdj*. 684 *brig*. 685 *rig*. 686 *baa*. 687 *faat flit*. 688 *bild*.
690 *kaand*. 691 *maand*. 693 *sîn*. 696 *both*. 697 *bori*. 698 *morth* [? r].
699 *riit*. 700 *waas* [ref. (*wos*)]. 701 *fost*. 703 *pît*. 704 *viksen*.

Y'- 705 *skaa*. 706 *waa* [but never as an interrogative, for which (*wat fêr*)
what for is used; (*wâre*) *whya*, is a form of assent mostly, but is also used

interrogatively]. 707 *thotien*, *thrit-*, *throt-*. 708 *aar* [meaning perhaps (*aa-v-r*)].

Y: 709 *faar* [see 708]. 711 *laas*. 712 *maas*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 *bad*. 714 *lad*. 715 *pad*. 716 *adel*. 717 *djéerd*. 718 *tréerd* *tried*. 719 *tadpónd*. 721 *fag*. 722 *dráen*. 723 *djáeri*. 724 *bóoeld*. 725 *séel siel*. 727 *djam*. 728 *sham*. 729 *iréem irém*. 730 *kan-te-r*. 731 *wanten*. 733 *skaa-r*. 734 *daan*. 735 *smash*. 736 *las*. 737 *mêut*. 738 *préent priet*. 740 *wéev wíev*. 741 *míez*. 742 *líezi*.

E. 743 *skríem*. 744 *míezelz*. 745 *tjiet*. 746 *bríedh*. 747 *indiv-e-r*. 748 *unfligd*. 750 *beg*. 751 *port* [[?] (*póort*)].

I. and Y. 753 *tikel*. 754 *pig*. 755 *fílbet*. 756 *shrimp* [casually (*srimp*)]. 757 *taani*. 758 *gól* [rarely used, replaced by 736]. 759 *fít*.

O. 761 *léed*. 762 *éekem*. 763 *réem*. 764 *kodel*. 766 *môidéd* [more used in the n. and sw. of Yo.]. 767 *nôis náis*. 768 *kôuk*. 769 *móudiwaap* *móudiwéep* *móudiwéep*. 771 *fond*. 772 *ban-faa-r* *bon-faa-r*. 773 *doqki* [^d] slightly dental]. 774 *páueni*. 775 *buubi*. 777 *shop*. 778 *efed eféd*. 779 *óets*. 780 *djasel*. 781 *budhe-r*, *bo-*. 782 *padhe-r*. 783 *puult-ri*. 784 *buuns*. 785 *loondj*. 786 *duus*. 787 *suus*. 788 *fluut*. 789 *rou*. 790 *guun*.

U. 792 *skwabel*. 793 *úg*. 794 *djüg*. 795 *shrug*. 799 *skül*. 800 [not used, but the part. *skulling* is (*sk-d-in*)]. 802 *ram*. 803 *djamp*. 805 *kradz*. 807 *pus*. 808 *put*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 *jabel jibel*. 810 *fíes*. 811 *plíes*. 812 *léers líes*. 813 *búcken*. 814 *míesen*. 815 *faks*. 816 *fíed*. 817 *radish*. 818 *iédj*. 819 *riédj*. 821 *diléer-*. 822 *méev*. 823 *béev*. 824 *tjéev-r*. 825 *wéevf*. 826 *iúgel*. 827 *iúge-r*. 828 *éev-gíe*. 829 *géeen*. 830 *tríen tréevn*. 831 *distríen*. 832 *méev-r*. 833 *péev-r*. 834 *shéev shéev*. 835 *ríezen*. 836 *síezen*. 837 *líevsh líes*. 838 *tríet*. 839 *béevl bíel*. 840 *tjéevmør*. 841 *tjans*. 842 *plaqk*. 843 *bransh*. 844 *trínsh*. 845 *éevnshent*. 846 *tjanle-r*. 847 *déevndje-r* *díevndje-r*. 848 *tjéevndj*. 849 *stréevndje-r* *-íe-* [vowel occ. inordinately long]. 850 *dans*. 851 *aant* [^t] distinct]. 852 *japren*. 853 *baagen*. 854 *baril*. 855 *karit*. 856 *péet*. 857 *kíes*. 858 *bríes*. 859 *tíes*. 860 *píest*. 861 *tíest*. 862 *síevf séevf*. 863 *tjéevf tjíevf*. 864 *bikos* *ekos*. 865 *fóet*. 866 *páuv-r*.

E.. 867 *téie tíie*. 868 *djéev*. 869 *víevl*. 870 *bíeti*. 871 *egrii egríe*. 872 *tjéevf tjíif*. 873 *fríe*. 874 *rién*. 875 *féeent*. 876 *díenti*. 877 *eev-r*. 878 *saléri*. 879 *fíemeevl*. 880 *igzam-pel*. 881 *sins*. 882 *panzi*. 883 *daa-andilaa-n*. 884 *printis*. 886 *fríev-r*. 887 *tlaadji*. 888 *saaten*. 889 *síes*. 890 *bíes* [said of cattle]. 891 *fíest* [^t often omitted, especially in the first part of a compound]. 892 *nívi*. 893 *fláuv-r*. 894 *disíev*. 895 *risíev*. 896 [not used].

I.. and Y.. 897 *dílit*. 898 *naas*. 899 *níes*. 900 *préev*. 901 *faan*. 902 *maan*. 903 *daan* [not used in common talk]. 904 *vaalet*. 905 *raa et*. 906 *vaape-r*. 907 *traas*. 908 *advaa-s*. 909 *bríez*. 910 *djá s*, *djásin* [last both sg. and pl.]. 911 *sístren*. 912 *raas*.

O.. 913 *kúuetj*. 914 *bráetj*. 915 *stíev staf*. 916 *vnjen*. 917 *rúevg*. 918 *fíebel*. 919 *úintmint*. 920 *póint páint*. 921 *ekwíent*. 922 *bushíl*. 923 *móis-t*. 924 *tjóois*. 925 *vóis váis*. 926 *spóil spáil*. 927 *truqk*. 928 *uuns*. 929 *kuv-kumv-r*. 930 *lóoin láuin*. 931 *djagle-r*. 932 *emuu-nt*. 933 *trónt*. 934 *buunti*. 935 *kvn-tri*. 936 *ruunt* [same as *fount*]. 937 *kok*. 938 *kóoeve*. 939 *tláues*. 940 *kúvet*. 941 *fúel*. 942 *bítje-r*. 943 *tutj*. 944 *eluu*. 945 *vuuv*. 946 *móil*. 947 *bôd búil*. 948 *buul*. 950 *sape-r*. 951 *kápul*. 952 *káves*. 953 *kazen*. 954 *kúshin*. 955 *duut*. 956 *kúve-r*. 957 *implóov*. 959 *konvéev*.

U.. 960 *kíev*. 961 *gríijil gríujil*. 962 *míuz*. 963 *kwaajet*. 964 *síujit*. 965 *óil úil*. 966 *fríet fríet*. 967 *síet síet*. 968 *óois-te-r*. 969 *síev-r*. 970 *djast djist*. 971 *fíet fíet*.

(5) VAR. ii, NORTH-EAST Yo. cwl.

D Danby, Var. iia, from a wl. in io. written by Rev. J. C. Atkinson, of Danby Parsonage, Yarm, author of the Cleveland Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.
 W Whitby, Var. iib, from a wl. in io. written by the late Mr. F. K. Robinson, author of the Whitby Glossary, pal. conjecturally by AJE.

It will be evident from this wl. that the two forms of D 30, Var. iia and b, are practically identical, and that the two lists really supplement each other. And again comparing this double list with the cwl. for Var. ia, Mid Yo., pp. 523-6, and remembering that in that dialect (éev) had a corresponding form (iiv), we see that the only real difference of that from this, is that this has (iiv) without in general any alternative form as (éev, ee-).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 W biiek. 4 DW tak. 5 DW mak. 6 DW mied. 7 W siiek. 8 DW ev, W ee. 9 D biéiv. 10 D oo. 18 W kiiek. 19 DW tiel. 20 DW liem. 21 W niem. 22 W tiem. 23 DW siem. 24 W sham. 25 W miem. 27 W niév. 28 D iiv. 31 W liiet. 32 D bath. 33 DW reedher, W réevdhe. 36 D [(gi vgen) used], W thoo. A: 39 W kam. 40 DW kiem. 41 W theqk. 46 W kan'l. 50 DW teqz. 54 D want. 55 DW as. 56 DW wesh. 57 D as. A: or O: 58 D fre frev. 59 D lam. 60 DW laq. 61 W emaq. 62 W s,traq. 63 W thraq. 64 W raq. 65 DW saq. 66 D waq.

A'- 67 W gan. 69 DW niiv. 70 W tiiv. 71 W wiiv. 72 DW wiiv. 73 DW siiv. 74 DW twiiv. 76 W tiiv. 78 DW aa. 79 W aan. 80 W aliiv. 81 D lonin loonin, W liuvin. 84 DW méev. 85 DW séev. 86 D wots, W wots. 87 DW kliev. 88 W kliev. 89 DW biiveth, D beeth. 90 DW blaa. 91 W maa. 92 W naa. 93 DW snaa. 94 W kraa. 96 W saa. 98 W naan. 99 W thraan. 100 W saan.

A': 101 DW jak. 102 DW aks. 104 W riiv. 105 DW reed [written rāde]. 106 D breed, W briiv. 107 W liiv. 108 DW daf. 110 W nat. 111 D out. 113 D whiiv [(wh) whistled], W iiv. 115 DW iiv jam, D eem. 118 DW biiv. 121 W giiv. 122 D neen, W niiv. 124 DW stiiv. 125 D onli. 126 W iiv+r. 127 W iiv. 128 D dhiiv, W dhiv. 129 W giivest. 130 W biiv. 131 W giiv. 132 D et, W iiv. 133 DW reet. 135 W klieveth. 136 DW oudhe+r.

Æ- 138 W faadh+r. 140 D ag'l. 142 D snail [spelled sniiv], W snaal. 144 W egiiv. 145 D sliv. 147 [harn used]. 149 DW bliiv. 150 W léevst liiv. 152 D wota, W wate+r [written wat-ther, and said to be 'as near the pron. as one can come']. Æ: 155 DW thak. 157 W riiv'm. 158 D efte+r, W efth+r. 163 W [ligg'd used]. 167 DW diiv. 172 W gres. 174 DW esh. Æ'- 186 W t')briid. 187 W liiv. 188 W néi. 191 W [whole used]. 194 DW oni. 195 moni. 200 W wiiv. 203 W spiv. 205 W thriid. 206 D reed, W red. 215 W tout. 218 D ship. 224 W iiv+r wiv. 226 D meest, W miiv. 228 W swiiv. 229 W briiveth.

E- 232 D briik, W briik. 233 W spiv. 234 W niiv. 235 W wiiv. 236 W iiv+r. 240 W [ligg'd used]. 242 W twiiv. 246 W wiv [also without (k), (wiv) a quean or female, inoffensive]. 248 DW miiv+r. 249 W wiiv+r. 250 DW swiiv+r. 251 W miiv. E: 258 D seg. 268 W [audest = oldest used]. 270 W belesiz [bellows]. 272 W aam. 280 W iiv'n. 284 DW thresh. 286 D ar. 287 D biivem. E': 313 W aaken. 314 DW iiv. 316 D neksen, W [neist uncertain, possibly (nist)].

EA- 319 DW giiv. EA: 322 D laf. 323 DW fiv. 326 DW aad. 328 DW kaad. 329 D fiv. 330 DW id. 331 DW [silled used]. 332 W [toll'd used]. 333 DW kaaf. 334 DW aaf. 335 D aa. 337 D waa. 340 D [garth used]. 342 D eem, W éeem. 343 D waam. 345 W daa. 346 DW giiv. 347 D jat jet. EA'- 347 DW iiv. 348 W [eyen? (ain)]. EA': 350 W diiv. 351 W liiv. 352 W riiv. 353 DW briiv. 354 D shaf.

355 DW *düef*. 356 W *lüef*. 357 W *dhöf*. 360 W *tüem*. 363 W *tjüep*.
365 W *naa*. 366 D *grüet*. 367 D *thriit*, W *thrüet*. 368 W *düeth*. 370
DW *rüv* [D written *rear*]. 371 W *strüv*.

EI- 372 D *äi*. 374 D *nüv*. EI: 377 D *stüik*, W *stüek*. 378 W
wüek. EO- 383 W *süev'n*. 384 W *üev'n*. 385 W *binüedh*. 386 W
jou. EO: 393 W *büent*. 397 W *süued*. 399 W *briit*. 400 W *jenest*.
401 W *jen*. 402 W *laan*. 406 W *jeth*. EO'- 412 W *shüv*. 413 D
diiv'l, W *düev'l*. 414 DW *fii*. 415 DW *lii*. 417 [D *chig* used, W *chow*
(*tjón*)]. 420 D *fónv+r*. EO': 423 DW *thii*. 425 DW *liit*. 430 DW
fründ. 433 D *brüest*, W *briist*. 434 DW *bet*. 435 D *jou*. 436 D *triu*.
EY- 438 DW *dii*. EY: 439 W *trüst*.

I- 442 W *äivn*. 448 W *dhüez*. 449 W *git*. I: 455 W *lig*. 458
DW *niit*. 459 DW *riit*, W *réit*. 464 W *wilk*. 465 DW *sáik*, D *siken*.
468 DW *tjilde+r*. 471 W *time+r*. 475 D *wáind*. 476 DW *bind*. 477
D *find*. 478 W *gründ*. 479 D *wind*. 481 W *figv+r*. 486 W *jest*. 487
W *jesthede*. 488 *jit*. I'- 494 W *taam*. 496 D *áiren*. I': 505 D
waaf. 508 D *maal*.

O- 521 W *fáuel*. 522 DW *op'n*. O: 527 W *bóut*. 528 DW *thóut*.
529 DW *bróut*. 530 DW *róut*. 531 D *datte+r* [so also (*slafte+r*) slaughter],
W *datte+r*. 532 W *káuel*. 533 D *dad*. 534 W *áuel*. 540 D *olen*. 547
W *báued*. 548 W *fáued*. 549 W *áued*. 550 D *wad*. 552 DW *káuen*.
553 W *áuen*. O'- 555 W *shüen* [shoes]. 558 D *lüek*, W *kuk*. 559 D
mudhe+r. 562 W *müen*. 564 W *süen*. O': 569 DW *büek*. 570 W
tiuk. 572 D *blad*, W *blüed*. 575 DW *stüed*. 577 D *büef*. 578 D *plüef*,
DW *plüf*. 579 DW *enüef enü*. 580 D *tüef*. 582 W *küel*. 584 W *stéuel*
[? *stüel*]. 585 W *briem*. 586 DW *düv*. 587 W *düen*. 588 W *nüen*.
589 DW *spüen*. 590 D *flüv+r*. 592 DW [*tswéev*] used]. 593 D *mast*.
594 W *büet*. 595 W *füet*. 596 DW *rüet*. 597 W *süet*.

U- 600 D *lav*. 602 W *sü*. 606 DW *düv+r*. 607 DW *bütte+r* [W.
writes '*butther* pron. like *th* in *thus*,' all an error]. U: 608 D *ugli*. 615
DW *puud*. 616 DW *gründ*. 618 D *wóund*. 619 W *fund*. 620 W *gründed*.
622 W *óndv+r*. 626 DW *uqer*. 631 D *thóзде* [see 679]. 632 D *up*. 633
D *káp*. 634 DW *thurf*. U'- 640 W *kuu*. 643 W *nuu*. 648 W *üuv+r*.
U': 657 W *bruun*. 658 D *duun*. 659 DW *tuun*. 660 W *büuv+r*. 661
W *shüuv+r*. 662 D *us*, W *uz*. 663 DW *uus*. 664 W *luus*. 666 D *azbend*.
667 DW *uut*. 668 DW *puud*. 669 D *unkuurth*, DW *uqked*.

Y- 673 DW *müj*. 676 DW *lii*. 679 D *tjótj* [*o* as in *botch* with a suspicion
of *r* after it, here and in 631, 696, 698, 701, 707]. 682 DW *laat'l*. Y: 684
DW *brig*. 685 W *rig*. 690 D *kaand*, W *k'n*. 691 D *m'nd*. 695 W *aak'n*.
696 D *bath* [see 679]. 697 D *berí*. 698 W *moth* [see 679]. 699 DW *riit*.
700 DW *wars*. 701 DW *fäst* [see 679]. Y'- 707 D *thóttiin* [see 679].
Y': 711 D *liis*. 712 D *miis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 W *müet*. E. 744 W *mez'lz*. 746 W *briuedh*. 747 W *indüv+r*.
748 DW *flgd*. O. 761 W *lüed*. 769 D *móudewaap*. 790 W *guun*.
U. 805 W *kruudz*. 808 D *püt*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 DW *jab'l*. 810 DW *fües*. 811 DW *plües*. 812 W *lües*. 813
D *bak'n*. 838 W *trüet*. 840 D *tjaame+r*, W *tjéme+r*. 845 D *aaushunt*.
847 D *dandv+r*. 849 D *strandv+r*. 851 W *naant*. 852 W *apren*. 854
W *baril*. 855 W *karit*. 856 W *paat*. 857 W *kües*. 859 DW *tjas*. 860
W *püest*. 861 W *tüest*. E.. 876 W *denté*. 884 W *prent/s*. 890 W
bees ['pl. beasts of the ox kind']. 891 W *füest*. 892 W *nevi*. O.. 913
W *küuetj*. 914 W *brüuetj*. 919 D *áintment*, W *nóintment*. 921 W *ekuent*.
922 D *bshel*. 928 W *uuns*. 929 W *kun-kame+r*. 938 W *káaue+r*. 941
W *fúel*. 942 D *batv+r*. 954 D *kashen*.

(6) VAR. *iii*a, MARKET WRIGHTON (:wiit'n) (10 w.Beverley) cwl.

W Rev. Jackson Wray, see 10 es., No. 9, Introduction, p. 501, pal. by AJE. from dict. 17 Dec. 1877. The (a) was very fine, rather (a'). Mr. Wray made all the (u, uu) into (u₁, uu₁). He also really trilled r in all cases, but deeming that an individuality, I have treated the r as elsewhere.

F Rev. J. Foxley, in 1877, of Market Weighton, and 20 years acquainted with the dialect, i.e., conjecturally pal. by AJE. F makes his final -er = -uor, meant for (-or, apparently, but this is so clearly a misapprehension, that I have substituted -er throughout. Thus -*thuur* was probably really (-te,r. In both W and F the (e) may possibly have been (ɛ).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 WF *biek*. 4 WF *tak*. 5 WF *mak*. 6 WF *mied*. 7 F *siek*. 8 F *ev*. 11 W *maa*. 12 W *saa*. 13 W *naa*. 14 W *draa*. 15 W *oo*. 16 W *daan*. 17 W *laa*. 18 W *kiek*. 19 F *tuel*. 20 WF *liem*. 21 WF *nliem*. 23 WF *siem*. 24 WF *sham*. 25 F *mien*. 27 W *niev*. 31 F *liet*. 32 F *baath*. 33 F *reéedhæ*. 34 F *last*. 36 W *thóu*, F *thé'u*.

A: 39 F *kóm*. 41 F *theqk*. 46 F *kanel*. 48 F *saq*. 50 F *teqz*. 51 F *man*. 53 W *kan*. 54 W *want*. 55 F *as*. 56 F *wesh*. 57 WF *as*.

A: or O: 58 WF *free*. 60 WF *laq*. 61 WF *umaq*. 62 W *s₁raq*, F *sthr₁aq*. 63 WF *thraq*. 64 F *raq*. 65 WF *saq*.

A'- 67 WF *gan*. 69 W *níe* [adj.], F *nóov*. 70 W *tíe*. 71 W *woo*. 72 W *wíe*, F *waa*. 73 W *síe*, F *sóov*. 74 W *twíe*. 75 W *s₁trook*, F *sthrúuek*. 76 W *tíed tíed*. 77 W *lóed*. 78 F *AA* [p.t. (júd)]. 79 WF *oon* [wí oonz dhæ who owns thee, whose child art thou?]. 80 W *alude*, F *alde*. 81 F *liúen*. 83 W *móen*, WF *múen*. 84 WF *méece*. 85 W *séer*. 86 WF *wots*. 87 F *klíiez*. 89 WF *bíeth*. 91 W *moo*. 92 W *noo*. 93 W *snoo*, F *snAA'é*. 94 W *kroo*. 95 W *throo*. 96 F *sóov*. 97 W *sóul*. 98 W *noon*. 99 W *throon*. 100 W *soon*.

A': 101 WF *jak*. 102 F *aks*. 104 WF *rúed*. 105 W *reed*. 106 W *bréed*. 107 W *liéf*, F *liéf*. 108 W *díef* [also called *píest paste*]. 110 W *not*. 111 W *óut*, F *áut*. 122 W *éel*. 113 WF *wol*, F *jal*. 115 WF *jam*, F *wóm*. 116 W [not used], F *wíe*. 118 F *bíen*. 121 WF *gíen*. 122 WF *níen*. 123 [W *nóot*, F *nóut* used]. 124 WF *stíen*. 125 WF [nóut used]. 126 W *óov*. 127 W *oost os*, F *úus*. 128 [F (dhem) used]. 129 W *gíust* [goost common]. 130 W *búet*. 131 WF *gúet*. 132 F *jat*. 133 WF *reet*. 134 W *ooth*. 135 F *klé'ut*.

Æ- 138 F *feedher fadher*. 139 F *dréev*. 140 W *éel*, F *agelz*. 141 WF *néel*. 142 W *sníil*, F *snííel*. 143 W *téel*. 144 WF *egíen*. 147 W *bréen*. 149 W *bléez*. 150 F *liést*. 152 W *wate+r*, F *wather*. 153 F *setherde*.

Æ: 155 F *thíek*. 158 F *efther*. 160 W *eg*. 161 WF *dée*. 163 F [l'éed used]. 164 F [múed used]. 165 F *sed*. 166 W [rare, (las) used, also (went) in a good sense]. F *méeed*. 169 F *wen*. 171 W *baali*. 172 WF *ges*. 173 F *waz*. 174 WF *esh*.

Æ'- 182 W *sii* [always], F *séev*. 183 W *téetj*. 184 W *liid*. 185 W *riid*, F *rúed*. 186 W *bríidh*, F *briid*. 187 W *liév*. 188 W *néi*. 189 W *wéi*. 190 W *kéi*, F *kéev*. 191 W *iíel*. 192 W *míen*. 193 WF *klíen*. 194 F *óni*. 195 F *móni*. 196 W *wér* [(wóov+r) emphatic]. 197 W *tpiiz*. 199 W *blíet* [never with final (k)]. 200 W *wíet*. 201 W *i'dh'n*. 202 W *iit*.

Æ': 203 W *spíetj*. 204 W *diid*. 205 W *thríed*, F *thriid*. 206 W *red*. 207 W *niid'l*. 210 W *thée*. 211 W *gree*. 212 W *wéi*. 213 F *ééedher*. 215 W *tóut*, F *tá'ut*. 216 WF *dííel*. 217 W *íetj*, *iédhæ*. 218 W *shíip*, F *shíep*. 219 W *shíip*. 221 W *fíie+r* [fíed, frightened]. 224 W *wíe+r*. 225 W *flesh*. 226 F *míust*. 227 W *wet*. 228 W *swíet*. 229 W *bríeth*.

E- 232 W *brek* [common]. 233 W *spíek*. 234 W *níed*. 235 W *wéev*. 236 W *fíevæ+r*. 237 W *bléeen*, F *blíen*. 238 W *edj*. 239 W *séel*. 241 W *reéen*. 242 W *twæn*. 243 W *pléev*. 246 W *kwiin* [queen], *kwiéen*.

[quean]. 247 W wien [F (sp)en spoon, used, ? from spoon meat]. 248 WF mîie+r. 249 WF wîie+r. 250 WF swîie+r. 251 W méut, F mîet. 252 W ket'l. 254 W ledhe+r. 255 W wedhe+r.

E: 257 W edj. 258 W sedj. 259 W wedj. 260 W [(l)ig used for both lie and lay], F léee. 261 F séee. 262 W wéev. 264 W eel, F éeul. 265 W strîit. 267 W jild. 268 W ['oodest) oldest used]. 270 WF belas, W belî. 272 W oom, F el'm. 273 W men. 274 WF bîqk. 275 WF [(st)îqk) used]. 278 W wentj. 280 W elev'n, F lev'n. 281 WF lenth. 282 W st'renth, F strenth. 283 W meri. 284 WF thresh. 285 F kriis. 286 WF are. 287 WF biizem. 288 W let.

E'- 289 W jii, F juu. 290 W ii. 291 W dhii, F dhuu. 292 W mii. 293 W wii. 294 W fiid. 296 WF bîl'ev. 298 W fiil. 299 W griin. 300 W kiip [p.t. (kêp)]. 301 W îie+r. 302 W miit. 303 W swiit, F swîet, 304 W [not in use for a hammer].

E': 305 W âi. 306 W âit. 307 W ná'ist [used]. 308 W niid. 309 W spiid. 310 W iil. 312 W îie+r. 314 WF îied. 316 W nekst. EA- 317 W fléev. 319 WF griep.

EA: 321 W [(siid) used]. 323 W fôut, F fâ'ut. 324 W éeit, F âit. — W sal [shall]. 325 W wôo[ek. 326 W ood, F AA'ed. 327 W boold 328 W kod, F kaad. 329 W [lap] used]. F iood. 330 WF od. 331 WF [(seld) used]. 332 WF [teld] used]. 333 WF koof. 334 WF oof. 335 W Aal. 340 W jaad. 342 WF éem. 343 WF waam. 345 WF daar. 346 WF jat.

EA'- 347 WF îied. 348 WF ii. 349 W fiu.

EA': 350 WF dîied [(diid, means died]. 351 W li'd, F led. 352 W rid. 353 WF briid. 354 W shîef, F shaaf [pl. (shaavz)]. 355 W dîief. 356 W lîef. 357 W dhoo. 359 W néiber. 360 W tîem. 361 W bîen. 362 W sléee, [F (slat)her slaughter]. 363 WF tîiep. 365 W nîe+r. 366 WF griet. 367 W thriet. 368 W dîeth. 369 W sloo. 370 W roo. 371 W strîie, F sthrie.

EI- 374 WF néev. EI: 377 WF stîek. 378 W wéek, F week.

EO- 383 W sev'n. 384 W ev'n. 385 W binîeth. 386 W jôu, F jâ'u. 387 W niu.

EO: 389 W jook, F jôoek. 390 W shud. 392 W jon. 394 W jonde+r. 396 WF waak. 397 W sîed. 398 W staav. 399 WF briit. 400 W anîst, WF janîst. 402 WF léeen [most common]. 405 W aath. 406 WF aath, W jaath. 407 WF faadin. 408 W [(naad) used].

EO'- 409 W bii. 411 F trii. 413 W dîv'l. 414 WF fiîi [a flea is called (v)lop]. 415 WF lii. 416 W dîie+r. 417 W tîou, F tîâ'u. 418 W bryy₁. 420 F fâ'ue+r. 421 WF foti.

EO': 423 WF thii. 424 W ruf. 425 WF liit. 426 W féit. 429 W fiend. 430 W frend, frind. 431 W bîie+r. 432 W fôuet. 433 WF briist. 434 W bîet. 436 W tryy₁, F triu. 437 W tryy₁th. EY- 438 WF dii. EY: 439 F thrust.

I- 440 W wik. 441 W siv. 442 W âivi. 443 W fraade. 444 WF stiil. 446 W nâin. 448 F dhîiez. 449 W get [(ger uut) get out]. 451 W sôu.

I: 452 WF aa. 454 W witj. 455 WF lig. 457 W méit (mud) v.]. 458 WF niit. 459 WF riit. 460 W wéit. 461 W liit. 462 WF siit. 464 W witj. 465 W sîij, F sâ'ik. 466 W [(béen) used]. 467 W waald. 468 W tîlde+r, F tîldher [(dh) slight]. 471 WF tîme+r. 472 W shriqk. 473 WF blind. 474 W [lîeern] paring, used]. 475 WF wind. 476 WF bind. 477 W find. 478 WF grond. 479 WF wind. 481 WF fige+r. 485 W thîs'l. 486 W jêst, F jîist. 487 W jîstede, F jîstherde [(th faint]. 488 W jît.

I'- 490 W báî. 491 W sâî. 493 W draav. 494 W taam. 496 W âirên. 497 W raaz. 498 W réit.

I': 500 W léik. 501 W waad. 502 W faav. 503 W léif. 504 W néif. 505 W wéi. 506 WF wâmen. 507 WF wâmen. 508 W maal mâl. 509 W waal wâl. 511 W wâin. 512 W speie+r. 513 W wéie+r. 514 W éis. 515 W wâiz.

O- 520 W bou. 521 WF fuel. 522 WF op'n. 523 W wop. F woop. 524 WF would.

O: 526 W kof. 527 W bout, F ba'ut. 528 W thout, F tha'ut. 529 W brout, F bra'ut. 530 W rout. 531 W dou ter, F da'uthe+r. 532 W kuel. 533 W du. 534 WF uel. 536 W goud, F ga'ud. 537 W mould. 538 WF wad. 539 W boud. 540 W olen [known]. 542 W bout. 545 W op. 547 W bund. 548 W foud. 549 W oud. 550 WF wod. 551 W storn [r. trilled, but I think only as an individuality]. 552 W kooen. 553 W ooen. 554 W kros.

O'- 555 W shun [pl. shoes]. 556 W tiv, F ti [before a consonant, 'tiv] before a vowel]. 557 W [en aal used]. 558 WF liek. 559 WF mudhe+r. 562 WF mien. 563 W munde. 564 WF sien. 565 W nuez. 566 WF udhe+r.

O': 569 WF biek. 570 WF tiek. 571 W gud ['gud' known, but very rare]. 572 W blud, F blud. 573 W flud. 574 W brund. 575 WF stied. 577 W bou [generally, not but]. F bu. 578 WF plut, F plu [also]. 579 WF uniet. 580 WF tiet. 581 W sout, F sa'ut. 582 WF kiel. 583 WF tiel. 584 WF stiel. 586 WF die. 587 WF dien. 588 WF nien. 589 WF spien. 590 WF flier. 591 W muue+r. 592 W sweee. F swied. 593 [WF mun used]. 594 WF biet. 595 W tit, F tiet. 596 WF riet. 597 W sut, F siet.

U- 599 W ubun. 600 WF luv. 601 W foud, F fool. 602 W sou, F su. 603 WF kum. 605 W sun. 606 WF due+r. 607 W bute+r, F buthe+r.

U: 608 WF ugli. 609 W ful. 610 W wul. 611 W bulek. 612 W sum. 613 W duqk, F dhuqk. 614 WF uund. 615 WF pund. 616 WF gund. 617 WF sund. 618 W wund, F wa'und. 619 WF fun. 621 F wun. 622 W uude+r. 625 W tuq. 626 WF uuqe+r. 628 W nun. 629 W sun. 630 W wun, F wun. 631 W thozde, F thazde. 632 W up. 633 W kup. 634 WF thut, W thuu. 635 WF woth. 636 W todhe+r, F fudhe+r. 637 W tusk. 638 W busk. 639 W dust.

U'- 640 WF kuu. 641 WF uu. 642 WF dhuu. 643 WF nuu. 645 W duv. 646 W bou. 647 W oul sulet, F dini sulet. 648 WF uue+r, W we+r [quite unemphatic]. 649 thuzend. 652 W kud. 653 WF bud.

U': 654 W shurud. 655 W foud. 656 W rum, F rem [?]. 657 WF burun. 658 W duun. 659 WF tuun. 661 WF shuue+r. 662 W uz. 663 W uus. 664 W luus. 665 W muus. 666 W uzbin. 667 W uut. 668 W purud. 670 W bundh. 671 W mundh. 672 W sundh.

Y- 673 WF mutu. 676 WF lii. 679 W tuout, F [between] tuout tuout. 680 F [(thuq) used]. 682 WF laat'l.

Y: 683 W midu. 684 W budu. F bug. 685 W rig. 686 W [not used]. 687 W fliet. 688 F buld. 690 W kand. F kand [short]. 691 W mand. F mand [short]. 694 W wuk. 695 W aak'n. 696 W buth. F buth. 698 WF muth. 699 WF riit. 700 W wos, F was. 701 F fust. Y'- 705 W skiei. 706 W wiei. 707 W thottin, F thottin. Y': 709 W tiee+r. 711 W lies. 712 W mies.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 W bad. 714 W lad. 715 W pad. 716 W ad'l. 718 W treed. 719 [W bulud used]. 721 W fag. 722 W duren. 723 W deeri. 725 W sul. 728 W sham. 729 W freem. 730 W kan te+r. 731 W wanten. 733 W skie+r. 734 W daan. 735 W smesh. 736 W las. 737 W mert. 738 W priet [but in No. 9 cs. par. 15 note, p. 518. W said especially *not* (priet)]. 740 W weev. 741 miez. 742 W leezi.

E. 743 W skriem. 744 W miez'lz. 745 W turet. 746 W breth. 747 W indive+r. 748 WF fligd. 750 W beg. 751 W piet.

I. and Y. 753 W [kut] used]. 754 W pur. 756 W shremp. 757 W tuni. 758 W gel [not much used, where 'fine talk' is not used]. 759 W rut.

O. 761 W luud [v.], WF luud [sh.]. 763 W ruom. 764 W kud'l. 766 W mudud [very common]. 767 W nuiz. 769 W mundh. 771 W fund. 772 W buniee+r. 773 W duqui [used]. 774 W puoni. 775 W buni.

777 W shop. 778 W efo'd. 780 W djos'l. 781 W bodhe+r. 784 W buuns. 785 W luundj. 786 W duus. 787 W sós. 789 W róu. 790 W guun.

U. 792 W skuab'l. 793 W ug. 794 W djug. 795 W shrug. 799 W skul. 801 W ram. 802 W ram. 803 W djamp. 805 WF krudz. 806 W fus. 807 W pus.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 W jab'l. 810 W tíes. 811 W plíes. 813 W bék'n. 815 W faks. 816 W íeéd. 817 W radísh. 818 W éedj. 819 W réedj. 821 W dílee. 822 W mee. 823 W bee. 824 W tíeév+r. 825 W wéerf. 826 W eeg'l. 827 W eegv+r. 828 W eegi. 829 W géee. 830 W tréee. 831 W dístréee. 832 W méee+r. 833 W péee+r. 834 W shee. 835 W ríezen. 836 W síezen. 837 W líes. 838 W trí'et [very short *i*]. 840 W tjeeme+r. 841 W tjaans. 842 W plaqk. 843 W braantj. 844 W trentj. 845 W éeeshant. 846 W tjanle+r. 847 W déeundj+r. 848 W tjeendj. 849 W stréendj+r. 850 W daans. 851 W ant [the insect *ant* is called *pisméiv*+r]. 852 W apren. 854 W baril. 855 W karit. 856 W péert. 857 W kús. 858 W brées. 860 W píest. 861 W tíest. 862 W síef. 863 W tíeef. 864 W koos. 865 W faat. 866 W páuv+r.

E.. 867 W tíe. 868 W djee. 869 W víel. 870 W bíuti. 871 W eegii. 872 W tíiif. 873 W íree. 874 F ríen. 875 íeeent. 876 W déeenti. 877 éee+r. 878 W saleri. 879 W fíeméel. 880 W egzamp'l. 881 W sens. 882 W panzi. 887 W tlaadji. 888 W saatin. 889 W síes. 890 W bíest. 891 W fíest. 892 WF nevi. 893 W flúuv+r. 894 W dísiév. 895 W rísiév.

I.. and Y.. 897 W díléit. 898 W néis. 899 W níis. 900 W pree. 901 W féin faan. 902 W maan. 904 W véíet. 905 W réét. 906 W véepv+r. 908 W advéis. 909 W briiz. 910 W djéist. 911 W sástrun. 912 W réis.

O.. 913 W kávetj. 914 W bróoutj. 915 W staf. 916 W vnjen. 917 W rog. 918 W fíeb'l. 919 W óntment. 920 W póút. 921 W ékúéent. 922 W bushel. bishel. 923 W móist. 924 W tróis. 926 W spó'l. 927 W trauk. 928 W uns. 929 W kuukume+r. 930 W lón. 931 W djugle+r. 932 W emant. 933 W frunt. 934 W buuntj. 935 W kuuntj. 936 W fant. 937 W kok. 938 W kóvne+r. 939 W tlúes. 940 W kúet. 941 W fíel. 942 W butjv+r. 943 W tatj. 944 W eluu. 945 W vuu. 946 W mó'l. 947 W bó'l. 948 W buul. 950 W supe+r. 951 W kap'l. 952 W kúves. 953 W kuzen. 954 W kushin. 955 W duut. 956 W kuvv+r. 957 W implóí.

U.. 960 W kíi. 961 W gryv,el. 963 W kwéijet. 964 W síujit. 965 W ó'l. 968 W óistv+r. 969 W síiv+r. 970 W djúst.

(7) VAR. *iii*b, HOLDERNESS, AND VAR. *iv*, SNAITH, joint cwl.

N n.Holderness (:óudhernes), by T. Holderness, editor of the "Driffield Observer," 50 years acquainted with the dialect.

W w.Holderness, by F. Ross, lived there to 21 years old, but not since.

E e.Holderness, by R. Stead, Head Master of Folkestone Grammar School, visited every village of the region.

These are the three authors of the Holderness Glossary of the EDS. N and W were sent me in MS. in io., with long explanations, and palaeotyped by me; E was sent me as a numbered wl., but Mr. Stead subsequently visited me, and the whole was revised by him with me vv. Probably all short accented *e* should be (E).

Words to which no initial is prefixed are common to all three forms of Holderness speech: when, in addition, some other initialled sound is annexed, it means that it is *also* that sound in the district named. When only some initials are given, the word was unknown for the others.

The pains taken by these three gentlemen to make me correct is most heartily acknowledged.

S Snaith (18 s-by-e. York), from a full wl. in io. by Rev. T. W. Norwood, now vicar of Wrenbury (5 sw. Nantwich, Ch.), but 40 years acquainted with the dialect. As the Snaith forms generally agree with one of those given from Holderness, I have not added them, except where they differed. Differences of (t_r, d_r) for (thr, dhr) are not noted, but Mr. N. always writes simply *tr*, *dr*, and hence probably used (t_r, d_r).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 EN *bīek*, W *bak*. 4 *tak*. 5 *mak*. 6 *mīed*, S *mēed*. 7 EN *sīek*, W *sak*. 8 S *av*, NW *ev*, N *e*, *ez*. 9 *bejēev* [N with (h) if emphatic]. 10 AA [N (kat) used]. 11 EW *maa*, N [not used]. 12 *saa*. 13 EW *naa*, N [quite unknown]. 14 *dhraa*. 15 S *aa*. 16 E *daan*. 17 *laa*. 18 *kīek*, S *kēek*. 19 *tīel*, S *tēel*. 20 *liem*, S *lēm*. 21 *nīem*. 22 *tīem*. 23 *sīem*, S *sēem*. 24 *sham*. 25 *mīen*, S *mēen*. 26 N *wīen*, S *wēen*. 27 *nēev*, W [not used], N [hardly used]. 28 *ēev*, N [(h) emphatic]. 31 *liet*. 32 E *bēedh*, WN *beedh*. 33 E *īeēdhur*, W *rīēdhur*, N *reedhur*. 34 last [N often omits final (t)]. 35 *aal*. 36 NE *thōu*, W *thaa*. 37 *tlaa*.

A: 39 *kom*, S *kēem*. 40 NE *kīem*, W *kūem*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *and*, H *hand* [emphatic]. 44 *land*. 46 *kan'l*. 47 *wandher*. 48 *saq*, N *suq*. 50 *teqz*. 51 *man*. 52 EW *wan*. 53 *kan*. 54 *want*. 55 *ash*, WN *as*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *as*.

A: or O: 58 *fre* [N final before a vowel (*frev*), before a consonant (*fre*)]. 59 *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *maq*. 62 *sthraq*. 63 *thrang*. 64 *raq*. 66 EN [not used], W *thoq*.

A'- 67 E *gūve*, NW *gan*, S *gaa*. 69 EW *nīve*, W *naa*, N *noo*, S *naa*. 70 NE *tīve*, W *tāa*. 71 E *waa*, W *woo*, S *wee*. 72 *wīve*, S *wāa*. 73 *sīve*, N *se*, S *sūve*. 74 *twīve*, S *tuu*. 75 EW *sthīvek*, N *sthrook*. 76 *tūved*. 77 EW *lōved*, N *lūved*. 78 *aa*. 79 NW *aan*, E *óoen*. 80 *a'līde*. 81 *lūven*, W *liēn*. 83 *māven*. 84 E *māve*, NW *mēev*, S *maar*. 85 E *sūver*, NW *sēev*, S *saat*. 86 *wots*. 87 *tīiez*, S *klūves*. 88 NE *tīiedh*. 89 *bīeth*. 90 *blaa*. 91 *maa*. 92 *naa*. 93 *snāa*. 94 *kraa*. 95 *thraa*. 96 *saan*, E *sōoen*. 97 *sōol*. 98 *naan*, E *nōoen*. 99 *thraan*, E *thróoen*. 100 *saan*, E *sōoen*.

A': 101 NE *jak*, W *īvek*. 102 EW *ask*, N *aks*. 104 *rūved*. 105 *reed*. 106 E *brōod* *braad*, W *brūud*, N *breed*. 107 EW *lūvef*, N *liēf*, S *laaf*. 108 N *daf* [if used at all, (*pīest*) used]. 109 *laa*. 110 NE *nut*, W *not*. 111 *ōut*. 112 [unknown], S *ēel*. 113 E *wool*, W *wol*, N *ūvel*. 115 E *wom*, N *īem*, W *jam*. 116 [not used]. 118 *bīen*, EW *būven*, S *baan*. 119 E *goon*, NW *gīen*. 121 S *gand* *gīen*. 122 *nīen*, S *naan* *nūven*. 123 [(*nōut*) used]. 124 *stīem*, S *staen*. 125 NE *oonl*, W [nabet used]. 126 NW *ōoer*, S *aar*. 127 NE *ūves*, W *ūvest*. 128 *dhaz*, NW *dhooz* [usual term (*dhem*)], S *dhaas*. 129 *gūvest*, S *gaast*. 130 *būvut*. 131 NE *gūvet*, W *goot*. 132 E *jat*, NW *ot*. 133 E *réevt*, NW *reet*. 134 E *óoeth*, NW *ūveth*. 135 W *tloat*, E *tlooth*, N *tliēth*.

Æ- 138 *fadher*, W *feēdh*. 139 E *dhreēn*, WN *dhree*. 140 E *ēeul*, W *ecl*, N *ag'l*. 141 E *nēel*, W *neel*, W *niil*. 142 *snīl*. 143 E *tēel*, N *tīel*, W *tiil*. 144 *egīen*. 145 E *slēen*, NW *slēen* [rarely used]. 146 E *mēen*, N *meen*. 147 E *brēen*, NW *breēn*. 148 *fēev*. 149 E *blēez*, NW *blīez*. 150 E *liist*, NW *liēst*. 152 *wather*. 153 *sethede*.

Æ: 155 *thak* [sb.] *thīek* [v.]. 157 E *réev'n*, N *rīev'n*, W *reev'n*. 158 E *atther*, WN *either*. 160 *eg*. 161 E *dēev*, WN *dee*. 163 [forms used], W *liēd*, N *leed*. 164 E *mēev*, WN *mee*. 165 WN *sed*, N [occ.] *seed*. 166 E *mēēd*. 167 NE *dīel*, S *dēel*. 168 *talv*. 169 *wen*. 170 *aavist*. 171 *baali*. 172 *gas*, NW *ges*, N *gres*. 173 *waz*. 174 E *ash*, NW *esh*. 175 *fast*. 178 EW *nat*. 179 *wat*. 180 NE *bath*. 181 NE *path*.

Æ'- 182 E *sii*, NW *sīe*. 184 E *liid*, NW *liēd*. 185 E *riid*, NW *rīēd*. 186 E *breēth*, NW *briid*, *brīēd*. 187 E *liiv*, NW *liēv*. 188 E *nēi*, W *nee*, N [(*wīn*) used]. 189 *wēi*. 190 *kēi*. 191 E *īil*, NW *īēl*. 192 E *miin*, NW *mīēn*. 193 E *tliin*, NW *tliēn*. 194 *onī*. 195 *monī* S *menī*. 196 E

war, W was, N wər wə, S wīur. 197 tpiiz. 199 W bliet, E [not used], N blec, S bleet. 200 NW wiēt. 201 E iidh'n, NW iēdh'n. 202 E iit, NW iiet.

Æ': 203 S spiētj. 204 diid. 205 EN thriid, W thrīed. 206 red. 207 EW niid'l, N niēd'l. 210 E tlee tlēev, NW tlee. 211 NW grēe, E grēev. 212 E wēi, NW wee. 213 E iidher, NW iēdher. 215 tōut. 216 E diil, NW diēl. 217 E iitj, NW iietj. 218 shiip. 219 shiip. 221 fiier. 222 éeur. 223 dhéer, S dhéevr dhīevr. 224 NE wīer, W wēer. 225 flesh. 226 mīest, W meest, S mAast. 227 wet, N [occ.] wiit. 228 E [pr. t. and sb.], NW swīet, E [past t.] swet. 229 EW breth, N brīeth. 230 fat.

E- 232 E brēek, W brīek, N brek. 233 E spiik, NW spiēk. 234 E niid, NW niēd. 235 E wiiv, NW wiēv. 236 E fiiver, NW fiēver. 237 W bleen, E blēen, N blien. 238 edj. 239 E séel, NW seel. 240 [laid used, WE liūd, N leed]. 241 E réen, NW reen. 242 NE twiēn, S téen. 243 E plēev, NW plee. 246 NE kwīen, W kwīn [in sense of queen; quean not used]. 247 wiin, S wīen. 248 mīer. 249 wīer. 250 swīer. 251 E miit, NW miēt. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 EW ledher, N lēdher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edj. 258 EW sedj, S seg. 259 wedj. 261 E séev, NW see. 262 E wēev, NW wee. 264 S éeul. 265 sthrēt. 267 jiild. 268 [oldest used]. 270 EW beluz, N belusiz bellows, belli belly. 272 E alem, W elum, N óum oom. 273 men. 274 E beqk, WN biqk. 275 [stink used]. 276 thiik. 278 EW wentj, N wensh. 280 EW lev'n eliv'n, N lēev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 meri. 284 E thrash, NW thresh. 285 EW kres, N watherkrashez, S krīus. 286 are. 287 biiz'm.

E'- 290 ii i, S v. 291 E dhii, N dhuu [emphatic]. 292 S mi me. 293 wii wi, N wē. 296 E bliiv, NW bilīev. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 EW kiip, N kīep. 301 iier. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 EW ái, N aa. 306 éit. 307 EW nái. 308 niid. 309 spiid, N spiēd [vb.]. 310 iil. 311 ten. 312 iier. 313 aak'n. 314 iied. 315 fiit fiets.

EA- 317 [unknown]. 319 giēp, S géep. 320 kéevr. EA: 321 E saa [NW (siid) used]. 322 laf. 323 fōut. 324 éit. 325 E wóok, NW waak. 326 E óoed, NW Aad. 327 bóud. 328 E kóoed, NW kaad. 329 E fóoeld, [N (dab'l up)]. 330 EN od, W Aad. 331 [(seld) used]. 332 [(teld) used]. 334 Aaf [E oldest (óoef)]. 335 Aal. 336 faal. 337 waal. 342 N eem, E éeem, W eem. 343 waam. 345 daar, S déevr. 346 E giēt, NW jat, S géet.

EA'- 347 E iid, NW iied. 348 EW ái, N ii. 349 fiu, S féev. EA': 350 diēd, E diid. 351 W led, NE liēd. 352 EW red, N riēd. 353 brīed. 354 shaf shav, S shiēf. 355 E diif, NW diēf. 356 E liit, NW liēf. 357 E dhAA, W dhoo, N dhoi. 359 néiber, S néeeber. 360 E tiim, NW tiēm. 361 E biin, NW, biēn. 362 E slēev, NW [not used]. 363 E tpiip, NW tpiēp. 365 E niiv [N and W (naa) nigh, used]. 366 E grut, NW grīet. 367 W thret, N thrīet, E [not used]. 368 E diith, N dāeth, W deth. 369 slAA, E slóov. 370 RAA, róov. 371 sthAA, E sthróov.

EI- 372 EW éi, N ee, S aa. 373 E dhéev, NW dhe. 374 E néev, NW nee. 376 E béet, NW beet. EI: 377 S stéevk. 378 E wéevk, W wīevk, N week. 382 S dhéev.

EO- 383 W sev'n, E siv'n, N síev'n. 384 EW ev'n, N iiev'n. 385 binīeth. 386 E ju, NW jóu. 387 níu.

EO: 388 milk. 389 NE jook, EW JAak, S júevk. 390 EW shud, N sud. 393 biēnt. 396 waak. 397 E sóovd, NW súevd. 398 staav. 399 briit, S brēt. 400 E iienst, NW aanist. 401 N jaan. 402 EW laan, E liēn, N leen. 403 faa, N fər. 404 staa. 405 E aath, NW aath. 406 E ath, W jath, N ath [after consonants], S iūeth, jath [after vowels]. 407 faadin. 408 EW níu, N [(naad) used].

EO'- 411 EW thrii, N thrīiv. 412 [weak], she [strong] shīiv. 413 diēl. 414 fiit [N flea is (lōp)]. 415 lii. 416 diēv. 417 tjōu. 418 EW bruu, N briu. 420 fōvvr. 421 fotti.

EO': 423 thii. 424 raf. 425 liit. 426 féit. 427 biī bi. 428 EW siī,

N *siv*. 429 [not used]. 430 frind. 431 biier. 432 fóneth. 433 briist. 434 EW biit, N bet. 435 juu je. 436 EW thruu, N thríu. 437 EW thruuth, N thríuth.

EY- 438 dii. EY: 439 E thríst, NW thrúst.

I- 440 wiik, S wik. 441 siv. 442 EW áivi, N aavi. 443 EW fráide, N fraade. 444 EW stáil, N staal, S stii. 445 [not used]. 446 EW náin, N naan. 448 NW dhíez, E dhiiz. 449 get, N ger [before vowels]. 450 tíuzde. 451 sóu.

I: 452 a [W (ái) is used only before is, isn't]. 454 wítj. 455 EN lig [WN (lee) used]. 457 méit. 458 niit, S niit néit. 459 riit, E réit. 460 wéit. 461 liit, S elét. 462 S séit siit. 464 wítj. 465 E sitj, W sák, N sik. 466 W tjáld, [N (been) used]. 467 WE wáld, N waald. 468 EW tjáldher, [N (beenz) used]. 471 tmer [N gave (wad)]. 472 shríqk, S shreqk. 473 blénd. 474 W ránd, E ránd, [N (skén) used]. 475 wénd. 476 bánd. 477 fánd. 478 NE gránd, W gránd, S gránd. 479 wénd. 481 fáqr. 484 dhas. 485 ths'l. 486 S jest. 487 jsthede. 488 jst.

I'- 490 báí, EN bí, N ba. 491 EW sái, N saa. 493 EW dhraív, N dhraav, S draav. 494 EW táim, N taam. 496 éieren. 497 E eráiz, N eraaz. 498 réit, S raat. 499 EW biit'l, N bíet'l [but generally called *clocks*].

I': 500 lék, S lák. 501 EW wáid, N waad. 502 WE fáiv, N faav. 503 léf, S laaf. 504 néf, S naaf. 505 wéif, S waaf. 506 wámen. 507 wámín. 508 EW máil, EN maal. 509 EW wáil, EN waal. 511 EW wáin, N waan. 512 spéier. 513 wéier. 514 éis, S aas. 515 EW wáiz, N waaz. 516 wízdem. 517 jú.

O- 520 bón. 521 fável. 522 óp'n. 523 EW wóp, N wúwep, S úwep. 524 wáld. O: 526 E koof, NW káf. 527 bót. 528 thót. 529 S brót. 530 róut. 531 dóuther. 532 S kíuel. 533 dúl, N dóul. 534 úuel. 536 góud, N guuld. 537 móul, S móud. 539 E bót, W bool. 540 olun, N prk olun. 542 bót, S bót. 545 óp. 547 EN báud. 548 EN fáud, W food. 549 NE úud. 550 wód. 551 E stóoerm, WN stóoerm. 552 E kaan, W koon, N kíuen. 553 E aan, W oon, N úuen. 554 krös.

O'- 555 shuu. 556 tí [before cons.], tiv [before vowels]. 557 tíre. 558 líek, N lúk. 559 málher. 561 EW bluum, N [not used]. 562 míien. 563 munde. 564 síen. 565 náuez. 566 udher.

O': 569 bíek, N bíuk, S buuk. 570 tíek, N ták. 571 gud. 572 blud. 573 flud. 574 brud. 575 stíed, N stúd. 576 wed'enzde. 577 buu bíu, NW bíef. 578 plúef plú [subs.], plú pluu [verb]. 579 S enuf. 580 EW tuf, N tíuf. 581 sóut. 582 kíel. 583 tíel. 584 stíel. 585 EW bruum. 586 díie, N div [before vowels], díz [dost], d [pl.], S duu. 587 E dún, NW díen. 588 níien. 589 spíen, S spáin. 590 flíer, S flúer. 591 míuer. 592 E swóor, NW swéer. 593 EW mäs, [N (man) used]. 594 bíet, S búit. 595 NE fíet [see 315], W fút. 596 ríet. 597 síet, NE sít. 598 [not used].

U- 599 EW ebuu, N ebuun. 600 luv. 601 fól [N little used]. 602 síu. 603 kún. 605 sun. 606 díer, S dúer. 607 bather.

U: 608 ugli. 609 ful. 610 E wul, NW wuul. 611 búlek [N seldom used]. 612 sun. 613 dhraqk. 614 uund. 615 S pund. 616 NE gránd, W grán. 617 suund. 618 wuund. 619 fun. 621 wón, W wón, N wan [did wind]. 622 undher. 625 tuq. 626 uqer. 628 S nún. 630 wún, N wan [did win]. 631 thozde. 632 up. 633 kúp. 634 E thruuf, NW thraf, S thruu. 635 wath. 636 íadher. 637 NE task. 638 N busk [means a *bush* only]. 639 NE dúst.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 uu. 642 dhuu, dhe [weak]. 643 nuu. 645 EW dúv, N duu. 646 W buu, NE bón. 647 EW óul, N uul. 648 úuer. 649 thruuzend. 652 kud. 653 S bút.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 rum. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 660 búuer. 661 shúuer. 662 us. 663 uus. 664 S luus. 665 muus. 666 uzben. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 670 E buudh, W bíudh. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mítj. 674 díd. 676 líi. 677 dhraí. 678 dín. 679 tjetj, W tjetj. 680 WE bizi [N uses (thraq)]. 682 laat'l.

Y: 683 midj. 684 brig. 685 rig. 686 bii, N [occ.] baa. 687 EW fléit, N fliit. 688 E bidd, NW biidd. 690 EW káind, N kaand. 691 EW máind, N maand. 693 sîn. 696 both, S baath. 697 berî. 698 N math, S mæath. 699 riit. 700 E was, NW was, S waas. 701 fæst. 703 pit. 704 E vîks'n.

Y'- 705 skái, N [also] skaa. 706 [not used]. 707 thottiin. 708 éier. Y': 709 féier. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad. 715 pad. 716 ad'l. 717 E djéevd, NW djeed. 718 thríevd. 719 E tadpóel, W tadpáuel, [N báláuel used]. 720 tag. 722 E dhriin, NW dhriiæn. 723 EW déeri, N déeri. 724 EW baald, N boold. 725 sí el, S séel. 727 E djam, N [pezaa-v used]. 728 sham. 729 N íream, EW fríeam, S fréeam. 730 N kanter. 733 skáav. 734 daan. 735 smash. 737 NE míut, W meet, S méet. 738 E préet, NW preet. 740 E wéev, NW weev. 741 E méez. 742 E léez.

E. 743 skríem. 744 EW móez'lz, N mez'lz. 745 tpiet. 746 S bríevdh. 747 E endevær, N indivær. 748 flgd. 750 beg. 751 píet.

I. and Y. 753 [(k't'l used)]. 754 píg. 755 E ílhet, NW [not used]. 756 NW shremp, E semp. 757 Wíani, N taani. 758 gel [N usually las]. 759 í t.

O. 761 lúed, S láued. 762 EW úuakem, E aakem, N okem. 763 NE ríuam, E raam. 764 kó'd'l. 765 NE móidhæd, W [not used]. 767 nóiz. 768 EN káak, E kaak, W kook. 769 E móid, NW móidhæd, S maal. 771 fínd. 772 búuentíær. 773 NW dæki. 774 E puuni, W pooni, N píuuni. 775 buub. 777 shap. 778 efod. 779 [not used]. 780 N dís'l. 781 NW badher, E [not used]. 782 SW pøther, E [not used]. 783 pøthri. 784 buuns. 785 N luundj. 786 duus. 787 S suus. 788 NW fluut, E [not used]. 789 róu. 790 E gun, NW guun.

U. 792 skvab'l. 793 ug. 794 djug. 799 skul. 800 skul. 801 rum. 802 rum. 803 djump. 805 krudz. 806 fus. 807 pus. 808 put, S pat.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E íub'l éeb'l, N jab'l, W eeb'l. 810 fíius, S féeus. 811 plíius, S pléeus. 812 E léeus, NW líeus. 813 NE bíiæken, W beek'n, S béek'n. 814 NE míes'n, W mees'n. 815 E faks. 816 E féevd, NE fíevd, W feed. 817 radésh. 818 E éeudj, eedj, W eedj, N íeudj. 819 E réeudj, W reedj, N ríeudj. 821 E díléev. 822 E méev, NW mee. 823 E béev, NW beev. 824 tjéev. 826 íug'l. 827 íevger. 828 E éevgi [N shaking]. 829 E géevn, N gíevn, W geen. 830 thríevn, S tréevn. 831 W dísthrievn. 832 méevr. 833 péevr. 834 E tjéevz, N sheev sheev. 835 E ríiz'n, N ríevz'n. 836 E síiz'n, N síevz'n. 838 thríæt. 839 E béeel, NW beel. 840 NW tjæmer, E tjæmer, S tjæmer. 841 tjans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj. 844 threntj. 845 eenshent. 846 tjanter. 847 deendj. 848 tjændj. 849 sthændj. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 apræn. 853 baagin. 854 baril. 855 karit. 856 E péet, NW peet. 857 kíus, S kéeus. 858 E bréeus, N bríius, W bree. 859 W tjæes, NE tjíius. 860 píuest, S péevst. 861 tívest. 862 NE síevf, S séevf. 864 E bíkæz, NW bíkævez, -s. 865 NE faat, E foort. 866 píuuv.

E.. 867 S tíiv. 868 E djéev, W djee. 869 NE vível. 871 E egrii, N egriev. 872 tjævf. 873 E íree, S fréev. 875 E féevnt, N fíevnt, W féevnt. 876 S déevnt. 878 NE salerî. 879 E íiméevl, W íimæevl. 880 W zamp'l. 881 sens. 882 panzi. 883 WE dandelæven. 884 prentis. 886 E fræev, NE fræevr. 887 NE tlaadj. 888 NE saaten. 889 S síevs. 890 E bíist, N bíevst. 891 E fíist, N fíevst. 892 neví. 893 flúuvr. 894 E dísiiv, N dísiév. 895 E rísiiv, N rísiév.

I.. and Y.. 997 W díliit, NE díléit. 898 néis. 899 NE níis. 900 E preev, W preev. 901 E íæn, W íæn, faan. 902 EW máin, N maan. 903 EW dán, N daan. 904 EW váilet, N vaalet. 905 ráut. 906 véper. 907 [not used]. 908 advéiv. 909 EW briiz, N bríevz. 910 EW djéiv, N djóist, S djáist. 911 EW síisthæren, N síevstherin. 912 réis.

O.. 913 *kúuētj*. 914 *brúuētj*. 915 *stuf*. 916 *un'ien*. 917 *riúeg*. 918 E *fiib'l*, NW *fiieb'l*. 919 *óntment*. 920 *póint*. 921 E *ekwécant*. 922 *bushal*. 923* NE *móist*, W *móis*. 924 *tjóis*. 925 *vóis*. 926 *spóil*. 928 *uuns*. 929 *kuukamer*. 930 *lón*. 932 *umuunt*. 933 *front*. 935 *kauthri*. 936 EW *font*, N *fant*. 937 *kók*. 938 E *kaaner*, NE *káaner*, W *kaaner*. 939 *tlaues*. 940 *kuert*. 941 *fiúil*, S *fiúil*. 942 S *batper*. 943 *tatj*. 944 *vluur*. 945 *vu*. 946 [not used]. 947 *bóil*. 948 NW *buul*. 950 *super*. 951 *kup'l*. 952 *kúues*. 953 *kúzen*. 954 *kúshen*. 955 *duut*. 956 *kúver*. 957 E *emplóí*, N *implóí*. 959 E *konvéev*, N *kenvee*.

U.. 960 E *kii*, W *kíie*, N *kéi*. 961 *grúúil*. 962 [N (*míu*) is a pile of corn in a barn]. 963 *kwaíet*. 964 *sú'it*. 965 *óil*. 966 *fríut*. 967 *siut*. 969 *súer*, S *shúer*. 970 *djust*. 971 *fiut*.

D 31 = WN. = West Northern.

Boundaries. Begin on the Solway Frith at the coast near Newton Arlosh, Cu. (13 w. Carlisle), and follow the tortuous n. *tee* line 7 already described, p. 20, through Cu. and Du. to Sunderland, then follow the coast of Du. to the Tees mouth, and go up the Tees to Croft, Yo. Here turn along w. b. of D 30, going sw. to Middleham, and s. to Burley (7 n. Bradford). After which turn w. and pass upon the n. *theeth* line 5 (p. 18) to the b. of La. near Colne, about 16 wnw. Bradford, and go nw. along the b. of La. to 13 ese. Lancaster, where enter La. and sweep round n. of Wyersdale (6 se. Lancaster) to Cockerham (8 ene. Fleetwood, La.). Then go n. and follow the w. and s. coast of La. and Cu., passing n. to the point of starting in Morecambe Bay, Solway Frith.

Area. This large tract of country comprises s. Du., w. and m. Cu., all We., the hundred of Lonsdale n. and s. of the Sands in n. La., and the hilly part of w. Yo. It is traversed by the s. *hoose* line 6 (p. 19) dividing it into two distinct parts. Of these the n. portion treats the U' words as having simple (uu), or rather a peculiar modification of it, beginning deeper but ending with (u), either (*úu*) or (*úú*), where (v) is very brief and uncertain, but both fractures are conceived by the natives as simple (uu). The s. part transforms these inchoant diphthongal forms into the complete diphthongs (*óu*, *óu*, *áu*). This however does not affect the other dialectal relations. In fact the s. *hoose* line 6 only shows where the old traditional pron. (uu) has completely changed. The preparation for the change has been made in the n. portion, while probably in the EN, D 30, and certainly still further n. in the L. div., the pure old (uu) form is retained. See (*a'u*) p. 292, and (*a'u*) p. 293.

Varieties. This area I find it best to divide into several Varieties, which will be considered presently as to their nature, and will here be merely localised.

Var. i. Extreme w. of Yo., embraces Upper Swaledale, Upper Wensleydale, the nw. horn of Yo., and n. and m. Craven.

Var. ii. Lonsdale, or n. La., including extreme s. Cu., embraces Lancaster, Cartmel, Furness, and the region about Bootle, Cu.

Var. iii. We. s. of the watershed, with a part of extreme w. Yo., embraces Dent and Sedberg in Yo., and Kendal, Long Sleddale, and Orton, in We.

Var. iv. Edenside, or the basin of the River Eden, includes We., n. of the watershed, and m. Cu., and contains Kirkby Stephen, Temple Sowerby, Milburn, Langwathby, Ellonby, etc

Var. v. or w. Cu. contains Keswick, Clifton, and Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram.

Var. vi., s. Du., contains Weardale and Teesdale.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., † per TH., ‡ per JGG., || so., and ° io.

Cu. * Abbey Holme, ° Borrowdale, * Clifton, † Ellonby, ° Hale, † Keswick, † Langwathby, * Penrith, ° Ravenglass, ° Workington.

Du. ° Aycliffe, ° Bishop Auckland, ° Bishopton, ° Easington, ° Greatham, ° Hart, ° Hartlepool, ° Heathery Cleugh, * Lower Teesdale, ° Middleton-in-Teesdale, ° Monk Hesledon, ° Ryhope, † St. John's Weardale, ° Seaham, ° Sedgfield, ° Stanhope, ° Witton-le-Wear, ° Wolsingham.

La. † Broughton-in-Furness, † Cark-in-Cartmel, † Caton, ° † Coniston, ° Dalton-in-Furness, ° Heysham, † High Nibthwaite, † Hornby, † Lancaster, † Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, ° Newton-in-Cartmel, † Skerton, ° † Ulverston.

Wc. ° Appleby, † Casterton, † Crosby Ravensworth, † Kendal, † Kirkby Stephen, † Long Sleddale, † Milburn, ° † Orton, † Shap, † Temple Sowerby.

Yo. † Black Burton, or Burton-in-Lonsdale, † Cautley by Sedberg, † Chapel-le-Dale, † Dent, † Horton-in-Ribblesdale, † Howgill, † Ilkley, ° Laithkirk, || Middlesmoor, || North of Richmond, * Richmond, || Skipton, † Upper Swaledale or Muker, † Upper Wensleydale or Hawes.

The extreme care and conscientious anxiety to phonograph the pronunciation of his informants, shewn by repeated revisions, which mark JGG.'s contributions to the phonology of this district, require particular notice, and I cannot but repeat my warmest thanks for the labour which he has bestowed during many prolonged personal interviews in making me fully acquainted with his results, and preparing them for publication here. He has also revised the proofs of D 31.

Character. Although D 31 is so large, and mostly very hilly, there is a remarkable uniformity in its mode of speech. The e. b. towards D 30 is not particularly well defined, and probably a very accurate survey, such as TH. has accomplished in the M. div., would shew a gradual melting of D 31 into D 30. But the real boundary is geographical, the subsidence of the hilly districts of the nw. and w. of Yo. into the plain which occupies its centre.

Referring to the list of Edenside speech-sounds (p. 539) for phonetic details, the general character is shewn most distinctly in Var. i, and may be roughly stated as follows:—

A-, A'=(íá), as (níá₁m, klíá₁z, híá₁m) name, clothes, home, as distinguished from the adjoining D 30, Var. i. (níem, tliéz, íem); that is, the fracture consists of two nearly equally strong elements, each distinct, the first being a low form of (i) approaching to (é), and the second a low form of (a) approaching in JGG.'s opinion to (æ), and lying between (a, æ); whereas in D 30 the first element is generally not quite so low, though it varies among (i, í, e), and the second element is weak and indistinct. The younger generation, however, even in D 31, inclines to (íe). JGG.'s searches were among old people, many of whom have since died.

E'=(éí), this is another peculiar fracture, with both elements distinct and accented, the first short, and the second more prolonged, as (méí, gréín, méít) me, green, meet. These are appreciated by natives, as (ii). In D 30 they vary as (éi) accented fully on the first element, or (íe, ii), as (méí, gríin, míet mūt) me, green, meet.

I'=(âi), as (tâim) time, occasionally, but rarely, and never characteristically, varying as (Eí) in Var. vi, but always quite distinct from D 30 (taam).

O' is probably normally (iü) derived from (o'u). This (iü) is perhaps the foundation of the prevailing D 30 form (íue), but for some reason, which I cannot assign, it varies, as (ú₁u), thus D 31 (kú₁ul kú₁ul), D 30 (kíuel) cool.

U'=(ú₁u) n. of line 6, but s. of it approaching (óu) and varying, as (óu, áu), whereas in D 30 it is regularly (un), thus D 31 (dú₁un, dóán, dáam), D 30 (duun) down. In the nw. horn of Yo this U' further varies as a sound which JGG. writes (éuu), which is parallel to (éii) for E'. Rev. W. R. Bell wrote the sound as *ew*, with a ~ over, and compared it to the *new* of a cat, apparently

meaning /ME-JE'u). JGG. said Mr. Bell recognised London (a'u). In both (ēi ēuu) the final element predominates. CCR. heard from the n. of Richmond, Yo., a sound he wrote *erw* in his Leeds Glossary, p. xiii, in *derwn, therw, nerw*, down, thou, now, the *r* only serving to alter the sound of the preceding vowel. This notation may have been meant to indicate this (ēuu) sound, but more closely resembles *a'u*). Here I can merely note that the subject requires investigation, but the region is so difficult of access that I have not been able to get proper information.

These are the great vowel differences, and possibly only indicate a preservation of old forms in the hills, which have been softened down in the plains. In construction *I is* (a)z), and *t'*=(t') for the, prevail over both hill and plain.

THE EDENSIDE SPEECH-SOUNDS.

Edenside is the name of Var. iv of this district, occupying n.We. and that part of Cu. about the River Eden. The sounds there found prevail more or less over the whole district, and I avail myself of this opportunity of giving the list of sounds as drawn up by JGG. in his paper on the "Traditional Names of Places in Edenside," read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archæological Society at Penrith, Jan. 1881. The traditional names themselves will be given subsequently. The words in square brackets [] are AJE.'s, the others JGG.'s.

Simple Vowels.

(a, aa) Nearly as the English vowels in "Papa asked Grant to pass half the staff to aunt," but the tongue is somewhat more advanced as it is in the true Italian (a). Edenside examples: Short—lass, glass, pass, castle, what, water, father. Long—Farm, cart, harvest, garden, dark.

(a₁) [In the paper cited JGG. used (æ) in place of the present (a₁).] General continental so-called short aa'. Quite distinct from the short sound of the last, but often confounded with it. Frequently heard as (ə)—the sound in "one such ugly cat's enough to dull one's courage"—by people from the south. [I could not hear any similarity between the two sounds.] Edenside examples: Man, cat, bag, pan, Annie, Maggie, etc. Compare lassie-lad (lasi-la₁d), brass pan (bras pa₁n), laugh at (laf a₁t), he sang a song (i sa₁q æ sa₁q). [When I heard JGG. pronounce these words, they sounded to me rather like la'si lad, bra's pan, la't at): but as he repudiated (a') and was very anxious that (a₁) should be kept distinct from (a'), and considered (aa) to be the true sound of (a in father, and (a₁ to be deeper, lying in the series, (a a₁ ə), I have followed his wishes. To my ear however he pronounced (aa) long, but (a', a) short, and I should have so written the sounds. He sometimes indicates 'advanced' (a, aa), which I cannot at all distinguish from (a', aa'). See notes to No. 19 in the 22 interlinear es. for this district, given below.

(AA) English vowel in "All Paul's daughters ought to talk small," but shorter in quantity, and more like the Italian *o aperto*. Edenside examples: Calf, halfpenny, fall, wall, talk, hall, etc. [This may be same sound as TH.'s (A') in D 23, Var. i, p. 353, but I could not distinguish it from (oo) Italian *o aperto*, open (o)].

(EE) Italian *e aperto* [open (E)], and Scotch and general continental short *e*. Edenside examples: Hare, pair, Mary, day, hay, gay. [As JGG. pron. the words the sound was considerably deeper than in the Southern (heer, peer, mee-ri, dee, hee, gee) which also occurs.]

(e) Received Southern English short *e* in "seven times eleven are seventy seven, eleven times seven are seventy seven, seven into seventy seven eleven, eleven into

seventy-seven seven." Edenside examples: bed, set, men, step, egg, etc. [Kept quite separate from (bed, set, men, step, eg, etc., JGG. adds] It is as well to realize the difference between this and the last, because in the only scientific description of Edenside speech yet given [Dr. Murray's], this vowel is said to be represented by the one last described (ēē). [Probably because (ē) was native and (e) foreign to Dr. Murray, who confuses (e) with Scotch i in fill, pit, DSS. p. 107.]

- (e) True Italian *e chiuso* [shut or close (e)] and "general" Scotch and continental sound of "long a." Edenside examples occur only in the pairs of confluent [or fractured] vowels described below. [The true (ē) does not occur in the fractures (i₁i, i₁a₁) to which he refers, but only its forms (e¹) or (i₁).]
- (i) Received English in "in this little village lived Kitty's sister Minnie." The Edenside vowel is formed with the tongue nearer the palate than is usual in the South of England: with us [in this paper "we" always means people of Cu. and We.] the sound is nearer the short sound of (i) as in the n. of Germany, etc. Edenside examples: bit, lig, in, kittle, big, get, etc. [It should therefore be written (i¹) as (bi¹t, li¹g), etc., but I cannot differentiate this from pure short (i); following JGG., however, I generally write (bit, lig), etc., simply.]
- (ii) English vowel in "see me lead these three sweetly bleating sheep." Edenside examples are rare, the sound being generally represented by the pairs (ēē, i₁i).
- (y) By this symbol I [that is, JGG.] propose to denote a peculiar vowel common to nw.England. It sounds between the Scotch vowel in "him, pit, still, milk," etc., and the unaccented vowel (ə) used in "idea, canary, America, motion, conscience," etc. Dr. Murray considers that it is allied to the Scotch vowel in *guid, buik, schuin, guis*, etc. [which again he identifies with (u)], and it does sometimes remind me [JGG.] of that too. Edenside examples heard from old people: rest, dress, rent, prince, friend, rich, rat, brack, yes, yesterday, etc. [Observe that it is due in all these cases to a preceding r, or following (s). I have found it necessary to mark a variety of it as (y₁) occ. See Introd. to No. 10 of the 22 cs. given below, p. 559, and Ab. (i₁₁) in D 39.]
- (o, oo) Short, and long, of the general continental short *ö*. Identical with the Italian *o aperto* [open (o)]. It lies between English short *ö* in *not* and true long *o* in *note* [between (o) and (oo)]. Edenside examples: short—off, Tom, bob, clog, for, short, George: long—no, show, grow, low [of, Tom, bob, clog, for°, shor°t, :dior°dʒ :—noo, shoo, groo, loo]. [As far as I could hear (o) does not occur; educated informants usually give (o), and in the same way I think true (AA) though given above does not occur, and that (o) or Italian *o aperto* supersedes both.]
- (o) Italian *o chiuso* [shut (o)]. General Scotch and continental long *ō*. Differs from the corresponding vowel in received English in being uttered with the tongue in one position, instead of beginning with the tongue lower and ending with it higher than this position, as is usual in ordinary English utterance. [The true sound does not occur in D 31. The Italian *o chiuso* is perhaps more like (u) than simple (oo), and I used to think it properly (uh). The form under which it occurs in D 31 is (u₁) as in the next article.]
- (u₁) [or as JGG. originally wrote (o¹), considering it a higher form of (o)]. This is the vowel that, in the n. of England, usually replaces the peculiar (ə) in received English in "some one's husband, son or brother comes up once a month to hunt," which vowel is too frequently confounded with the (ə) in *canary, idea*, etc., referred to lower down. Our Edenside vowel is nearly the same as the received English vowel in *foot, good, ball*, etc., but it is formed with the tongue more obliquely retracted from the palate. [The effect is that of a very 'thick' (u) approaching (o); see p. 291.] Edenside examples: tub, come, love, son, sun, etc., purse, murder, etc. [as appears by the next article both (u, u₁) occur].
- (u) Received English short *ö* in *foot, good, book, ball, stood*, etc. Edenside examples: *good, bull, food, shoot, butcher*, etc.
- (uu) Italian and general Continental sound; but it is never used pure in Edenside, except in the confluent [diphthongs] as in *new, few, fruit*, etc. [niúu, fiúu, friúut]. See under (ó'u, ú'u) on the next page.
- (v) Received English unaccented vowel in the words *America, idea, canary*,

motion, conscious; long it is the received English in the "early, bird deserves the early worm" [this vowel is variously represented as (æ, æ, æ, æ, æ, æ, æ, æ, æ, æ), but JGG. considers it as (væ)]. In Edenside it remains pure under strong accent. Edenside examples: (væt du(d)j) *that* did I, biscuit, pocket, window, barrow, pillow, etc., and in a host of other words. It is one of the most important elements in Edenside speech.

- (æ) In pal. the short form of this vowel represents the first three or four vowels, and the sixth in the deliberate utterance of "que je me repente!" [Volney's example]; and it occurs in many other combinations in French. Our Edenside equivalent of the English vowel in "the early bird deserves the early worm," is sufficiently different from the received form to constitute one of the chief difficulties encountered by strangers attempting to speak our dialects. Our vowel lies between (u) and (o) or (væ), the English vowels referred to. The French vowel is nearer to it than any that I am practically acquainted with. [As, however, it did not strike my ear as identical with the French sound, I have generally used (æ) by way of indicating a difference.]
- (æ) The last simple vowel is identical or nearly so with the German ö, and I believe also with the French eu. In Edenside it occurs in the words *swore*, *form*, *moor*, *poor*, and a few similar forms. In place names it used to be common in compounds with the word *moor*. [In the 22 cs. which follow par. 9, the word *swore* occurs, but in the Edenside examples we never find (swæur), but (swyyr²). The sound is very uncertain, and seems mainly due to (r). *Swore* is often rendered by *sware*, and is then treated differently.]

Confluent Vowels [Fractures, Diphthongs].

In our Northern English compounds there is a clearer utterance of each component, and a partial cessation of voice between the two vowels. Our practice agrees almost exactly with that of the Italians. [JGG. says that I call these "confluent vowels." I do not recollect ever having used this term in print. The Italian diphthongs have a "slurred glide," the two vowels being pronounced with scarcely any glide, or rather with such a diminution of force during the glide as would make it almost inaudible, but would not occasion any real silence or total separation. The glide is always marked by an acute accent on the element having the stress, and sometimes with a double accent where both elements are very distinctly pronounced.]

- (āi, âi, ái) Identical with German *ey*, *ai*, *ei*, Italian *ai*, Welsh *ai*, French *ai*, etc. Upper Edenside examples: *wide*, *bide*, *bite*, *mide*, *pie*, *fine*, *tidy*.
- (ēi¹, i₁i¹, i₁i) [The last form is usually adopted.] These pairs represent archaic forms of long *ē* as pronounced all over the nw. of England, and in the adjoining parts of Scotland. The voice begins with the tongue retracted obliquely more or less below the normal position of the vowel in *pūn*, *fīt*, *with*, and goes on to a position somewhat higher, so as almost to reach the position where true (ii) is formed. Great diversity of utterance exists; many people using a sound identical with the Scotch vowel in *wife*, *time*, etc., (ēi), while others constantly use the pair represented in the second symbol (i₁i¹), which is so much like true (ii) that the difference passes unnoticed. True (ii) is quite unknown here as a dialect utterance. Edenside examples: *feet*, *read*, *red*, *leaf*, *beef*, *seed*, *green*.

- (o¹u, ú₁u) [The second symbol here adopted after much discussion with JGG.] North-western English representative of received English, general Scotch and continental "long *ōō*." It commences with the vocal organs nearly in the position for the Italian *o chiuso* and ends with pure (uu). [Its effect is quite different from that of Midland (ūu)]. Great variety exists in the pron. of this and the last pairs of vowels. In the wilds and amongst people remote from the influence of town-life the forms here given are the common ones; but there is every gradation from these into the pure (ii) and (uu) of received English among younger folk and town dwellers. Edenside examples: *cow*, *house*, *mouse*, *brow*, etc.

- (ōu) Italian *o aperto* [open (o)] followed by pure (u). Edenside examples: *pony*, *hoe*, *daughter*, *thought*, *wrought*, *cowlake*.

- (ó_a, ú_a) Italian *o chiuso* followed by Italian short *a* [but this would be (a), whereas JGG. uses the sign for (a)₁, which often passes into the obscure vowels (v, ə)]. Edenside examples: *coal*, *foal*, *notice*, *George*, *John*, *Joseph*, *hole*, *coat*, *road*, etc.
- (e₁a₁, i₁a₁) [the second form adopted] Italian *e chiuso* [shut (e)] followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced Italian short *a* [but JGG. uses the symbol for (a)₁]. The (e) graduates into *i* in some mouths, and the (a₁) into obscure vowels more or less allied to (ə, v). Edenside examples: *stable*, *cake*, *toad*, *gate*, *soap*, *name*, *grave*.
- (i¹ŋ) used in a few names, and also in such words as *nea*, *sea*, *tea*, *wea* = *nay* in dialectal assent to a negative, so, toe, woe. [This is given by JGG. on the authority of Mr. William Atkinson.]
- (iu). Short *i* in *fit*, *pín*, *lip*, *jig*, &c., followed by a more or less distinctly pronounced short *oo* in *foot*, *good*, *ball*, etc. Many speakers seem unable to pron. this quite distinctly; but most of the older people agree in doing so. [The result must be distinguished from (iu, iú).] Edenside examples: *toot*, *school*, *look*, *book*, *spoon*, *smoke*, *crook*.

Consonants.

- [(b p, d t, dh th, v f, g k, m n q, s z, sh zh) call for no remark.]
- (d̥ t̥) dental [or rather alveolar] *d t* uttered with the tongue [on the gums], near the back of the upper incisor teeth. [This is only in conjunction with a following (r^o).]
- (d̥ t̥) rec. English *edge*, *judge*, *Jew*, *James*, *jam*, and *etch*, *clutch*, *chew*, *chain*, *watch*. Where *d̥ t̥* occur before a vowel, the *d̥* or the *t̥* is doubled thus: (ed̥d̥ɪz, mḁt̥t̥ɪz, *edges*, *matches*, and the first of the doubled consonants is held just as it is in Italian pron.
- (h̥) [which, except in this list, is written with simple (h)], jerked aspirate, *Henry*, *his*, *home*, *her*, *behoed*. Though the aspirate has almost entirely vanished in the dialects of the townstolk, it is yet employed with much uniformity by the people in the country part.
- (kj̥h) palatal guttural, as in the German *siech*; Scotch *nicht*, *richt*, *sicht*. Now nearly obsolete. [Used only by very old people.]
- (k̥w̥h) labial guttural; Germ. *auch*; Scotch *loch*, *wheat*, *what*. Now nearly obsolete.
- (j) Rec. English in *yon*, *you*, *ye*, *yes*. Palatal aperture contracted more with the middle of the tongue than during the formation of (ii). [Nevertheless JGG. considers that there is more (ii) than (j) in the sound, the buzz being absent, and hence it is generally represented by (i) or very short (ii) gliding on at once to the following vowel. See under (w) at end.]
- (jh) voiceless and jerked form of the last as in *Hughes*, *huge*, *hev*, *humility*. [I find no jerk, (jh) is related to (j) as (zh) to (sh), that is, French *j* to Fr. *ch*.]
- (l) The same in all positions as the (l) used before a vowel in rec. English, general continental *l*, [but this is rather (l̥)]. This *l* is often held briefly (l̥), but it is quite distinct from the London and general Southern *l* in *mill*, *mi/k*, *fill*, *ell*, *law*, *lift*, *lip*. [I am not sure to what *l* JGG. is alluding, perhaps (L).]
- (lh) The voiceless [or rather hissed] form of the last frequently used before a voiceless palatal consonant as *mlhk*, *lhlt*, *balht* for *mi/k*, *li/t*, *bui/t*. [The hiss of the (lh) was very marked in JGG.'s pron. of these words.]
- (n̥h) The voiceless [or flated] form of (n), employed where an original initial *k* was once used, see the next symbol. This identical sound is in constant use in Icelandic [see Part II. p. 546]. Edenside examples: *knit*, *knock*, *know*, *knife*, etc.
- (tnh) The same sound preceded by (t) which represents the original *k*. [See Lediard's pron. in Part IV. p. 1046, under K, see also Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Part II. p. 544, n. 2.] Miss Powley, of Langwathby, and [her sister] Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderswath, state that this was a common sound here many years ago. [See below cs. No. 16, in the 22 cs., introd. and notes.]
- (r̥) This is a buzzed *r*, [by which is meant an unflapped *r*, see p. 294 on *r* generally, although flapped *r*'s are necessarily buzzed, but the flapping renders

the buzz intermittent, whereas here it meant a continuous buzz as in [z]. that is to say, *r* produced by driving the voiced breath over the curved tip of the tongue, which is turned up to the front palate in a spoon-shaped form, and remains rigid, instead of vibrating [flapping], as it does in the Scotch and Italian *r*. This consonant is a retracted form of [dʁ], and should be distinguished from ordinary *r* in some way. (I use (r₅) for Mr. Melville Bell's untrilled *r*, which is in fact an imperfect alveolar (d, "the point of the tongue contracting the oral passage between it and the upper gum" (*Visible Speech*, p. 52). And I use r₅ where the contraction of the passage between tongue and hard palate is more in the place of (d, for the London sound, which is an imperfect r₅, to which JGG. objects that my (r₅) is "little else than a vowel." Hence, with his consent, I have introduced the new sign (r₅), shewing the absence of trill by putting the (r₅) above instead of below r₅. That there is much essential difference in the sounds r r₅ r₅ I do not suppose, and generally I shall use (r) for each of them with a previous explanation. But in the following 22 es., as some of JGG.'s informants used the trilled (r), and others the untrilled continuous buzz (r₅), I have been obliged to make the distinction.] Old people rarely ever drop this consonant, but it is going out of use, when not before a vowel, among the younger folk. Examples: *ray*, *hurry*, *rare*. After *d*, *t*, the *r* is invariably dental [alveolar], and is then denoted by [r₅]. [But then *d*, *t* are also alveolar, so we have (d₅r₅, t₅r₅).]

(rh) The voiceless form is rarely used and may be passed over here.

(w) is uu with the labial orifice contracted so as to impart somewhat of a buzzing effect to the sound: but the buzz is not as marked as it is in the South, and it seems here to be often replaced by simple [u] or [u]. [Hence I write ũ, which represents this form of w just as [i] represents a similar form of j.]

(wh) This is the voiceless and jerked form of the last, and it often seems to be uttered as if the back of the tongue were raised as it is in the Scotch [kəh]. We use the sound quite consistently yet, and rarely or never is it replaced by simple w except by townstolk [as is also too much the custom with even the best educated people in London]. Examples: *which*, *whether*, *wheat*, *what*.

(wr₅) This pair of consonants yet survives in the pron. of very old people, and it is said to enter into the pron. of some of the place names, but I have not yet detected it for certain. Examples: *wrong*, *wren*, *write*, *written*. [JGG. interposed no vowel, however faint, between (w) and (r₅) as (w'r₅). I sometimes think this sound should be labialised *r* as (r₅u), but so few people use it, and those so difficult of access, that it is impossible to study it at first hand: at second hand we have only imitations—counterfeits, not the genuine article.]

Varieties.

It is very difficult to draw the boundaries of the six varieties which I have been induced to make in D 31. To a native no doubt the differences are very prominent, and he is generally able after hearing a few sentences to localise the speaker. This happens in all extensive dialect regions. But often, on examination, here and elsewhere, these distinctions, on which so much stress is laid, resolve themselves into slight varieties of intonation, a little change of construction, a few words and phrases habitual in one locality and scarcely heard in another, and perhaps slight changes of vowels, raising or depressing them, especially (i, a), which scarcely strike a stranger at all, and which he finds it difficult to formulate. Possibly many natives may object to the localisation and characterisation of varieties here given, but it is the best which the information at my command enables me to furnish. My many attempts to draw boundaries have failed so completely that I have altogether abandoned them.

VAR. i. CRAVEN, etc.

This consists of at least two distinct parts, n. and s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. The n. part has U'=(*ú*₁u) as (*hú*₁us, *dú*₁un) house, down, and the s. part has U'=(*áu*) as (*há*us, *dá*un). But considering that the s. part had merely developed the (*ú*₁u) of the n. part into (*áu*), I have not hesitated to consider these two parts as forming one variety. The best marked form of this dialect is in Upper Swaledale, which, from the information given me by Mr. G. Bell, the publisher, of 4, York Street, Covent Garden, native of Richmond, I consider to extend a little to the e. of Richmond, about Catterick. It is found to the s. without any change in Upper Wensleydale, probably as far down as Middleham. It is also certain that, with the changes of (*ú*₁u) into (*áu*) and various insignificant changes, it appears among the hills and dales of n.Craven, in Chapel-le-Dale (between Whernside and Ingleborough hills), in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (between Ingleborough and Pen-y-ghent hills), and at Burton-in-Lonsdale (at the foot of Ingleborough hill, on the b. of We.), and hence most probably prevails all over m.Craven down to the n. *theeth* line 5. For the last three places named, compared with Upper Swaledale, I give a full cwl., which shews the remarkable uniformity, except as regards U'-words, between the two parts of Var. i. And for Burton-in-Lonsdale separately, I give below quite a unique specimen.

In addition to JGG.'s papers, CCR. gave me specimens of the nw. Mining Districts, including Swaledale and Arkengarthdale, but they were reminiscences of many years standing, and differed so materially, in the direction of D 30, from JGG.'s recent and most careful work from actual dictation many times revised with the informants themselves, that I have been obliged to omit them from the 22 interlinear cs. below. Similarly CCR. gave me a specimen for "Upper Craven, Upper Ribblesdale with Ingleton, Clapham, etc., Upper Wharfedale with Kettlewell, etc., Upper Nidderdale with Middlesmoor, Langstrothdale, etc.," which very materially differs from the cwl. and the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, both belonging to this region, furnished by JGG. As before, I consider the latter work, made direct from dictation, preferable to reminiscences of long standing. Finally, CCR. gave me a specimen for Mid Craven with Skipton, which I am unable to contrast with any work by JGG., but which bears a close resemblance to the former versions. All of these seem to have been modified by memory in the course of years in the direction of the much more familiar m.Yo. forms. But I think it due to such an excellent worker as CCR., who, in his youth, had many opportunities of becoming acquainted with the speech of old people in these regions—people who were old more than 50 years ago—to shew the impressions which he retains. I therefore give paragraphs and extracts of paragraphs from the cs. in all three of these versions by CCR., and prefix to them JGG.'s version from Upper Swaledale (given in full as No. 2 in the 22 interlinear cs. below, for the sake of easy comparison. And, as will be seen by the Burton-in-Lonsdale specimen, this holds good for n.Craven as respects the U'- words.

COMPARISON OF CCR.'S AND JGG.'S VERSIONS.

0. 1	JGG.'s <i>Upper Swaledale or Muker.</i>	what	for ^o
2	CCR.'s <i>Upper Mining Dales.</i>	wat	fur _o
3	CCR.'s <i>Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale.</i>	wat	fer _o
4	CCR.'s <i>Skipton and Mid Craven.</i>	wat	for

- 1 :dʒwú₁en hɛz nɪ́á₁ dú₁uts.
 2 :dʒú₁eni ez nɪ́v duuts.
 3 :dʒú₁en ez néev duuts.
 4 :dʒú₁en ez nɛv dáuts.

6. 1 d' ál'd bodi hə₁r_ose'l 'l tel a₁ni o ʒv ɛt lǎ₁fs
 2 t' aat wu₁men ɛsel 'l tɪl onɪ jan o ʒv ɛt lɛfs
 3 t' óud wu₁men ɛsel 'l tel onɪ o ʒv ɛt lɛfs
 4 th óud wu₁men ɛsel 'l tel onɪ o ʒoo ɛt lɛfs

- 1 nɪ́u, ái wa₁d'nt shə₁?
 2 nuu, óov wu₁net shv?
 3 nuu, uu! wɪ₁net sho?
 4 náu, oo! wɪ₁net shv?

7. 1 a₁ni wee shə₁ tɛld méi sɪ́á₁ twí₁ á₁ thrɛi tɛimz óu)ə₁r_o,
 2 onɪrɪvɛdz shéi tɪlt méei it twí₁v tɪ tɛimz óur_o
 3 onɪwí₁vɛz sho tɛld mee it tɪv thɪ tɛimz óuv
 4 onɪgɛɛts shu toud mii it v túethɪ tɛimz óuv,

- 1 dha₁t ɛd dɪd shə₁
 2 ʃhéi)dɛd.
 3 sho)dɪd
 4 dɪd shv.

8. 1 shu wad 'tel' dhv hɪ́u wha₁r_o en
 2 shéi)d tɪl ʒv oo vbiút vɛt 'uu en 'wa₁r_o en
 3 shuu)d tel ʒv óv vbaút it, béeeth uu en wa₁r_o en
 4 ʃshuu)d tel ʒv béeeth áu en wí₁er en

- 1 when shə₁ fa₁n'd\ɪ' dɪrɪŋken bɪ₁ɛst ɛd shə₁ kaalɪz
 2 ʃwen t)wa₁r_o shéi fan)t' dɪrɪken bɛ₁ɛs ɛt shéi kóovɛz
 3 wen it war ɛt sho fan)t' dɪrɪken bɪ₁ɛs ɛt sho kóvɛz
 4 wen it wor ɛt shu fan)t' dɪrɪken bɪ₁ɛs ɛt shu kóvɛz

- 1 ə₁r_o ma₁n.
 2 ɛr uzben.
 3 ɛr uzben.
 4 ɛr uzben.

9. 1 shi swa₁r_o ɛd shə₁ saa im wɪv ə₁r_o aan éin, lɪgɛn
 2 shéi swa₁r_o she saa im wéi ɛr óoen in, lɪgɪn
 3 sho swa₁r_o ɛt shuu saa im wɪv ɛr óoen iin, lɪgɪn
 4 shu thríeɛpt ɛt shu saa im wi)t' óen iin, lɪgɪn

- 1 la₁q' sɪr_ohɪkt ɛtop v)d grʌnd, iv iz gʊd sʌndɪ
 2 la₁q sɪrɛkt ɛtop v)t' grʌnt, iv iz gʊd sʌndɛ
 3 sɪrɛtɪt ɛt la₁q lɛqth wɛ)t' grʌnd, iv iz gʊd sʌndɛ
 4 la₁q sɪrɪekt ɛtop v)t' grʌnd, dɒnd i iz gʊd sʌndɛ

- 1 *kwú₁et*, *klwú₁es* *bí)*d' *d̥y₁ə₁r°* *ev* *iz* *aan* *hú₁us*, *dú₁un* *i)*d'
 2 *kwú₁et*, *tlwú₁es* *béi)*t' *us* *d̥iur_o* *duun* *e)*t'
 3 *kwú₁et*, *tléees* *bí)*t' *us* *d̥iur_o* *stíved* *duun* *et* t'
 4 *kóoit*, *tléees* *bí)*t' *áus* *dúv* *stíved* *dáum* *e)*t'

- 1 *núuk* *v* *jon* *lwú₁enín*.
 2 *núuk* *v* *jondhe* *lwú₁uen*.
 3 *kaaner* *v* *jon* *lúuán*.
 4 *kóoenr* *v* *jon* *lúuén*.

11. 1 *en* *·dha₁t* *ha₁p'mpt* *ez* *hə₁r°* *en* t' *su₁n* *wáif* *ku₁*
 2 *en* *dhat* *ap'nt* *ez* *shéei* *en)*t' *dóu₁tər* *i* *lóov* *kəm*
 3 *en* *dhat* *ap'nt* *ez)*t' *dóu₁tər* *i* *loo* *en* *ər_o* *kəm*
 4 *en* *dhat* *apend* *ez* *shuu* *en)*t' *dóuter* *i* *lóov* *kəm*

- 1 *t₁r°ú₁n)*d' *ba₁k* *sáaid* *fre* *hiqín)*d' *wet* *klíá₁z* *ú₁ut* *tə*
 2 *t₁rón)*t' *bak* *gíieth* *frev* *aqín* t' *wíut* *tlíev* *ut* *tə*
 3 *thru)*t' *bak* *gáeth* *frev* *iqín* t' *wet* *tléev* *uut* *fə* *tə*
 4 *thru)*t' *bak* *jud* *fre* *iqín* t' *wet* *tléev* *tə*

- 1 *d₁r°áai* *e)*d' *weshín* *dée*.
 2 *d₁ráai* *ev* *v* *wéishín* *déev*.
 3 *d₁rái* *ev* *v* *weshín* *déev*.
 4 *d₁rái* *en* *v* *weshín* *déev*.

12. 1 *whâi)*t' *ket'l* *wəz* *bóilen* *fə₁r°* *téii*, *jaa* *fáain*
 2 *waal)*t' *ket'l* *wa* *bóilin* *fer_o)*t' *d₁r₁qkín* *jaa* *féin*
 3 *wál)*t' *ket'l* *wə* *géest* *v* *bóilin* *fə)*t' *d₁r₁qkín* *jan* *fâin*
 4 *wáil* *th* *ket'l* *wor* *bóilin* *fə)*th *d₁r₁qkín* *jév* *fáin*

- 1 *bríit* *su₁mə₁r_o* *eftə₁r°níún*.
 2 *briit* *eftən₁ien* *i* *sumər_o*.
 3 *briit* *eftən₁ien* *i* *sume*.
 4 *briit* *eftər_onén* *i* *sumər_o*.

13. 1 *en* *ái* *nyvə₁r°* *hə₁ə₁r°d* *nóut* *ni* *maar°* *v* *dhís* *whel*
 2 *en* *a* *niver_o* *laant* *oni* *maar* *en* *dhís* *up* *tev*
 3 *en* *ái* *nive* *laant* *oni* *méev* *dhen* *dhís* *up* *tívtə*
 4 *en* *ái* *niver_o* *laant* *oni* *méev* *en* *dhís* *up* *təl*

- 1 *tədəe*, *ez* *síuə₁r°* *ez* *mái* *níá₁m)z* *:d̥ja₁k*.
 2 *tədəev*, *ez* *síuer* *ez* *mí* *níiem)z* *:d̥jéni*.
 3 *tədəev*, *ez* *síuer* *ez* *mí* *néevm)z* *:d̥jéuén*.
 4 *tədəev*, *ez* *síur* *ez* *mí* *néevm)z* *:d̥jéuén*.

14. 1 *en* *síá₁* *ái* *men* *bí* *gáaen* *híá₁m* *tə* *mí* *su₁pə₁r°* *gud* *nêit*.
 2 *en* *síiv* *aa)z* *gaqen* *liem* *tə* *git* *mí* *super_o* *gwúv* *niit*.
 3 *en* *séev* *ái)z* *gaain* *éevm* *tə* *git* *mí* *supē* *gíud* *niit*.
 4 *en* *síiv* *ái)z* *gaqín* *éevm* *tə* *mí* *súeper* *gud* *niit*.

The complete comparison of JGG.'s Upper Swaledale with CCR.'s Mid Yo. is given in the 22 interlinear es. below. The characters that I gave for this district were taken from JGG.'s versions, and it will be seen that they agree with No. 1 above, which is considerably different from No. 2. In No. 3, which are reminiscences of a much older pronunciation than that heard by JGG., CCR. is inconsistent about the U' and French OU... Thus taking the complete es., of which only parts are given above, I find (nun, wivnut, duun, us, uu, duuts) now, without, down, house, how, doubts, but (báwt, áusemí-ver) about, however. If these were rightly remembered, it would imply that early in the sixteenth century only a few U' words in n.Craven had *áu*, whereas in 1876, when JGG. tried the region, all of them had it. On the other hand, CCR. in his Skipton or m.Craven es. has (náu, dáun, áus, áu, áusemí-ver, áut, dháur) now, down, house, how, however, out, thou, and no uu, as was to be expected. Mr. Carr, in the introduction to his 'Craven Glossary,' says (1828): "At the distance of 5 or 6 miles from the e. b. of the parish of Skipton, the pronunciation is entirely changed; thus *house* is pron. *hoose*, and *mouse* *moose*, *cow* *coo*, as in the n. and e. Riding of Yo." As the distance is reckoned from the e. b. of the parish, it is presumably to be measured towards the e., and in that case it confirms the position here assigned to the s. *hoose* line 6. In the examples cited in his glossary which relates to Mid Craven, Mr. Carr adopts rec. spelling for 'how, cow, sour, out, mouth, hour, thou, down, gown,' etc., evidently indicating the sound (*áu*).

CCR. occasionally uses (th) for the definite art. for Skipton (and Mr. Carr uses *th'*, as well as by Washburn River pp. 500, 502, 516, No. 6, which is adjacent. If this were adopted, it would be necessary to change the position of the n. *the* *toth* line 5, and carry it from Colne, Lat. n. of Skipton, and Blubberhouses, and even Harrogate, but as the information is not complete, as the position of the line past Harrogate is quite unknown, and as the usage, if it occurs, must be rare, and is not generally acknowledged, I leave the line unaltered, with this remark. TH., see next page, heard only (t') at Skipton.

As Mr. Carr points out, Chaucer, in the Reeve's Tale, makes his two frolicksome students come from "Strothir, fer in the north, I cannot telle where." Mr. Carr identifies this with Langstrothdale (28 ne.Lancaster, 4 n.Penyghent Hill) in n.Craven, and just s. of the s. *hoose* line 6. Chaucer would of course be no authority whatever for the pron. of such a place, the very locality of which he could not assign. In the speeches of these students the only marked northernism is the use of *I is* for *I am*, which still exists.

The whole of this extreme w. of Yo. is a rather wild and not very populous region, but exactly on that account the more interesting for our purpose, because there must have been fewer instrumentalities at work for effecting great changes. From the upper mining dales down s. to Sedberg, Dent, Burton-in-Lonsdale, and Horton-in-Ribblesdale, it is well represented. I am less sure of the n.w. horn of Yo. by Laithkirk, Mickleton, Romaldkirk, etc., on the borders of the Tees. The vicar of Laithkirk, Rev. W. R. Bell, supplied me with a wl. and a es., but I did not feel any confidence in my interpretation of his orthography. JGG. however had an opportunity of hearing him read the wl., and I give the result in the cwl. for Var. i, form b, below. The only point of interest is the treatment of the U'-words, which become (*éuu*), as already observed (p. 538, line 3 from bottom).

TH. in 1887 had accidentally an opportunity of hearing speech from a native of Hurst in Upper Swaledale and Clapham (6 nw.Settle and 4 sw.Horton-in-

Ribblesdale), both of them in JGG.'s territory. The Clapham ex. consisting of extracts from the cs. was quite like JGG.'s, and hence need not be cited. TH. got a dt. from Hurst, another from Giggleswick by Settle, and a third from Skipton. These three I annex interlinearly. Their variations from JGG.'s are very slight, the principal being at Hurst, where TH. heard JGG.'s (*ú₁u*) as (*óu*, *óu*), which is not surprising, for the ear requires long usage to distinguish (*ú₁u*) from (*óu*), to which it certainly leads.

THREE INTERLINEAR dt.

II Hurst (8 w. Richmond, Yo.), within the limits of the Muker cs., No. 2 of the 22 interlinear cs. below, pal. in 1887 by TH., from the dictation of a native then living near Keighley.

G Giggleswick ($\frac{1}{2}$ w. Settle, pal. in 1887 by TH., from a farm servant b. 1811. This represents w. Craven.

S Skipton 39 w. York, pal. 1887, by TH., from a native shoemaker, b. 1817, who had lived there all his life.

The (*r*) is left unmarked, and is uncertain, TH. having probably identified it with his own (*r*).

1. H *Hurst.* A sêv, ladz, je shi nóu et dí)m rít vbàut
G *Giggleswick.* dí see, tjaps, Ji shi náu et A)m re'it vbàut
S *Skipton.* A sêv, tjaps, je shi náu et A)m re'it vbàut

H dhat láil las kumín frè)t' skíul jon'der.

G dhat láil las kumín frè)t' skíul jon'der.

S dhat láil las kumín thrè)t' skóil jon'der.

2. H she)z gáyín dóm)t' róed dhàr, thrúu)t' red geet.
G shi)z gáyín dām)t' rúed dhier, thróu)t' red gjeet on)t' left
S she)z gù)ín dām)t' rúed dhier thré'u)t' red gjeet on)t' left

H

G and sáid v)t' rúed.

S and sáid v)t' rúed.

3. H si je, shi)z gjén te)t' raq dúer [óus].
G lúuk je! t' bàrn)z gàn st're'it up te)t' raq dúer [áus].
S lúuk je! t' tjáild)z gàn st're'it up te)t' raq dúer.

4. H wàr shi)l me)bi fínd dhat druqk díef thín
G wíer she mee fínd dhat drúk'n díef ríq'ld
S wíer she)l ap'n fínd dhat drúk'n [druf'n] díef wídhed

H speerí mán et dhe kAAL :tóm.

G óud felé, ez dhe kAA :tóm.

S thín felé, ez dhe kAAL :tóm.

5. H wí AAL nAA¹ ím vare wáil.
G wí AAL naa ím vare wáil.
S wí AAL nAA ím vare wáil.
6. H wíent t''AA'd man sún lien er nu)t te dúu ít egjeen,
G wé ent t' óud tjaپ sóm larn er nót te dúu ít egjeen,
S wíent t' óud tjaپ sóin larn er nót te du ít egjeen,

H *póuer thiq* !
 G *pûer thiq* !
 S *pûer bàrn* !

7. H *lúuk* ! *iz'nt it réit* ?
 G *lóuk* ! *iz'nt it trá'u* ?
 S *lúuk* ! *iz'nt it trá'u* ?

VAR. ii. LONSDALE.

It is with some hesitation that I write the two Lonsdales, n. and s. of the Sands, as one variety, with two forms, Var. *iiā*, and Var. *iiḃ*. The two together, as TH. points out, form an area of transition for the A-, A' words from (*ie*) through (*ia*) to the Craven form (*īa*₁). Thus in Var. *iiā*, s. of the Sands, TH. heard 77 forms ending in (*e*) as against 20 ending in (*a*). But in Var. *iiḃ*, n. of the Sands, he heard only 45 ending in (*e*) as against 25 ending in (*a*). For the U' words in Var. *iiā*, s. of the Sands, we find (*áu*) as in Craven, but in Var. *iiḃ*, n. of the Sands, we have (*ou*), a descendant of (*ū*₁u). These are considerable differences. A greater one is that V *iiā* uses *to* and V *iiḃ* generally *at* before the infinitive. Still as *to* and *at* are both heard, notwithstanding the prevalence of *at*, through V *iii*, and as *to* is not unfrequently heard in V *iiḃ*, although *at* prevails, or at least used to prevail, it is difficult to insist upon this as a mark of distinction.

Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, near Coniston, procured me in 1873 a cs. from Ulverston by Mr. R. Pearson, accountant, then 40 years acquainted with the dialect, and another from Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster and native of Coniston, generally considered a great authority on the dialect, b. about 1803. Owing to the sparing manner in which pron. was indicated in these cs., I have not felt justified in attempting to pal. them. But the last has been read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, and is given on p. 563, as No. 5 in the 22 interlinear cs. Four cases of *to* or *at* before the infinitive occur in these two cs. Mr. Pearson writes, 1) *I wod trest em et speeak trewth*, par. 5; 2) *hingin out t' wet claeas ta dry*, par. 11; 3) *I doant want tā kna*, par. 13; 4) *sa sharp ta kra*, par. 14. Mr. Bowness has *ta* in all four cases. In "Three Furness Dialect Stories by a Native" (Coward, Carlisle, 1867), given me by Mr. Ellwood, *tā* or *to* occurs before the infinitive 22 times, and *at* never. In Roger Picketah's *Forness Folk* (Coward, Carlisle, 1870), an examination of the first tale, 'Amang t' Rowndheeads,' gives 18 *to* and 9 *at* before the infinitive, the latter being 1) *a bit furdur et gang*; 2) *them at knaas how et dew it*; 3) *I cuddent bide et see 'em*; 4) *I ext 'em what was et dew wi' him*; 5) *we were fooarst et part company*; 6) *he'd hed nowt et itt o' t' day*; 7) *meadd me summat et itt*; 8) *I'se fain et see ye*; 9) *I heddent mich time et spar*.

Noticing these discrepancies, I wrote to Mr. Ellwood, and he replied as follows on 2 Jan. 1874, the passages in [] being my interpolations.

“*U* (*ut*) as the sign of the infinitive is used in Furness, as Mrs. Ellwood [native] and I can abundantly confirm. *To* and *ta* (*te*) for the infinitive is found, however, quite as commonly, and the tendency in the case of *ut* is rather to become obsolete. [Miss M. A. Bell, who belongs to the younger generation, could not remember having heard it.] Not that it is obsolete, or anything like it as yet, for you may hear *ut do*, *ut go*, etc., every day here in the mouths of the dalesmen as commonly as possible. It is also to be found, I believe, in s.Cu. as far as that term is used as comprehending Millom [13 ssw.Coniston] and Whitbeck [15 sw.Coniston, both on the sw. promontory of Cu.]. I took the printed specimen [of my cs.] you inclosed to the Coniston postmaster [Mr. R. Bowness], and he said, after carefully thinking the matter over, that *ut* might be used for *to* in the case of two of the infinitives you had marked in it, viz. ‘*to* speak the truth’ [par. 5], which might be put ‘*ut* speak t’ truth,’ and ‘*to* dry’ [par. 11], which might be ‘*ut* dry.’ In the other two cases [*to* know, par. 13, and *to* crow, p. 14] he thought, on account of euphonic reasons, which he could not very well explain, *to* or *ta* (*te*) ought to be retained. When he first gave the written specimen to me which I sent you before, I mentioned this very thing to him, and suggested that in the case of the infinitive he should put *ut*, but he said that one form was just as commonly used as the others, and it was therefore indifferent. So I let it remain *to* as he had put it. There is one thing which I think deserves to be noticed in regard to the testimony in favour of *ta* and *ut* in their Furness usage, and that is, that those who have given *ta* or *to*, viz. Mr. Morris [author of the ‘Three Furness Stories’], the Coniston Postmaster, and I believe Mr. R. Pearson, are all natives of the district, and have never been much out of it; while those who give *ut* and *et* invariably are, I think, comparatively strangers.—Mr. Gibson [referring to four High Furness tales in his ‘Folk-speech of Cumberland,’ etc.] having only been about eight or nine years in practice as a surgeon at Coniston, which was, I believe, the whole length of his sojourn in Furness [he was a Scotchman; his Furness tales occupy about twelve small pages, and contain *ut* thirty-seven times, and *to* three times, these three cases being possibly oversights], while Roger Piketah, who is in truth Dr. Barber, formerly of Ulverston, lived in Furness just about the same length of time as Mr. Gibson, and is really a Nottinghamshire man, knowing very little indeed about this dialect. . . . It is easy enough, however, to assign a reason why the natives should not dwell so much upon *ut* as those who are comparative strangers. A stranger is more struck by peculiarities, as *ut* certainly is, and, therefore, he, when writing in the dialect, gives them in every case, while the native accustomed to them in their proper order gives them only as they occur.”

The fact about *to* and *at* seems to be that the people were Saxon naturally using *to*, that the *at* was a Scandinavian invasion which only partially ousted *to*, and that hence both are used with equal correctness. It is to be observed also that though the two parts of Lonsdale are separated by the estuary of the Gilpin running into Morecamb Bay, from We., yet s.Lonsdale adjoins We., in the s. of which both (*áu*) and (*ut*) are used. But I have found it best to separate We., which I place under Var. iii; and to distinguish two forms *a* and *b* of Var. ii. Except as regards the U' and A-words and the use of *to*, *at*, these *a* and *b* forms of Var. ii are almost identical, as the following comparison will shew.

SONG OF SOLOMON, Chap. ii.

The late Mr. R. B. Peacock wrote Chap. ii. of Solomon's *Song of Songs* for the dialect of Lonsdale s. of the Sands, and Mr. J. Stockdale for the form of Lonsdale n. of the Sands, both in a partially systematic orthography, as printed on p. 31 of Mr. Peacock's pamphlet on the ‘Six Northern Counties of England,’ Berlin, 1863, subjoined to his Glossary of Lonsdale, *Trans. Philological Soc.*

Supplement to part ii. 1867. I have here pal. these two versions by means of his Key (*ibid.* p. 11), assisted by the two cwl. for these regions given below from TH.'s observations, but the (u) is uncertain (see p. 554), and (tʀ, dʀ) was not recognised, and the aspirate was retained.

1. S *Lonsdale South of the Sands.* ái)z)t' rúez v :sheeren, en)t'
 N *Lonsdale North of the Sands.* ái)z)t' rúez v :sheeren, en)t'
 S lili v)t' valiz.
 N lili v)t' valiz.
2. S emaq)t' lasenz mi lav)z láik v lili emaq)t' wikwudz.
 N es)t lili emaq)t' tharnz, súe iz mi lav emaq)t' dóu)te,rz.
3. S emaq)t' ladz, mi bílavd)z láik en ap'l emaq)t' kom'en
 N es)t ap'l trii emaq)t' triiz v)t' wud, súe iz mi bílavd
 S triiz; ái sat me dáen under hiz shade wi gart
 N emaq)t' sanz; ái sat me dóen under hiz shade wi gart
 S plezer, en hiz frút wez swiit te mi téast.
 N djói, en hiz frút wez swiit te mi téast.
4. S hi bróut me te)t' fiestín háus, en hiz kaler óuer me
 N hi bróut me te)t' fiesten hóus, en hiz kaler óuer me
 S wez lav.
 N wez lav.
5. S gi)me v súep v sumet te sup, te kumfert me, en ái sud
 N fresh'n me up wi v sup v sumet et (dʀi)qk, gi)me
 S láik sum ap'lz te it; fer ái)z díed siik v lav.
 N sum ap'lz et it; fer ái)z feer siik v lav.
6. S hiz left hand)z under mi híed, en hiz réit hand
 N hiz left hand)z under mi híed, en hiz riit hand duz
 S kud'lz me.
 N kod'l me.
7. S en máind je dhis, je :djerúuzlem lasenz, bi)t' vali v o)t
 N ái warn je, oo je dóut)erz v :djerúuzelem, bi)t'
 S kái en ship i)t' fildz, ez je doont star up, ner wak'n
 N bús en bi)t' jóuz i)t' fild, et je star net up, ner wak'n
 S mi lav, tel)v láiks.
 N mi lav tel hi plúvez.
8. S t' vóis v mi bílavd! luk je hi kumz lóupín óuer)t' felz,
 N t' vóis v mi bílavd! luk je hi kumz lóupen on)t' felz,

S skelpin etop)v)t' hóuz.
N skipen on)t' hóuz.

9. S mi biluvd)z láik v roo er v juq buk; luk ju, hì)z standin
N mi biluvd)z láik v roo er v juq buk; luk, hí standz

S bihint áur woo, hì)z gluurin áut v)t' winde, en shoo'in
N bihint óur woo, hí) líeks áut v)t' windez, shoo'in

S hízsel thru)t' lat)wark.
N hízsel thru)t' lat'is.

10. S mi biluvd spak en sed tu)me, náu, huni, gít up, dhat)s
N mi biluvd spéak en sed te me, ráiz up, mi lav, mi

S v boni las, en kuu dhi weez.
N feer)en, en kum her weez.

11. S fer dus)te sii, t' winter)z past, t' reen)z óuer en gían.
N fer)t' winter)z past, fer se'uer, t'reen)z óuer en gon.

12. S t' fláuerz iz bigin'in te blaa; t' parin táim v)t' bardz iz kum,
N t' flóuerz kumz up v)t' arth, t' bardz iz bigin'en ut siq,

S en jan me híier)t' stok duv kuu'in i)t' wudz.
N en)t' kushet kuu iz hard i óur land.

13. S t' beri triiz iz i blos'em, en)t' swiit briier)z bigin'in te
N t' feg trii puts out it griin fegs, en)t' váinz wi)t' tender

S send áut v réit náis smel. duu gít up wi dhe, djói, ku
N gréap givz v gud smel. gít up, mi lav, mi

S dhi weez ái see, en let me luk ut dhi koni [=pretty] fías.
N feer)en, en kum her weez, ái see.

14. S oo mi djói, ez iz i)t' niks v)t' krag, i)t' larkin húelz
N oo mi duv, et)s i)t' kliqks v)t' kragz, i)t' háiden pléasez

S v)t' steerz, kum áut wi dhat swiit fías v dhi aan, let me
N v)t' steerz, let me sii dhi féas, let me

S híier dhi láil klaper gaq, fer dhi vóis iz míuzik itsel,
N híier dhi vóis, fer swiit iz dhi vóis,

S en dháu)z riit gud lukin.
N en dhi féas iz riit boni.

15. S tek uz)t' foksez, t' láil foksez, ez spóilz t' váinz; fer wer
N tak uz)t' foksez, t' láil foksez, et spóilz t' váinz; fer óur

S *váinz* hez vast tender gríaps.

N *váinz* hev tender gréaps.

16. S *mí bilavd*)z *máin*, en *ái*)z *hiz*; *hí* fiidz *vmeq*)t' *liliz*.
N *mí bilavd*)z *máin*, en *ái*)z *hiz*; *hí* fiidz *vmeq*)t' *liliz*.

17. S *tel*)t' *dee bruk*, en)t' *shadez* *fliiz ewee torn dhe*, *mí*
N *tel* *deebrek*, en *tel*)t' *shadez* *fliiz ewee torn dhe*, *mí*

S *huni*, en *bi láik* *v roo* *er v juq hart v* :bedher *félz*.

N *bilavd*, en *bi láik* *v roo* *er v juq buk* on :bedher *félz*.

To these may be added the following for Lonsdale n. of the Sands, which has the advantage of having been taken direct from dictation.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS dt.

(:brə'ut'n i f'a'nes) pal. 1881 by TH. from dictation of Mr. R. N. Woodend, b. about 1846, native, then residing at Barrow-in-Furness, who stated that no change had taken place in dialectal speech during the previous twenty years.

1. *ái see*, *ladz*, *ju sì nóu dhut* *ái*)m *rit ebóut dhat láil las komín* *frə t' skuul jəndə* r.

2. *shi*)z *gàen dóun t' rúed dhier*, *thruu t' red jet* [gjeet] *ən t'* left and *sáid* *et t' rúed*.

3. *lu*_o *k je!* *t' tjáld*)z [las ez] *gaan st're'it u*_p *te t' raq óus díuer*.

4. *wàr shi*)l *ap'n fínd dhat* *dru*_o *qk'n díef wídhərd aad féle* [fuul *tjap*], *i*)t' *neem v :təm*.

5. *wí oo naa*)*im vare wíil*.

6. *wènt t' aad tjap sèn tel* *er te net dáu*)t *egjeen*, *púer thi*q !

7. *lu*_o *k je!* *it's kwáit* *t' rúu*.

BROUGHTON-IN-FURNESS PHRASES noted by TH.

1. (*wènt dhe beger katj it wen iz fa d'ər naaz i*)z *pleed* *t'róuent*), won't the [emphatic] beggar catch it when his father knows he's played truant.

2. (*wái*, *wət*)*s*)*te gjet'n fresh tudee* ?), well, what)hast)thou gotten fresh to-day ?

3. (*shì*)l *vare láikli dii təma'rn*), she'll very likely die to-morrow. [not this morning, for to-morrow was given to translate.]

4. (*war*)*s*)*te gaan dhís afte rnien* ? *ái*)z *gaan jaam*), where is (art) thou going this afternoon ? I is (am) going home. The conjugation is with *is* throughout (*ái*)z, *dhii*)z, *ii*)z, *wii*)z, *jù*)z, *dhè*)z).

For Lonsdale n. of the Sands see also the Lower-Holker-in Cartmel es., the fourth of the 22 interlinear es. pp. 558, 563 ; and the cwl. for Var. ii, both form *a* and form *b*.

THE TRANSITION FROM (u_o) TO (u).

On p. 292 it was stated that TH. considered that a mixed region existed where both (u , u_o) were heard to the south of a line drawn from Gainsborough in Li. to Ulverston (which he would now correct to Coniston) in Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La. This was promised to be considered in D 24 and D 31. For D 24, see p. 365. We have now to look at D 31. According to the information sent to me by TH., who in 1888 revisited the country on purpose, the whole of both Lonsdales is a mixed region, where not only (u_o) is in most places, at least occasionally, and even frequently, used in the cases he heard, but (u) is likewise to be heard, and with this also frequently a pure (u). It is almost needless to say that this depends entirely on TH.'s appreciation, which I have been entirely unable to check by the appreciation of other observers, who were capable of distinguishing (u , u , u_o). Certainly beyond Lonsdale in Cu., We. and Yo. this (u_o) was not heard by my authority, JGG., to whom TH.'s vowel was a novelty, p. 291, l. 8 from bottom. On the other hand, the tapering of (i) into (i^1 , i) was well known to him.

The places which TH. has visited for this purpose, and the number of words containing an (u) sound which he has examined in each, are as follows:

Over Wyersdale 14, Lancaster 45, Caton (4 ne.Lancaster, 42, Hornby (8 ne.Lancaster, 40, Carnforth 45, Cark-in-Cartmel (5 e-by-s.Ulverston) 55, Lower Holker (5 e.Ulverston) 56, Ulverston 32, Broughton-in-Furness 9, Coniston 17, Higher Nibthwaite 9, total 364 cases.

The sounds heard in these examples, without specifying the particular cases, are marked by him thus: (u) 83, (u_1) 39, (u^1) 8, between (u^1) and (u) 1, (u) 131, between (u) and (u_o) 3, between (u_1) and (o) 1, (u_1) 24, (u_o) 61, variants between the last and (u , u , o), or (u) and (u) 10, ($æ$) 1, (o) 2. The running lies therefore with (u , u_1 , u , u_o). With regard to (u_o), which is the main point to be considered, the numbers of cases recorded were, Over Wyersdale 10, Lancaster 11, Caton 11, Hornby 5, Carnforth 0, total 37 cases (all s. of the Sands, and hence under Midland influence), Cark 1, Lower Holker 13, Broughton-in-Furness 6, Coniston 2, Higher Nibthwaite 2, total 24, of which the greater number is found at Lower Holker, and the others are so very sparse that they can hardly be regarded.

Hence we may say that Lonsdale s. of the Sands is a decidedly mixed region, more than half the cases of (u_o) observed by TH. having there occurred, but that Lonsdale n. of the Sands (with the exception of Lower Holker, which against 13 (u_o) had 12 (u), 22 (u_1) and 4 (u^1), is almost entirely free of (u_o). It would require a very long and extended observation, which we cannot expect any one to undertake, to get more precise and definite results, and we are greatly indebted to TH. for the great labour and pains he has taken in obtaining, recording, and analysing his observations.

TH. has also analysed the transition from (i) through (i_1 , i^1) to (e) in this same region, and in 174 cases finds (i) 8, (i_1) 5, (i^1) 4, (e) 157, which last must therefore be considered as the normal pron.

VAR. iii. WESTMORLAND S. OF THE WATERSHED.

This watershed, starting from Helvellyn, runs nearly e. over Rydal Head, High Street, Harter or Carter Fell, n. of Crow Brow, over Shap Fell to Orton Sear, and then runs nearly s. to Langdale Fells, where it turns e. and enters Yo. by Howgill Fells. The very names indicate a barrier, but in point of fact Var. iv, just n. of this watershed, differs very slightly from Var. iii. The most prominent difference is, that in Var. iii the use of *at* for *to* before the infinitive is very general, but in Var. iv *to* prevails. This Variety also includes that w. horn of Yo., w. of Bow Fell and Whernside, containing Dent and Sedberg, as distinct from Craven, Var. i, which borders on it.

This Var. iii, like Var. i, is traversed by the s. *loose* line 6, which passes from the mouth of the Winster, on the b. of La. and We., in an ene. direction, to pass between Dent on the s., and Sedberg on the n., then running se. through Garsdale. Hence the small s. portion of this variety uses (áa), and the large n. portion uses (úu) for U. This (úu) as I hear it is quite distinct from a'u, but is so like áu that I have often found a difficulty in distinguishing it. Both the áa, úu agree with the sounds in the corresponding parts of Var. i, which, except from the use of *to* for *at*, is barely separable from it. This dialect is well illustrated by Nos. 6 to 11 of the 22 interlinear es., and a close examination will shew how very slight the differences are of one from the other, and all from Var. i, Nos. 2 and 3, Var. ii, Nos. 4 and 5, Var. iv, Nos. 12 to 17, with the exception of the *at* and *to*. In No. 11, from Orton, We., there are some peculiar insertions of 'i' in a number of words marked †, which JGG. had not observed in the neighbourhood. The words are: he, this, who, certain, did, themselves, kent, herself, lying, length, said, bairn, happened, son, yard, day, kettle, tea, since, week, next, does, never, more, till, shepherd, night, be, f'other. The same informant dictated No. 13, which has no trace of such an insertion. This variety is further illustrated by the cwl. from Dent and Howgill, the last of which I was able to verify by a personal interview.

VAR. iv. EDENSIDE.

The basin of the River Eden includes We. n. of the Watershed and central Cu. This scarcely differs from the n. part of the last except in the universal use of *to* (tə) before the infinitive. It is carefully illustrated by Nos. 12 to 17 of the 22 interlinear es., and belongs entirely to the (úu) region. Two of these es., Nos. 14 and 16, are valuable from the care taken by the informants, two old ladies, Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Powley, since deceased, who had had a life's knowledge of the dialect, and the diligence with which they were revised by JGG. from their dictation. This variety extends northward to the n. *tee* line 7. It is to be observed that this line makes almost a cusp about Kirk Oswald (15 n.w. Appleby), where, according to JGG., the change from WN. to NN. is strongly marked. He observed that s. of Kirk Oswald they called a 'stone dyke' a (st'áin dák) genuine WN., and a few miles to the n. a (steen déik) genuine NN. The w. b. of this variety is not well defined, but may be regarded as running to the n. from Helvellyn, and e. of Skiddaw. The e.b. may be taken as the b. of Du. The change of pron. in passing into Du.

is very slight, and is said to occur about Harwood, Du. (11 nne.Appleby, We., and close to the b.).

Some interest attaches to the slight differences between Var. iii and iv. The words Æ day, E say way have (ee) and (ee) in iii, and (æ) in iv. EA' in iii is (iæ) but (éi) in iv. Generally the close sounds (noo dee) no day, belong together in iii, and the open (noo dee) in iv. O' words have (iu) in iii and (iu) in iv. The aspirate in iii is a mild jerk (h), and in iv a strong jerk (.h), the voiceless jerk (h) does not occur. These are only rough indications. Generally, iii represents the s. parts of the district, and iv the n. portions. Most of the other points are the same. See the Edenside speech-sounds, p. 539.

VAR. v, WEST CUMBERLAND.

So far as pron. is concerned, Var. v is very slightly different from Var. iv, but comprises what is usually known as Cu. on account of Mr. Dickinson's Glossary. This author, whom I never saw, kindly gave me a version of my cs., but it was superseded by a vv. cs. by Mr. Hetherington for Clifton, close by Workington, where Mr. Dickinson lived. This forms No. 19 of the 22 inter-linear cs. The s. parts are illustrated by a cs. dictated to JGG. from Keswick, No. 18. The n. part, which is important as forming a transition to NN., shewn by the frequent use of the diphthong (éi), for the (ái) of the other parts, was dict. to me by Rev. T. Ellwood, No. 20. The slight differences which exist are best appreciated by inspecting Nos. 18, 19, 20, in the 22 inter-linear cs. already referred to, p. 563.

VAR. vi, SOUTH DURHAM.

This comprises that part of Du. which is s. of the n. tee line 7, and differs but slightly from Var. iv. The main difference seems to be in the treatment of the U' words, and here I am unable to give anything very satisfactory. They are generally assumed to have (uu), but there is so much confusion between this and some form roughly like (ə'uu, vuu) that JGG. felt unable to decide what the sound really was, but generally assumed (vuu) as an approximation, using (ə'uu), however, in some cases. Compare the Laithkirk (éuu) in Var. i, p. 538. See the dt. and cwl. for Var. vi, Weardale and Teesdale, given below. The Cu. (i₁á₁) forms have been worn down to (i₁v, i₁v). This form is well illustrated by a full word list for St. John's, Weardale, and Middleton-in-Teesdale, and by a dt. for Stanhope, with full notes comparing three others which I had received.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR CS.

In order to shew the relations, similarity, and differences of these Varieties, and to compare them with the neighbouring D 30 and D 32, the following 22 interlinear versions have been inserted, chiefly from the remarkable phonetic transcripts made by JGG., for the following places:—

D 30, Var. i.

1. Mid Yorkshire.

D 31, Var. i.

2. Muker or Upper Swaledale.

3. Hawes or Upper Wensleydale.

D 31, Var. ii.

4. Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, La.

5. Coniston, La.

D 31, Var. iii.

6. Casterton for Kirkby Lonsdale, We.

- 7. Dent, Yo.
- 8. Sedberg, Yo.
- 9. Kendal, We.
- 10. Long Sleddale, We.
- 11. Orton, We.

D 31, Var. iv.

- 12. Kirkby Stephen, We.
- 13. Crosby Ravensworth, We.
- 14. Temple Sowerby, We.
- 15. Milburn, We.

- 16. Langwathby, Cu.
- 17. Ellonby, Cu.

D 31, Var. v.

- 18. Keswick, Cu.
- 19. Clifton, Workington, Cu.
- 20. Abbey Holme, or Holme Cultram, Cu.

D 32, Var. i.

- 21. Carlisle, Cu.
- 22. Knaresdale, Nb.

Introductions.

No. 1. *Mid Yorkshire*, D 30, Var. i, form *a*. This is repeated from D 30, p. 502, where it heads the 10 *cs.* there given, and is placed at the head of these also, as a standard of comparison to shew the difference between the eastern and western forms of the N. div.

No. 2. *Muker or Upper Swaledale* (:swaad'l), on the (:swi'á:l), (16 w-by-s. Richmond), D 31, Var. i, form *a*. This was written in 1876 by JGG. from his own observations when employed in the Government Geological Survey of the neighbourhood for some years. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Alderson (b. 1831), of Keld (16 w. Richmond); George Calvert, of Muker (16 w-by-s. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Clarkson, of Reeth (8 w. Richmond), then old and since dead; James Broderick, of Summer Lodge (13 wsw. Richmond); Mrs. Clarkson (then aged and now dead) and her family, of Satron (2 e. Muker); Mr. James Kearton (b. 1808, and since dead, and family, of Muker; Mr. Enoch Atkinson and family, of Arkendale Head (16 wnw. Richmond); Mr. Willey and family, of Arkendale; Mr. Liddle, and many other natives. The *cs.* has been compared with the living speech, as used by old people in Swaledale generally, and by those above mentioned in particular, at least 20 times, and in Oct. 1877, JGG. considered it to be a fair representative of the dialectal pron. current among the older inhabitants. That of the younger people differs so little from that of the old that it did not seem to require a separate version. The chief difference lies in the use of (*in*, *iiv*) for (*iu*, *iuu*) as [*singer*], for [*siŋgur*], but this avowed modernism is found only among the younger inhabitants of the lower parts of the dale, when the speech merges into that of D 30. The wording here given has been generally accepted as the best rendering of the sense that it is possible to make without departing considerably from the original text. Some variants are given in the subsequent notes. In the autumn of 1882 JGG., in many visits to me of several hours each, went over all his versions given among these 22, especially Nos. 2, 3, 6 to 17, and we then settled the best palaeotypic forms to be used. These versions therefore, and especially the present No. 2, are, probably, the most exact representations of genuine old peasant pron. in secluded spots that have as yet been obtained. The only versions comparable to them are those due to TH. in the Midland div., but, through circumstances, these had not been so frequently revised and compared with native speakers as JGG.'s. In the notes which follow the 22 interlinear *cs.* will be found many remarks upon the sounds represented and their notation. See also the *cwl.* written from the dictation of Mr. E. Alderson, of Keld, mentioned above, given below, Var. i, letter M. JGG. also wrote a translation into this form of speech of the scene between *Lance and Speed* from Shakspeare in the notice prefixed to Part III., but it will not be given here because the example was ill selected.

No. 3. *Hawes* (19 sw. Richmond), for Upper Wensleydale, D 31, Var. i, form *b*. This was pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. Shaw (b. about 1820), Registrar of Births for the district, educated, and many years a schoolmaster there. His (*r*^c, *h*) did not fairly represent the well-marked forms of the outlying parts, but in other respects his pronunciation was identical with that of an old dalesman, who, on the same day that this *cs.* was dictated, drove JGG.

a long distance, and conversed with him all the time. All the (*ú*₁*u*) of this *cs.* were reported by Mr. Shaw to have been (*áu*) some thirty years previously, or about 1846, as they now are in Dent, No. 6, below. Revised with JGG. in Nov. 1882, by AJE.

The resemblance between the Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale *cs.* amounts to a practical identity. In order to shew it strongly whenever the word in the second is the same as in the first, I put (,) in No. 3 instead of rewriting the word, but I insert the word if even the difference is minute, as with a long instead of a medial vowel, and write (—) when there is no equivalent in No. 3 to the word in No. 2.

No. 3 is connected with No. 4 by Upper Craven, and n.La. of which I have no *cs.*, and hence I must refer to the *cwl.* for Var. i, North Craven, given below. Without this explanation the skip of 31 miles, from Hawes to Cartmel, appears tremendous, but practically, as we shall see, pron. remains the same as at Muker and Hawes throughout.

No. 4. *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, Lonsdale n. of the Sands, n.La., D 31, Var. ii*b*, 12 nw.Lancaster, pal. in May, 1877, by TH., from the dictation of Thomas Thornhill, of Lower Holker, assistant gardener at Holker Hall, b. 1819, native.

This was an early attempt at writing this dialect, and TH. did not properly observe the curious (*ǝ*) forms, which struck him as (*ǝ*). In later notes (1881), from the same informant, he writes the equivalents of (*mǝ*'k, *bǝ*'th, *bǝ*'d, *mǝ*'st, *spǝ*'k, *skǝ*'s, *slǝ*'t) make, both, broad, most, speak, scarce, slate, which approach to JGG.'s forms. Also at Coniston in (1881) he records (*nǝ*a, *stǝ*n) no, stone. So that (*ǝ*) must be taken as the normal form, though often mixed up with (*ǝ*) (see p. 549). Allowing this I find practically the same pron. all over Furness and Cartmel. TH. had examined Cark (where he was fortunate enough to find an old woman b. in 1797, Ulverston, Coniston, and Broughton). The great feature of this variety is the conversion of (*uu*) through (*ú*₁*u*) into (*óu*), a remarkably slight change in reality, and it was through this, I think, that the form (*áu*) was subsequently obtained, see the following *cs.*

No. 5. *Coniston*. This *cs.* written in io. by Mr. Roger Bowness, postmaster of Coniston, b. ca. 1807, was obtained for me by Rev. T. Ellwood, rector of Torver, p. 549, but it was not possible for me to interpret the spelling satisfactorily. After nearly ten years Miss M. A. Bell, a native, at Mr. Ellwood's request, read me the *cs.* from the original orthography for me to pal. Miss Bell also read to me Mr. Ellwood's *wl.* See the Furness *cwl.* Var. ii*b*, below. She belonged to the younger generation of dialect speakers, as Mr. Bowness did to the older. I did not recognise (*ǝ*) in her pron., but only (*ǝ*). I did not hear (*a*₁), but only (*a*). Miss B. could not recollect having heard *at* before the infin., on this usage see intro. to D 31, Var. iii, p. 550. Her *r* was nearly vocalised when before a consonant or final, but I write (*r*). I assume her *e*, *u* to be (*ɛ*, *u*₁), but the difference from (*e*, *u*) was not certain. In the fractures I heard (*ǝ*) or (*ǝ*), not (*ǝ*₁*ǝ*). I assume also that her *ou* was (*óu*), but the difference from (*a*'*u*) was not well marked. This represents the same Var. ii*b* as No. 4.

No. 6. *Casterton* (2 ne Kirkby Lonsdale, 10 se.Kendal, We.), representing Kirkby Lonsdale, D 31, Var. iii, form *a*. Pal. in 1875 by JGG. from the dictation of Mrs. Wilson, b. about 1825, native, who had lived most of her life at Casterton, but had a few years previously removed to Penrith, Cu., where she was keeper of the Castle Bar Tollgate. She spoke most of her home words in this form. She then used (*te*) to, before the infinitive, but in her younger days she had used (*et*). The participial termination *-ing*, here written (*en*), is in JGG.'s opinion more nearly (*-ən*), but not at all (*-æn*). The *U* is completely (*áu*). The (*e*₁) differs scarcely at all from (*ɛ*).

No. 7. *Dent*, Yo. (12 ese.Kendal, We.), D 31, Var. iii, form *b*. Dent, or Dentedale, is the district, Dent's Town is the town. This *cs.* was pal. May, 1876, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Parrington, a native of Dent's Town, close to the late Prof. Adam Sedgwick's birthplace (see Part I. p. 289, note 4, and p. 311, note 1), a shoemaker by trade, and then living at Keld in Upper Swaledale (see No. 2, p. 557), where he had kept a small inn for 10 years, and he had with him at the time a young man fresh from Dent. He is not an educated man, and continued to speak much of the Dent dialect at Keld. He still used (*et*) at,

for *to*, before the infinitive in ordinary conversation at times; his (ɛ) is lower than the normal, his (r) distinctly trilled, and not buzzed, he employed (nh) initial for *kn*- in ordinary conversation, and he remembers (w'r-), but not the gutturals, as Prof. Sedgwick did. The participial ending *-ing* is perhaps most intelligibly represented by (en), but there is a sound of (a) running through it as if from the old form in *-ande*, so that it might be written (e¹), thus (-e¹n).

No. 8. *Sedberg* (:SEBəɹ), Yo. (9 e-by-n. Kendal, We.), and *Cautley* (3n. Sedberg). D 31, Var. iii, form *c*. Sedberg and Dent lie on a peninsula of Yo., which runs into We., and the speech is strictly the same as We., but the *s. hoose* line 6 runs between Sedberg and Dent, so that while Dent says (ha'us), Sedberg says (hú¹us), which is received as (huus). Sedberg parish contains the curacies of Cowgill, called (:koogil), (the late Prof. Sedgwick's birthplace, see his Memorial cited in Part I. p. 289, note 4), Dent (where his father was minister), Garsdale, Howgill (from which JGG. procured a word list, given below, Var. iii), Cautley (from which JGG. obtained a *cs.*, see note to this No. 8), and Dowbiggin. Although so close to one another, there is not much communication between Cautley and Sedberg. One member of a family in Cautley goes to Sedberg on market days, seldom oftener. Yet the dialects are as nearly as possible identical. Hence only the Sedberg version is here given, which JGG. prefers, and the Cautley variants are subjoined in the notes. The Sedberg version was pal. by JGG. in Sept. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Foster, b. about 1811, an uneducated native of Sedberg, where he lived 35 to 40 years, afterwards passing a few years in Keighley (Lower Craven, Yo., see D 24), and then at Askrigg, Upper Wensleydale, Yo. (5 e. Hawes), and finally had charge of the tollgate *s.* of Penrith, Cu. His (r) is trilled, and (nh) distinct. He uses *at* dry, *at* crow, pars. 11 and 14. The Cautley version was pal. by JGG. in Dec. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. Gibson, a farmer, who had picked up learning enough to qualify himself as a National Schoolmaster in Cautley, but who was certainly not an educated man. He was b. near Sedberg, and had lived 18 years at Cautley. JGG. was four to six weeks at Cautley at different times, and can vouch for the general accuracy of the version, but thinks that in cases of difference preference should be given to the Sedberg version as dictated by an older man.

As the Sedberg and Dent versions are so much alike, almost the only real difference being the treatment of the U' words, all words in the Sedberg identical with those in the Dent version will be merely represented by (.), and words omitted by (—).

No. 9. *Kendal*, We., Var. iii, form *d*. Mr. Joseph Brown, of the Grammar School, Kendal, in 1874, sent me a version of this *cs.* in systematic orthography, which I then transliterated to the best of my ability, aided by long explanations given me by Mr. Brown in answers to questions. In 1876 JGG. was fortunately enabled to pal. Mr. Brown's version from his own dictation, and I can thus present it in the same orthography as the other We. versions. Mr. Brown also gave me a complete *wl.* in Glossic, but not to confuse the two methods of appreciation I do not give it. Mr. B., as most speakers there, considered his (uu, ii) to be quite pure, and JGG. considered them to be nearly so. Mr. B. writes the glossic equivalent to (li)am, hii'al, fader, dee, teel, riit, faiv, spii'ek, gree, kéi, diijed, thréi, gréin, huus, spáun, nü'en) for lame, whole, father, day, tail, right, five, speak, grey, key, dead, three, green, house, spoon, noon. The aspirate is very light (l^h). Mr. Brown used (ɔ) in speech, but he meant (o) as here written. The (r) is always trilled, though very lightly when final. The use of (wr-) as (w'r-) is remembered, but is no longer heard. JGG. was generally content with writing (ee), but sometimes used (ee¹), intermediate between (ee, EE). Many of these little differences may be mere individualities.

No. 10. *Long Sleddale*, We., Var. iii, form *e*. Long Sleddale is hardly a village, it is a straggling parish, about 6 m. long and 1½ m. wide, on the River Sprint, pop. 173, the southernmost point being about 6 n. Kendal. It must not be confounded with Wet Sleddale (3 ne. Shap Fells) on a branch of the River Lowther, so that the watershed lies between them. Long Sleddale was the native place of Rev. Thomas Clarke, from 1856 Rector of Ormside (2 se. Appleby), who wrote me a version in it, which was subsequently pal. from his dictation by JGG., and revised in October, 1875. All the (r) are trilled. The (ɹi) is nearer

(ii) than in Eden Valley, Var. iv. Mr. Clarke insisted on pure (ii, uu), but I have used (*i*₁, *u*₁) as agreeing better with the actual peasant pron. of the neighbourhood. Of Mr. Clarke's pron. of *friend*, Dr. Murray says: "Mr. Clarke's vowel, instead of seeming to me something between my (æ) and southern (ə), was something on the *other* side of (ə), more *forward* and *higher*—between

(frynd
— fry₁nd
frænd — frend)

There was to me a decided suggestion of (y) in it, but no visible rounding." I have used (fry₁nd), and readers will not be far wrong in saying (frynd) or (fri₁nd). Mr. C. used (tə) to before the infinitive, but (ət) at is the ordinary preposition used in the district, and (tə) to is refined. Though (*siv*) is not as usual as (*siv*), this pron. is not unfrequent, but they differ in meaning in adjoining districts. Initial (w'r-) seems to exist, Mr. C. gave (w'ra₁q, wra₁q), and even (ūra₁q).

No. 11. *Orton*, We. D 31, Var. iii, form *f*. Orton is 11 ne.Kendal, and 8 sw.Appleby on the s. side of the watershed, a large parish of 24,430 acres and with only 1449 inhabitants, the town having 558. This version was pal. about 1876 by JGG., from the dictation of Mr. James Dover, of Woodfoot, Crosby Ravensworth (6 sw.Appleby), a corndealer, or 'badger,' who has known the dialect from his youth, and has places of business in each of the principal towns around; he is a very observant and intelligent man. This version is believed to be in many respects very accurate, but JGG. heard it only once, revising his writing the next day. The words marked † have the pronunciation indicated by Mr. Dover, with an inserted (*i*₁), see p. 555, but these pronunciations have not been confirmed by other observations made by JGG.

No. 12. *Kirkby Stephen*, We. (9 sse.Appleby), D 31, Var. iv, form *a*. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Joseph Steel, better known as "Joe" Steel, b. 1811, a mason, a native of Kirkby Stephen, where he had lived nearly all his life, a self-educated man, fairly well read in all matters relating to the antiquities and folklore of his district, and well known as a verse writer. From nearly a three years' acquaintance with the Kirkby Stephen dialect, JGG. considers this cs. to be a fair representation of the speech of the older people of that neighbourhood. Mr. Steel does not recognize (nh, kh, kjh, kwh) as occurring in the speech of any old person he can remember.

No. 13. *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. (6 sw.Appleby), representing the country districts s. of Appleby. D 31, Var. iv, form *b*, pal. 1876 8 by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. James Dover (see No. 11, above, corndealer, of Woodfoot (1 s. Crosby Ravensworth), where he has lived all his life. He uses much the same speech as in this version when dealing with the country people. He received a good local education, and was said at that time to write verses. JGG. says he has heard more antiquated forms from old folk that come from the same part, such as initial (wh), and even (mh) after suspended (t'), as (t' mhm₁u₁n) the moon. In the preface to the Westmoreland version of the *Song of Solomon*, by the Rev. John Richardson (:ritsen), Head Master of Appleby School, written for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says, "*ebm-clipt* = *evenly-clipped*. The *bm* sound is very peculiar; confined, perhaps, to our dialect. To give *b* its due power we must close the lips. Well, keep them closed; then carry *m* half-way through the nose, [meaning?] and you will get the exact value of *bm* in *ebm* . . . ; *bm* and *mb* seem to be both simple sounds. We have the *bm* sound in *sebm*, *elebm*, *priest-ebm* (a young student on the *ere* of holy orders), and in many other words, of which *ibm-in* for *evening* is one of the most noteworthy. *Itt'n-it*, past participle and imperative of the verb *eat*; *tn* is a simple sound partaking of *t* and *n* in the same manner that *bm* is a simple sound partaking of *b* and *m*." On this Prince LLB. remarks in pencil in my copy: "Je suis certain que le *bm* de Westm. est un son simple, mais je ne crois pas avec le traducteur, au *tn* simple." Although Mr. Richardson's explanations are not very lucid, his story of a hackney coachman with a cold in his head, saying *mbove*, leads one to suppose that he meant (b_c, d_c) or (b, d) with an imperfect nasal resonance. But JGG.

could not hear any difference between this *b* and his own (*b*). Mr. Dover did not remember (*w'r*-), but an old lady with whom JGG. lodged at Hilton (3 e. Appleby), and who could not read, b. about 1816, remembered it well enough; she, however, had never heard (*kh kjh kwh*). Old people of good memories have denied the use of (*kh*) in their time, in Var. iv, and JGG. does not believe in its present existence.

No. 14. *Temple Sowerby*, We. (6 nw-by-w.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *c*, pal. 1876-8, by JGG., from the dictation of the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderwath (the name of her house, standing 1 nw.Temple Sowerby) on the Eden. This was taken down and revised, indeed, rewritten six times, after consultation with Mrs. A. She had lived in this neighbourhood 50 years, and had had abundant opportunity of acquiring a complete knowledge of the dialect. She was the wife of a former High Sheriff of Westmorland. She herself used pure (*ii*, *uu*), and insisted on JGG. so writing the sounds. But this was a purism on her part, the neighbouring peasantry using only (*i₁i*, *u₁u*), which have therefore been here substituted. She also used the finals (*-th₁r^o*, *-dh₁r^o*), for which the peasantry say (*-t₁r^o*, *-d₁r^o*), which are here restored. In other respects her pronunciation has been scrupulously followed.

No. 15. *Milburn*, We. (6 nw.Appleby). D 31, Var. iv, form *d*. JGG. resided a considerable time in Milburn from 1876 onwards, making it his headquarters. The present is the result of two years' observations, and he has been assisted by Mrs. Howe and family, Mrs. Robinson and family, and Mr. Lewis, all life-long residents at Milburn. He believes that this version fairly represents the speech of the folk about Milburn. He considers that pure (*uu*, *ii*) are quite unknown in the Eden Valley speech, their places being taken by (*u₁u*, *i₁i*), and quite as often by (*o₁u*, *e₁i*). Mrs. Robinson volunteered the remark that JGG. said (*kuu*) in place of (*k₁u*) or (*k₁u₁u*) at a dialect reading there. He has occasionally heard (*nh*-, *w'r*-), as in (*nhok*, *w'r i₁it*) knock, wright. The distinction between the verbal noun and present participle is frequently lost, but JGG. thinks they would say (*wi*)v *f₁ri-v₁r^o e weshin te diu ti weshen dee*), we have forever washing—an endless quantity of washing (verbal noun) to do this washing day (treated as present participle, though also a verbal noun). The present participle invariably ends in (*en*), the (*e*) approaching (*a₁*); the adj. form ends in (*in*) and sometimes in (*en*); the verbal noun almost always ends in (*in*). The (*a₁r^o*, *a₁*) are frequently used theoretically in this and preceding versions, that is, when their presence has once been clearly perceived in one or two words more distinctly pronounced for the unaccented syllables, they are assumed to exist in other unaccented syllables where they had not been uttered with sufficient clearness to be identified. When (*d₁r^o*) ends a word and is preceded by a short vowel, it is usually preceded by a non-dental (*d*), as (*fad₁r*), and the tongue may be felt to glide along the hard palate from the (*d*) to the (*d*) position.

No. 16. *Langwathby* (:a₁qenbi), e.Cu. (4 ne.Penrith), D 31, Var. iv, form *e*. The late Miss Mary Powley (:p₁uli, :p₁u₁li, :puuli), the Cumberland poetess, sister of Mrs. Atkinson (see No. 14, above), when very old sent me this version in her own orthography. She died 23 Dec. 1882, but in 1876-7 JGG. had opportunities kindly given him by her of palaeotyping it from her dictation, and he compared his transcription four times with her. She considered that she gave the pron. of 40 or 50 years previously, or about 1820-30, and says that some old people still speak so, in se.Cu. and n.We., her father's locality, not n.Cu., which belongs to D 32, and is more like Lowland Scotch. Miss Powley, like Mrs. Anderson, dictated pure (*uu*, *ii*), but these have been altered to (*u₁u*, *i₁i*), as generally heard. She also did not nasalise (*aa*) into (*aa₁i*), as usual in the neighbourhood, but this has been left. She remembered (*w'r*-, *kh*-), also (*nh*-) or (*tn*-, *tuh*-) for initial *kn*. Some of the words, as door, too, ground, few, washing, etc., have been carefully examined with Miss P. not less than 7 or 8 times. The representative of English *ur*, *er* is decidedly (*a₁r^o*, *a₁r^o*), but Thursday, hurt, worm, word, and a few others may be normally (*uu₁r^o*, *ool^or^o*). Custom, however, varies, and (*a₁r*) is certainly the common old form. Miss P. abridged some passages of the es., saying in her letter to me 23 Oct. 1873, sending the es., that there were "many more words in the example than an old Cumbrian would have thought of to express his meaning. People who speak

such language are mostly too positive to ask what others *think*. *Why* is not a Cumb. rustic word, nor *notwithstanding*, nor *though*, but '*what for, for aw' that.*' *Fact*, *case*, *point*, *straight off*, and *want* are unheard of by old rural people. *Prate*, and *to sup*, and *quick* in this sense would require a dictionary or be reckoned proper to that alone." Hence the interlinear comparison is often deficient, though it is fuller than Miss P. at first wrote.

No. 17. *Ellonby* (6 nw.Penrith, Cu.), a hamlet in the parish of Skelton, D 31, Var. iv, form *f*. Pal. in 1875-6, and twice re-audited, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Bainbridge, occasionally called (b)eenbrīg, b. about 1845, a linen-draper at Penrith, but a native of Ellonby. He had himself used most of the following expressions, and distinctly remembers hearing the remainder from the old people there. JGG., from his knowledge of the Skelton district, considers this to be a fair representation of the older forms of the home speech of those parts at that time.

No. 18. *Keswick*, Cu., D 31, Var. v, form *a*. Written in systematic orthography, with great care, in 1873, by Mr. William Postlethwaite, then master of the Church of England schools at Wreay (rīg, (5 se.Carlisle), but knowing the Keswick speech from childhood. He could not send me the speech of Scotch Cumberland, on the borders of which he lived. Fortunately JGG. was able to pal. his es. from his dict. in Nov. 1875, and from this the present copy is taken. JGG. says he is afraid that it does not adequately represent the old folk speech of 30 years previously, that is, 1845, but it was the oldest that Mr. P. could remember with any approach to certainty. Mr. P. said that pure (uu, ii) were used, but he himself in speaking to the children employed (ū₁u, ī₁i), which forms are therefore here written.

No. 19. *Clifton*, Cu. (2 e.Workington). D 31, Var. v, form *b*. Originally written Oct. 1873, in Glossic, by Mr. J. N. Hetherington, son of the late Vicar of Clifton. He had known the dialect for 25 years. This was pal. by AJE., and corrected from dictation in Nov. 1875.

No. 20. *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. (14 wsw.Carlisle), on the Waver, which runs into the Solway Frith. This version was originally written in Dec. 1873, in his own orthography, by Rev. T. Ellwood, Rector of Torver (2 ssw.Coniston-in-Furness), n.La., author of 'Welcome into Cumberland,' and other Cumberland poems, native, and acquainted with the dialect all his life. The same month it was read to me by Mr. Harkness, of Aspatria (spiá.tri) (12 ne.Workington, and 6 s-by-w. Holme Cultram), who, however, had not been in the district itself. But in July, 1884, I had the advantage of correcting my transcript, although somewhat hastily, from the dictation of Mr. Ellwood himself. Hence this version cannot compare for minute accuracy with those of JGG. The dialect was first recommended to my notice by Mr. Hetherington (see No. 19, above) as a transitional form between central and north Cu. The use of (t') for *the*, and (a)z for *I am*, however, keeps this quite distinct from D 32, Carlisle. This is said by Mr. Ellwood to be the language of Dandie Dinmont in *Guy Mannering*. This gives D 31, Var. v, form *c*.

No. 21. *Carlisle*, Cu. D 32, Var. i, form *a*. Although Carlisle lies n. of the n. tee line 7, and hence belongs to the North Northern or D 32, yet on account of its close connection with the other Cu. varieties (all of which have (t') the), and the general resemblance of the vowel system, which approximates to the Abbey Holme form, No. 20, it seems best to place it here. It is sharply distinguished from the L. form by the use of (u, u₁) for U in place of the L. (ā), without any transitional form. Of this region I had an example written from the dictation of a maidservant fresh from Dalston (4 ssw.Carlisle), whose father was from Wreay (rīg) (5 sse.Carlisle), and mother from Southwaite (7 sse. Carlisle). But it was one of my earliest attempts to write down dialect from dictation, and I was from the first not satisfied with the result. I had also had no opportunity of revising it. I was therefore glad to have a version from the practised hand and ear of JGG., to whom it was first written, and then dictated by the late Mrs. Atkinson, of Windermere (see No. 14, p. 561). Her family was of Scotch extraction, and her parents had always servants from Scotland or the neighbourhood of Carlisle. From these Mrs. A. learned her Carlisle speech, which JGG., from his knowledge of Carlisle, considers to be very fairly repre-

sented in this version. Mrs. A. left (i, uu) pure as in Scotland, but as JGG. always heard (i₁, &₁u) from old people, I have introduced these forms as in Nos. 14 and 16. It is most probable that they should also be used in No. 20, but I had no authority to make the change. Mrs. Atkinson wrote out this version twice in her own orthography, and frequently revised it with JGG. The final form resulted from a conference between him and me in 1882.

No. 22. *Knaresdale*, Nb. (17 e. Carlisle, Cu.), just beyond the n. *tee* line 7. D. 32, Var. i, form *b*. This is the connecting link between Cu. and Nb., but is still decidedly Cu. in character. Pal. in Oct. 1876, by JGG., from the dict. of Mr. Jacob Bell, b. about 1826 at Knaresdale, where he lived till he was 18; since then he has lived as a miller in the valley of the Eden, Cu., and mainly at Blencarn, a hamlet of the parish of Kirkland, Cu. (8 n-by-e. Penrith), at the foot of Cross Fell. He was not an educated man, but spoke a mixture of the Knaresdale and Eden Valley forms of speech, though at home he generally used his native speech. His (i₁) is hardly distinguishable from JGG.'s own (ii), his (&₁u) resembles that in the Eden Valley, No. 12 to 17. His (r) is gently trilled, and is not (r[~]). He says (fiúu, biz'nəs, rí'iz'n) few, business, reason. He does not remember (nh-, wr-, kjh, kich).

* * In arranging these 22 cs. interlinearly, care has been taken by leads and rules to indicate the grouping. The complete sets of 22 cs., of which two occur on a page, are separated by rules. The No. 1, which does not belong to this district, and is only placed here for comparison, is separated by a thick lead, from Nos. 2 and 3, which forms Var. i. Then another lead separates these two from Nos. 4 and 5, constituting Var. ii. The other groups are Nos. 6 to 11 or Var. iii, Nos. 12 to 17 or Var. iv, Nos. 18 to 20 or Var. v, and Nos. 21, 22, which belong to the next district. These groups are shewn especially well in the first set immediately below.

TEXT.

0.	1 D 30, V. i.	<i>Mid Yorkshire</i> , pp. 502 and 557.	wat fe
	2 D 31, V. i.	<i>Muker</i> , Yo. p. 557.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	3 D 31, V. i.	<i>Hawes</i> , Yo. p. 557.	hú ₁ u t)iz et
	4 D 31, V. iib.	<i>Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel</i> , La. p. 558.	wái
	5 D 31, V. iib.	<i>Conistون</i> , La. p. 558.	wat for
	6 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kirkby Lonsdale</i> , We. p. 558.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	7 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Dent</i> , Yo. p. 558.	wha ₁ t faar
	8 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Sedberg</i> , Yo. p. 559.	" "
	9 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Kendal</i> , We. p. 559.	wha ₁ t
	10 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Long Sleddale</i> , We. p. 559.	whái
	11 D 31, V. iii.	<i>Orton</i> , We. p. 560.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	12 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Kirkby Stephen</i> , We. p. 560.	what for ^o
	13 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Crosby Ravensworth</i> , We., p. 560.	what for ^o
	14 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Temple Sowerby</i> , We. p. 561.	what for ^o
	15 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Milburn</i> , We. p. 561.	what for ^o
	16 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Langwathby</i> , Cu. p. 561.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	17 D 31, V. iv.	<i>Ellonby</i> , Cu. p. 562.	wha ₁ t for ^o
	18 D 31, V. v.	<i>Keswick</i> , Cu. p. 562.	hú ₁ u
	19 D 31, V. v.	<i>Clifton</i> , Cu. p. 562.	what for
	20 D 31, V. v.	<i>Holme Cultram</i> , Cu. p. 562.	what fer ^o
	21 D 32, V. i.	<i>Carlisle</i> , Cu. p. 562.	weer ^o for ^o
	22 D 32, V. i.	<i>Knaresdale</i> , Nb. p. 563.	what for

1	:dʒúwen	ez	néeʋ	duuts.
2	:dʒwúen	hez	níá₁	dú₁uts.
3	„	„	„	„
4	:dʒúen)z		níʋ	dóuts.
5	:dʒon	ez	níá	dóuts.
6	:dʒu₁n	he₁z	níá₁	dáuts.
7	:dʒoni	hez	níá₁	dáuts.
8	:dʒúen	„	„	dú₁uts.
9	:dʒoni	hez	níá₁	dú₁uts fo[r].
10	:dʒoni	hez	níʋ	dú₁uts.
11	:dʒwun	hez	níʋ	dú₁uts.
12	:dʒwúen	hez	níiʋ	dú₁uts.
13	:dʒon	hez	ní	dú₁uts.
14	:dʒon	hez	ní₁c₁	dú₁uts.
15	:dʒúen	hez	níiʋ	dú₁uts.
16	:dʒon	hez	níiʋ	dú₁uts.
17	:dʒúá₁n	hez	ní	dú₁uts.
18	:dʒwúen	hez	ní₁a	dú₁uts.
19	:dʒwon	hez	níʋ	duuts.
20	:dʒon		:shíper ^o d	hez níiʋ dùts.
21	:dʒon	hez	nee	dú₁uts.
22	:dʒaen	hez	nii	dú₁uts.

1.	1	wiil,	néeʋʋe,	jii	en	im	me	béeʋth	o ʒe	laf
	2	wáaiv,	néeiʋbá₁r ^o	jéii	en	him	me	bíá₁th	o)ʒe	lā₁f
	3	„	„	dhéii	„	„	„	„	— —	„
	4	wáí,	:dʒim,	béeʋth	im	en	dhii	me		laf
	5	wiil	neber,	jii	en	him	me	bíáth		laf
	6	wáiv,	ne₁bá₁r ^o ,	dhí₁i	en	him	mee₁	bíá₁th	o)ʒe	lāf
	7	wáaiv,	nebá₁r,	jí₁i	en	him	me	bíá₁th	o)ʒe	lāf
	8	wáiv,	„	dhí₁i	„	„	„	„	„	„
	9	wel, wel,	nebá₁r,	dhú₁u	en	him	me	bíá₁th	„	lāf
	10	wáaiv,	nebá₁r,	dhii	en	him	me	bíiʋth	o)ʒe	la₁f
	11	wáaiv,	nebá₁r ^o ,	dhú₁u	en	thíiʋ	me	bíá₁th	o)ʒe	lāf
	12	wáaiv,	neebá₁r ^o ,	jí₁i	en	him	me	bíá₁th		lāf
	13	wáaiv,	nebá₁r ^o ,	dhí₁i	en	him	me	bíé₁th	o)ʒe	lāf
	14	wáaiv,	neebá₁r ^o ,	jí	en	him	me	bíé₁th		lāf
	15	wáaiv,	neebá₁r ^o ,	jí	en	him	me	bíá₁th	e ʒe	lāf
	16	wáaiv,	nee'ebá₁r ^o ,	jí₁i	en	him	me	bíá₁th		laf
	17	wáaiv	neebá₁r ^o ,	jí₁i	en	him	me	bíá₁th	o)ʒe	lāf
	18	wel	nebá₁r ^o ,	dhú₁u	en	him	me	bíá₁th		lāf
	19	wiil	neeber ^o	dhú₁u	en	hí₁i	me	bíáth		la₁f
	20	wéi,	neber ^o ,	juu	en	him	me	bíiʋth		laf
	21	wéi,	neebá₁r ^o ,	dhii	en	him	me	bíeth		lāf
	22	wéii	néeiʋber,	dhú₁u	en	him	me	bíiʋth	o)ʒe	laf

1	leik, vt	dhis	níez	e	maan,	wé(s)t	kéev?
2	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máain,	whíá ₁	kaar ^o z?
3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4	et	dhis	tíel	e	máin,	bet waa	kíerz?
5	et	dhis	níuz	e	máin,	if ji láik, waa	kíáarz?
6	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máin,	wíá ₁	kjeer ^o z?
7	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máain,	whíib	keerz?
8	"	"	"	"	máin,	whíá ₁	kéevrz?
9	et	mi	níúuz			whaa	kíiarz
10	et	dhis	níuz	e	máain,	whoo	kíerz?
11	et	†dhíez	níuz	e	máain,	whíi	kíer ^o z?
12	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máain,	whíá ₁	kéevr ^o z?
13	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máin,	whí ₁	keer ^o z?
14	et	dhis	tíé ₁	e	máain,	whíé ₁	keer ^o z
15	et	t'	níúuz	et	ev gíten	te tel je, whi	keer ^o z
16	et	tis	stúá ₁ r ^o	e	máain,	whíib	keer ^o z
17	et	dhis	stúá ₁ r ^o	e	máain,	whí	keer ^o z?
18	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máain,	whoo	keer ^o z?
19	et	dhis	níúuz	e	máin,	whoo	keerz?
20	et	dhis	tíel	o	méin,	whíib	kéevr ^o z?
21	et	dhis	níúuz	e	me'in,	whé	keer ^o z?
22	et	dhis	níúuz	e	me'in,	whí ¹	keevrz?

1		·dhat's	néevdher	íiv	ne	dhíie.
2	fə	·dha ₁ t?	·dha ₁ t)s	needhə ₁ r ^o	héíiə ₁ r ^o	ne dhaa ₁ r ^o .
3	—	—	"	"	"	"
4			dhat's	needher	íer	ner dhíá'r.
5			dhat's	níader	íier	ne dhíer.
6			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	ne dhíá ₁ r ^o .
7			dhat's	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r dhíár.
8			"	"	híiə ₁ r	"
9			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r dhíá ₁ r.
10			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r	híiə ₁ r	nə ₁ r dhíiə ₁ r.
11			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
12			dha ₁ t)s	nee ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
13			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
14	fə ₁	·dha ₁ t?	·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
15	fə ₁	·dha ₁ t?	·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
16			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
17			·dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
18			dha ₁ t)s	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	nu ₁ r ^o dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
19			dha ₁ t)s	náu ₁ də ₁ r	híi ₁ er	ner dhíi ₁ er.
20			dhat's	nóu ₁ də ₁ r ^o	híi ₁ er ^o	er dhíi ₁ er ^o .
21			·dha ₁ t)s	nóudhə ₁ r ^o	híiə ₁ r ^o	ne dhíiə ₁ r ^o .
22			dha ₁ t)s	nóudher	híi ₁ er	er dhíi ₁ er.

2.	1	jan	kenz	it)s	nubed	e	féeu	e	mín	et	gaqz	en
	2			it)s			fiúu	e	fwú ₁ ek	ed		
	3				níá ₁ bodi		—	—	—	—		
	4					vare	fa'uu		fôak			
	5				nə ₁ t		meni					
	6				net	sə	me ₁ ni	[fiúu]	fook			
	7				net	sə	meni	[fiúu]	faak			
	8				"	"	"		fu ₁ ek			
	9							fiúu	fook			
	10							fiúu				
	11		it	iz'nt	sə	meni			fwú ₁ ek			
	12							fiúu	fwú ₁ ek			
	13				[nu ₁ t	sə	meni]	fiúu	fwú ₁ ek			
	14							fiúu	fwú ₁ ek			
	15		it)s	nu ₁ t	si	meni			fwú ₁ ek	et		
	16			nu ₁ t	sə	moni	[fiúu]		fwôek			
	17		it)s	nu ₁ t	si	meni			fú ₁ ak	et		
	18							fiú ₁ u	fwú ₁ ek			
	19							fiúu	fwook			
	20				ni ₁ t		mani					
	21							fiúu	fwo ₁ ks			
	22								fw ₁ ak			

1	diiz	eko's	dhə)r	flóutid	at,			
2	déiiz	bíko's	dhe)r ^o	lä ₁ ft	a ₁ t,	wi	nhaa	dha ₁ t,
3	,,	bíkoz	dhee)r ^o	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
4	dii	bíkooz	dhə)r	laft	àt.			
5	dii	kos	dhə)r	laft	at,	wii	naa	
6	dí ₁ iz	fə ₁ r ^o	bí ₁ jen	läft	at,	·wí ₁ i	naa	dha ₁ t,
7	déiiz	bíkos	dhə ₁ r	läft	at,	wi	nhaa	dha ₁ t,
8	dí ₁ iz	fə ₁ r	bí ₁ jen	,,	,,	wí ₁ i	,,	,,
9	dí ₁ iiz	koz	dhə ₁ ·r	läft	et,	·wí ₁ i	naa	
10	dí ₁ i	fə ₁ r	bin	la ₁ ft	a ₁ t,	wí ₁ i	nhaa	dha ₁ t,
11	dí ₁ ez	fə ₁ r ^o	bí ₁ jen	läft	et,	dhú ₁ u	naa ₁ z	dha ₁ t,
12	dí ₁ iz	bíkaz	dhə ₁)r ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	wi	·noo	
13	dí ₁ iz	bíkoz	dhə ₁)r ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ ii	nò	·dha ₁ t
14	dí ₁ i	eko'z	dhə ₁)r ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	wi	nhaa	dha ₁ t,
15	dí ₁ iz	fə ₁ r ^o	bí ₁ jen	läft	et,	wi	nhoo	dha ₁ t
16	dí ₁ iz	eko'z	dhə ₁ r ^o	laft	a ₁ t,	wi	tnhoo,	·et
17	dí ₁ iz	ekoo'z	dher ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	noo	dha ₁ t,
18	dí ₁ iz	bíko'z	dher ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	no,	
19	dí ₁ i	ekoo'z ₁ s	dher	laft	at,	·wí ₁ i	noo,	
20	dii	bikoo'z	dher ^o	laft	at,	wii	noo	dhat,
21	dí ₁ i	biko'z	dher ^o	läft	a ₁ t,	·wí ₁ i	ken	
22	lí ₁ iv	laq ef ₁ tə ₁ r	dher	laft	a ₁ t,	wi	·noo	dha ₁ t,

1		dí)net	ez ?	préi	wat	sud	mak
2		du)net	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
3	wéiil eníúuf.				„	„	„
4							
5		dúent	we ?		wat	su ₁ d	miák
6		dóoent	we ?		wha ₁ t	su ₁ d	ma ₁ k)
7		du ₁)net	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k)
8		dau ₁ nt	„		„	su ₁ d	„
9		doont	we ?		wka ₁ t	sud	me ₁ k)
10		dúu ₁ nt	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	mí ₁ ek
11		dhú ₁ u	díez.	†	whíe	shud	mí ₁ ek
12		du ₁)net	we ?		what	sud	ma ₁ k
13		du	wi nu ₁ t ?		what	shud [sud]	ma ₁ k
14	geeli wí ₁ il.				what	sud	mek)
15	geeli wí ₁ il,	et du	we ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
16			du)we !		wha ₁ t	sud	mak
17	wí ₁ il eníúuf,	du)wi)nu ₁ t ?			what	sud	ma ₁ k
18		dí ₁ ent	wi ?		wha ₁ t	sud	ma ₁ k
19		dúu ₁ ent	we ?		what	sud	mak
20		div'nt	wi ?		what	sud	mak
21		div'nt	wi ?		what	sud	mek
22	wí ₁ il eníú'ef,	doont	wi ?		what	sud	míú'ek

1	em ?	it s nat	vare	laaklínz,	iz it nuu ?
2	dhem défi ?	it)s ny ₁ n	si	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli, iizs)t ná ₁ u ?
3	em ?	— „ ny ₁ t	— „	lâ ₁ kli,	iiz)t ?
4		it iz'nt	vare	lâ ₁ kli	ez dhe wòd.
5	em ?	it) s na ₁ t	vare	lâ ₁ kli,	is)t ?
6	em ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	iiz)t ?
7	em ?	it)s net	vare	lâ ₁ kli,	iizs)t ná ₁ u ?
8	„	„ iz'nt	„	„	„ ná ₁ u ?
9	em ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ re	lâ ₁ kli,	iz)it ?
10	em ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ re	lâ ₁ kli,	is)t ?
11	em ?	it)s †n ₁ en		lâ ₁ kli)t	iish)t ?
12	dhem ?	it)s ny ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	iizs)t ?
13	em ?	it)s na ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	iizst ?
14	em dí ₁ i ?	it)s na ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	et is)t na ₁ t.
15	em dí ₁ i ?	it)s n'ín	si	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli, iiz)t na ₁ u ?
16	dhem ?	its na ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	et is)t na ₁ t.
17	dhem ? dí ₁ i ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	iizs)t ná ₁ u ?
18	dhem ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	iizs)t ?
19	dhem ?	it)s na ₁ t	va ₁ r ^o e	lâ ₁ kli,	is)t ná ₁ u ?
20	dhem ?	it iz'nt	vare	lâ ₁ kli,	is)t ?
21	tem dí ₁ i ?	it)s ny ₁ t	va ₁ re	lâ ₁ kli,	iiz)t ?
22	dhem dí ₁ i ?	it iz'nt	va ₁ re	lâ ₁ kli,	iizs)t ?

3.	1	usemí·və	dhíəz)íə)z tɪlɪnz ɐ)t' tɹéəth	
	2	ɛwɔ·və ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fə ₁ ks
	3	„	dhə ₁ r ^o „ „	fə ₁ ks
	4	bet úu·í·və	it)s ɐ	fakt wat ái)s
	5	hóu·e·və	dhúəz ɐr t'	faks ɔ)t' mater
	6	áú)í ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	dhor ^o ə ₁ r ^o)t'	fə ₁ ks
	7	háú)í ₁ ·və ₁ r	dhíiz ist)t'	faks
	8	hú ₁ ú)í·və ₁ r	„ iz „	„
	9	hú ₁ ú)í·və ₁ r	à)z gaan tɛ tel dhə)t' tɹíúuth	
	10	hewí·və ₁ r	dhor wɛr)t'	fə ₁ ks
	11	ba ₁ t	dhú ₁ u naa ₁ z, ·dhəə ₁ r ^o)z	fə ₁ ks
	12	ú ₁ u·í·və ₁ r ^o	dhooz ə ₁ r ^o)t'	fə ₁ ks
	13	hú ₁ ueb·ə ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fə ₁ ks
	14	ɛwí ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	dhə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fə ₁ ks
	15	ɛwí ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	dhəə ₁ r ^o)z)t'	fə ₁ ks
	16	ɛwí ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	aa)l tel dhə t' r ^o íits on)t,	
	17	ú ₁ ú)í ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	a)l tel dhə) t' r ^o íits on)t,	
	18	ɛwí ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	dhə ₁ r ^o)z)t' r ^o íits on)t,	
	19	hewu ₁ r	dhəə ₁ r)z)s)t'	fakts
	20	eniwee	dhis is)t' wee it waz,	
	21	húí ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o	dhis iz dhə tɹíúúuth ɐ dhə	
	22	ɛwɔ·və	dhə ₁ rz dhə	fə ₁ ks ɐ dhə

1	ɐ)t' kíies,	séeə	dʒɪst ganz tɛ ɛn óoəd dhə dhúu	
2	ɐ)d' kí ₁ á ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd
3	ɐ)t' „	sí ₁ á ₁	„	„
4	tɪlɪn ə dhi,	súə		ɔd
5		súə	dʒu ₁ st	ɔd
6	ɐ)t' kí ₁ á ₁ s,	sí ₁ á ₁	pre ₁)dhə	hɔd
7	ɐ)t' ma ₁ tə ₁ r,	sí ₁ ɐ	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd
8	„ „ kí ₁ á ₁ s,	sí ₁ ɐ ₁	pre ₁)dhə	„
9	ɐ)t' kí ₁ á ₁ s,	sí ₁ á ₁	dʒust	hɔd
10	ɐ)t' kí ₁ es,	sóoə	pre ₁)dhə dʒust	
11	ɐ)t' kí ₁ es,	sɐ		hɔd)ti
12	ɐ)t' kí ₁ á ₁ s,	sí ₁ ɐ	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd dhi
13	ɐ)t' dʒɔb [bɪznɪs]	sí ₁ ɐ	dhú mɛd ɛz wɪl	hɔd dhi
14	ɐ)t' kí ₁ é ₁ s,	sí	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd)ti
15	ɐ)t' kí ₁ á ₁ s	sí	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd)dhí
16		ɪf	dhú ₁ u)l	hɔd)ti
17		ɪf	dh)'l	hɔd dhi
18		sí ₁ á ^o	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd dhi
19	ɐ)t' kí ₁ á ₁ s,	súuə	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd ti
20		sí ₁ ɐ		hɔd ɛr
21	ma ₁ tə ₁ r ^o	sí ₁ ɐ	dʒɪ ₁ st	hɔd ɛə
22	kí ₁ í ₁ es,	sí	dʒu ₁ st	hɔd dhi

1	dhi	din,	frind,	en	bi	wisht	nu	waal aa)z
2	dhi	nóiz,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháai)et,	whel áai)v	
3	„	„	„	„	„	„	t'l áai)v	
4	dhi	nóiz,					tíl áai)v	
5	jer	náiz,	mon,	en	bi	wáai)et,	tél aa)v	
6	dhi	nóiz,	fry ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháai)et,	wháil áai)v	
7	dhi	nóiz,	mí la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháai)et,	wháail áai)v	
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	whal aa)v	
9	dhi	nóiz,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháai)et,	t'l aa)v	
10	whisht,		fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháai)et,	wháail a)v	
11		nóiz	e dhe,	en		whisht,	tíl áai)	
12		nóiz,	fr ^o y ₁ nd,	en	bi	wháai)et,	t'l aa)v	
13		nóiz,		en	bi	wháai)et,	whel a)v	
14		nóiz,	min,	en	bi	wháai)et,	whel a)v	
15		nóiz,	mí la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháai)et,	whel a)v	
16		nóiz,	mí la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháai)et,	whel a ₁)v	
17		nóiz,	mí la ₁ d,	en	bi	wháai)et,	whel aa)v	
18		nóiz,	mí fr ^o e ^o nd,	en	bi	whâai)et,	t'l a)v	
19		nóiz,		en	bi	whâai)et,	tél a)z	
20		nóiz,	men,	en		whisht	tíl a)z	
21		nóiz,	mí ma ₁ n,	en	bi	whâai)et	tíl áai)v	
22		nóiz,	fr ₁ nd,	en	bi	kwâai)et	tíl áai) bi	

1	díen.	æk	te budz nu !
2	git'n díun.		híai ₁ r ^o s)te !
3	díuun.	„	„
4	telt dhe.		lis'n !
5	du ₁ n.		lis'n !
6	duun.		haar ^o ks)te !
7	du ₁ n.		lis'n náu !
8	duun.		haarks)te !
9	du ₁ n.		ha ₁ the
10	díu ₁ n.		lis'n nú ₁ u !
11	díen.		láai ₁ i)dhe.
12	díun.		las)te nú ₁ u.
13	díun.		lis)te nú ₁ u.
14	díun.		láais)te [láai)je].
15	git'n díun.		láai)je.
16	díun.		láai)je.
17	díun.		lis'n [haar ^o ks)te, láai ₁ i)je].
18	du ₁ n.		lâis)te.
19	du ₁ n[díuun].		híers)te.
20	dí ₁ an.		lis'n.
21	díúun.		láais)te.
22	díi'En.		lis'n nú ₁ u.

4.	1	aa)z	síuer	et a	ííed	am	séev,
	2	áai'z	sàr ^o t'n	et)i	híi ₁ r ^o d)tem	se	sí ₁ á ₁ ,
	3	„)z	síúuer ^o	áai	„)em		see, —
	4	wel ái)s	sàrt'n	ái	erd		
	5	a)z vare	saart'n	a	ííerd	dhem	see
	6	ai)z	síúuer ^o	et)a	haar ^o d)am		see ₁ —
	7	áai)z	saart'n	aa	híi ₁ rd)em		SEE sí ₁ á
	8	„	síúuer	ái	haard	„	„
	9	aa)z	saart'n	aa	haard)em		see,
	10	áai)z	saart'n	et v	haard tem		see —
	11	aa)m em ₁ est	†s ₁ ert'n	dhe	telt me	sí ₁ e,	†d ₁ íed
	12	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et i	haar ^o d	dhem	see ₁ —
	13	áai iz	saar ^o t'n	et v	haar ^o d	tem	see ₁ —
	14	à)z	saar ^o t'n	et v	haar ^o d	tem	se ₁ sí ₁ e ₁ —
	15	a)z	saar ^o t'n	et v	híi ₁ r ^o d)t	fwú ₁ ek	SEE, —
	16	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	a)v	haar ^o d)tem		SEE —
	17	aa)z	saar ^o t'n	et aa)v	haar ^o d)tem	tel ebú ₁ ut	it —
	18	aa)z	sar ^o t'n,	et v	hàr ^o d	dhem	SEE —
	19	aa ₁)z	saart'n	a	haard	dhem	SEE —
	20	à)z	saart'n	v	haard	dhem	see —
	21	ái)z	saar ^o t'n	ái	híi ₁ r ^o d tem		see —
	22	ái)z	saart'n	aa)v	híi ₁ erd	dhem	SEE —

1	sum	v	dhim	fóovk	et wint	t ₁ ruf)t	jal	thiq
2	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et went	t ₁ r ^o ú ₁ u)t	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
3	„	„	dh ₁ r ^o	„	et „	t ₁ hr ^o ú ₁ u)t	„	„
4			t' séem	fôak	see	vz nə'u it	AA ¹ .	
5	su ₁ m	v	dhor,	fook	et went	thruu	o)t'	thiq
6	su ₁ m	v	dhoor ^o	fook	et we ₁ nt	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	djob
7	su ₁ m	v	dhem		et went	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ ál	thiq
8	„	„	dh ₁ r	fu ₁ uk	„	„	„	djob
9			dhem		et went	thrú ₁ u it		
10	su ₁ m	v	dhor	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thrú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	
11	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et	níúu)t'	hí ₁ el	thiq
12	su ₁ m	v	dhooz	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
13	su ₁ m	v	dh ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ é ₁ l	djob
14	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ é ₁ l	thiq
15	su ₁ m	v	them	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
16	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
17	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fú ₁ a ₁ k	et kent)t'	r ^o ú ₁ its v)t'	hí ₁ el	djob
18	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwú ₁ ek	et went	thr ^o e'u)t'	hí ₁ á ₁ l	thiq
19	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r	fwóok	et went	thrú ₁ ut)t'	hí ₁ ál	thiq
20	su ₁ m	v)t'		fóvk	et ní ₁ u	AA ebút	it	
21	su ₁ m	v	dhə ₁ r ^o	fwók	et went	thr ^o u ₁ u dhe	hí ₁ el	thiq
22	su ₁ m	v	dh ₁ r	fwAAk	et kent	dhi	hí ₁ el	djob

1		fre)t')fost		dhesi'lz,
2	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z	s fr ^o e)d'	va ₁ r ^o e fə ₁ r ^o st,	
3		fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ r ^o st	dher ^o sel'z,
4				
5		fre)t'	fə ₁ rst	dherse'lz,
6	dhə ₁ r ^o se ₁ l'z	fr ^o e ₁)t'	fə ₁ r ^o st.	
7	dhə ₁ rse ₁ l'z	fre)t'	fə ₁ rst.	
8				
9	dhə ₁ rse ₁ l'z	fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ rst,	
10	kənsaarn dhorse ₁ l'z	fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ rst,	
11		fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ r ^o sht	†dhə ₁ r ^o se ₁ l'z,
12		fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
13	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z	fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ re fə ₁ r ^o st,	
14		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o e fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
15		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o e fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
16		fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
17		fr ^o e)t'	va ₁ r ^o e fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
18		fr ^o e)t'	fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
19		free)t'	va ₁ re fə ₁ rst	dherse ₁ l'z,
20		free)t'	fə ₁ erst	dherse ₁ l'z—
21		fr ^o e dh ₁ i	fə ₁ r ^o st	dhə ₁ r ^o sel'z,
22		fre dhe	fə ₁ rst	dherse ₁ l'z,

1	·dhat a did	séef	eníuf.
2	dha ₁ t did)i.		
3	áai did dha ₁ t	sí ₁ á ₁ f	eníúuf.
4			
5	es a du ₁ d	síáf	enu ₁ f.
6	dha ₁ t did)i	sí ₁ á ₁ f	enu ₁ f.
7	·dhat did)i	síúu ₁ r	enu ₁ f.
8	” ” ”	sí ₁ á ₁ f	”
9	ééi,	sí ₁ á ₁ f	enu ₁ f, aa ·did.
10	dha ₁ t a du ₁ d,	síúu ₁ r	enu ₁ f.
11	dha ₁ t dud)i	síu ₁ r ^o	eníuf.
12	dha ₁ t did)i	síúu ₁ r ^o	eníuf.
13	·dha ₁ t du ₁ d)i	síúu ₁ r ^o	eníúf.
14	et du ₁ d)i,	sí ₁ e ₁ f	eníuf.
15	a dud ·dha ₁ t nú ₁ u,	sí ₁ a ₁ f	eníuf.
16	·et du ₁ d)i,	sí ₁ á ₁ f	aníuf.
17	et du ₁ d)i,	sí ₁ á ₁ f	eníúf.
18	dha ₁ t du ₁ d)i,	sí ₁ a ₁ f	eníúf.
19	et du ₁ d)a ₁	síáf	enu ₁ f.
20	et ·did)i!		
21	·dha ₁ t did)i	sy ₁ 'uuer ^o	eníuf.
22	áai did ·dha ₁ t	sí ₁ iEf	eníiEf.

5.	1	et t'	juuqis	sun	izse'l	e	grüet
	2	et t'	ju ₁ q'ist	su ₁ n	hizsel'	e	gə ₁ r ^o t
	3	„ „	ju ₁ qst	baar ^o n	„ „	„	gr ^o iuet
	4	et	juqest	lād	itsel,	e	gərt
	5	at t'	ju ₁ qkst	su ₁ n	hisse ₁ l,	e	gəə ₁ rt
	6	et t'	ju ₁ qst	la ₁ d	hizsel'	e	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	7	et t'	ju ₁ qst	baarn	hizsel'	e	gəə ₁ rt
	8	„ „	„	la ₁ d	„ „	„	„
	9	et t'	ju ₁ qst	su ₁ n	hizsel'	e	gəə ₁ rt
	10	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baarn	hizsel'	e	gəə ₁ rt
	11	et t'	juqest	baar ^o n	hizsel'	e	gr ^o i ₁ et [gr ^o i ₁ t, gəə ₁ r ^o t]
	12	et t'	ju ₁ q'ist	baar ^o n	hizsel'	e	gr ^o i ₁ it
	13	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hizsel'	e	gr ^o i ₁ it
	14	et t'	ju ₁ q'ist	su ₁ n	hizsel'	e	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	15	et t'	ju ₁ q'ist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	et)s e	g ₁ jəə ₁ r ^o t
	16	et t'	ju ₁ q'ist	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	g ₁ jəə ₁ r ^o t
	17	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gəə ₁ r ^o t
	18	et t'	ju ₁ qest	baar ^o n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ it
	19	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gə ₁ rt
	20	et t'	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel'—	e	griit
	21	et dhe	ju ₁ qizst	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gr ^o i ₁ it
	22	et dhe	ju ₁ qest	su ₁ n	hizsel',	e	gr ₁ i ₁ it

1	lad	e	naan	i ₁ er	óovd,	kend	iz	f ₁ i ₁ u ₁ de	vóis
2	la ₁ d	e	néin	jíi ₁ r ^o	aad,	kent)iz	f ₁ ä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis	
3	„	—	„	„	„	„) „	f ₁ ä ₁ d ₁ r ^o z	„	
4	lād	e	náin,	—	—	ná'u	is	fä ₁ d ₁ erz	vóis
5	lad	e	na'in	jíier	aald,	níuu	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ erz	tuq
6	la ₁ d		náin	jíi ₁ i ₁ r ^o	aald,	né ₁ u)t'	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis	
7	la ₁ d		náain	jíi ₁ r	aad,	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ r	vóis
8	„	e	„	„	aald,	„	„	„	tu ₁ q
9	lād	e	náin	„	„	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ l ₁ r	vóis
10	la ₁ d		náain	jíi ₁ r	aald,	nhéuu)t'	fä ₁ d ₁ r	vóis	
11	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ in,	„	„	h ₁ i ₁ t ₁ k ₁ ent)t'	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ q	
12	la ₁ d	ev	náa ₁ in,	„	„	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
13	la ₁ d		náa ₁ in	jəə ₁ r ^o	ool'd	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
14	la ₁ d		n ₁ i ₁ n	jəə ₁ r ^o	Aald,	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
15	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ in	jíi ₁ i ₁ r ^o	Aal'd,	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
16	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ in	„	„	kent	t'	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
17	la ₁ d	e	náa ₁ in	jíi ₁ i ₁ r ^o	oold,	kent	t'	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
18	la ₁ d	e	náain	„	„	níu ₁ u	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
19	lā ₁ d	e	náin	„	„	kent	t'	fä ₁ d ₁ er	vóis
20	lad		néin	i ₁ er ^o	ool,	níu	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ erz	tu ₁ q
21	la ₁ d	e	ne'in	jəə ₁ r ^o	Aal,	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ r ^o	vóis
22	la ₁ d	e	ne'in	jíi ₁ er	Aald,	kent	iz	fä ₁ d ₁ er	vóis

1	et	jans,	dhuf		it	·waab	séiken	e	kwíie
2	ed	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA1	it	·waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o · láik
3	et	„	„	AA	„	wəz	„		kwéiə ₁ r ^o —
4	es	sún	ez i	àrd	it, ev	it	wòs	se	kwíer
5	et	jans,	fer o)t'			·wos	súá		kwíier
6	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
7	et	jans,	fər	AA	it	wəz	se		kwíiə ₁ r
8	„	„	„	„	„	„	„		„
9	et	ja ₁ ns,	i spáit	en	it	bíi'en	se		kwíiə ₁ r
10	et	jans,	fə ₁ r	oo	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r
11	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r	aa					
12	et	jans,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
13	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
14	et	ja ₁ ns,	fər ^o	AA	it	waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
15	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	waz	si		kwíiə ₁ r ^o láik
16	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
17	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	t)waz		se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
18	et	ja ₁ ns,	fə ₁ r ^o	·oo	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
19	et	jans,	fer ^o	oo	it	·wa ₁ z	síe		kwíiə ₁ r
20			fer ^o	AA	it	waz	síe		kwíiə ₁ r ^o
21	et	jens,	fə ₁ r ^o	AA	it	wəz	se		u ₁ qket le'ik
22	et	jens,	fer	AA	t)wəz		se		kwíiə ₁ r

1		skwéekín	jan laak,	en	·a)d	t ₁ rust	·im	
2	en	skwéiiki,		en	e wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	im	
3	en	skwíiek'n,		„	áa)d	„	„	
4	en	skwíiikín,		en	áa)d	t ₁ rust	im	
5	en	skwíáikín	láik,	en	a wəd	bak	·əm	
6	en	skwíiikín,		en	áa)d	t ₁ rust	him	
7	en	skwíiieken,		en	aa wəd	t ₁ rust	him	
8	„	skwíiikín,		„	·áa ₁ l	epo'd	im,	híi)z
9	en	skwíiieken	láik,	en	a)d	epo'd	it	híi)
10	en	skwíieki,		en	a)l	epo'd	im,	híi)l
11	híi	skwíiekt	síe.		aa wəd	tíiek	em	
12	en	skwíiiki,		en	aa l	epo'd	em,	híi)l
13	en	skwíiiki,		en	aa)l	epo'd	im	·híi)l
14	en	skwíiiki,		en	a wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	·him	
15	en	skwíiiki,		en	e wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em	
16	en	skwíiieken,		en	e wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em	
17	en	skwíiikín,		en	aa wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	em	
18	en	skwíiikín,		en	a wəd	t ₁ r ^o u ₁ st	·him	
19	en	skwíiieken,		en	a)d	t ₁ rust	·him	
20	en	skwíiieken,		en	aa wəd	t ₁ rust	him	
21	en	skwíiieken,		en	áa l	epo'd	im	
22	—	skwíiikín,		en	áa ₁ wəd	t ₁ rust	em	

1	te	spíiek	t ^o réeth	ev	oni	dee,	ái,	mari
2	te	spéiik t'	t ^o ríúuth		a ₁ ni	dee,		dha ₁ t
3	„	spíiek „	„	„	„	„		„
4	te	spíek t'	t ^o ríúuth	et	eni	reet.		
5	te	spíák t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,—		dhat
6	et	spíik t'	t ^o ríúuth		e ₁ ni	dee ₁ ,	ee ₁ i,	·dha ₁ t
7	et	spíiek t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee ₁ ,	ái ₁ i,	·dhat
8 a	lad et)	l spíik)t'	„	„	„	„	ái ₁ i,	—
9	wed	spíik t'	t ^o ríúuth		·eni	dee,	aa,	
10		spíiek)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee ₁ ,	éei,	dha ₁ t
11	et	spíiek)t'	t ^o ríúuth	et	eni	taa ₁ im,		·et
12		spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		ani	dee ₁ ,		et
13		spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		oni	dee,		·et
14	te	spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	·ma ₁ r ^o i
15	te	tel)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,	ee'i,	
16	te	spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		oni	dee,		·et
17	te	spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	
18	te	spíik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,	ái ₁ i,	
19	te	spí ₁ ik)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,	ái,	
20	te	tel)t'	t ^o ríúuth		eni	dee,		et
21	te	tel' dhv	tr ^o iúúuth		oni	dee ₁ ,		·dha ₁ t
22	te	spí ₁ ik dhv	t ^o ríúuth		oni	dee'v,	ái	

- 1 v ·wad.
 2 vd wa₁d)i.
 3 — „ „
 4
 5 a wod.
 6 á₁i wad.
 7 a wad.
 8 „ „
 9 ·wa₁d.
 10 a wed.
 11 — wad)i!
 12 wad)i!
 13 wod i.
 14 wod i.
 15 a wad ·dha₁t nu₁u.
 16 wad)i!
 17 aa wa₁d!
 18 a ·wad!
 19 a₁ ·wa₁d!
 20 wad)i!
 21 wad)i!
 22 wad ·dha₁t nu₁u.

6.	1 en't'	óovd	wamen	ese'l	el	tíl	oni	jan
	2 en'd'	ál'd	bodi	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	a ₁ ni	
	3 „)t'	aad	wamen	„	„	„	„	
	4 en't'	aad	wamen	erse'l	wud	tel	eni	
	5 en't'	aald	w ₁ men	erse'l	wil	tel	eni	
	6 en't'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	e ₁ ni	
	7 en't'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ rsel'	'l	tel	eni	
	8 „ „	„	„	„	el	„	„	„
	9 en't'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ rsel'	'l	tel	eni	
	10 en't'	aald	wamen	hə ₁ rsel'	'l	tel	eni	
	11 en't'	aald	wamen	†hə ₁ r ^o s ₁ el	ed	tel	eni	ja ₁ n
	12 en't'	Aad	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	ani	
	13 en't'	ól'd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	oni	
	14 en't'	AAl'd	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	eni	
	15 en a ^z	s ^h úuə ₁ r ^o et	t' ool'd bodi	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	eni	
	16 bet t'	Aald	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	oni	
	17 en't'	oold	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	eni	ja ₁ n
	18 en't'	oold	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	eni	
	19 a ₁ n t'	áud	wamen	hersel'	'l	tel	eni	
	20 en't'	ool	w ₁ men	erse'l	'l	tel	ani	
	21 en dhu	Aal	wamen	hə ₁ r ^o se'l	'l	tel	oni	
	22 en dhi	Aald	wamen	hersel'	'l	tel	eni	

1 o)je	et	lafs en flóuts nuu,	en	tíl o je
2 o)je	ed	lă ₁ fs	ná ₁ u	en shə ₁ l tel) je
3 „	et	„	„	„ — „ „
4 o)je	et	lafs	nóu	
5 o je	et	laf	nóu	en tel it
6 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en te ₁ l je
7 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en tel je
8 „	„	„	ná ₁ u	„ „ „
9 o)je	et)s	lăfen	ná ₁ uu,	en tel je
10 o)je	et	la ₁ fs	ná ₁ uu,	en tel je
11 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en wed tel)je
12 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en tel)je
13 o je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en tel)je
14 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en shə ₁ l tel)je
15 o)je	et)s gaan to	lăf	ná ₁ u,	en shə ₁ l tel)je
16 o)je	et	lafs	ná ₁ u,	en tel)je
17 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en tel)je
18 o)je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u	en tel je
19 on je	et	lafs	ná ₁ u	en tel je
20 o)ji	et)s	lafen	nuu — ái,	en tel ji
21 o je	et	lăfs	ná ₁ u,	en tel je
22 o je	et	lafs	ná ₁ u,	en tel je

1	striit	of en ind, tiiv,	eduut	mitj	boḍer
2	str ^o éit	of	tiúu	wiḥúut	boḍ ₁ r ^o
3	r ^o iit	,,	,,	wiḥúut	,,
4	et jans		wi ^o ut	eni	bodher
5	riit	Af hand, tiu,	wi ^o ut	mitj	boder
6	str ^o éit	ewee ₁	wi ^o ut	mitj	boḍ ₁ r ^o ,
7	strek	Aaf	wiḥúut	eni	boḍ ₁ r
8	stréit	ewee ₁	wiḥúut	,,	,,
9	strek	ewee en AA	wi ^o ut	eni	boḍ ₁ r
10	strek	ewee	wi ^o ut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r
11	at jans,		wiḍúut	m ₁ eken eni	buúu ₁ ḍ ₁ r
12	str ^o ak	ewee ₁	wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r
13	str ^o ek	ewee	wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r ^o ,
14	et jans		wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r ^o
15	str ^o éit	of	wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r ^o
16			wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r
17	str ^o ek	ewee	wiḍúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r ^o
18	str ^o éit	of,	wiḍúut	mu ₁ tj	boḍ ₁ r ^o ,
19	striit	of	en oo, eduut	mu ₁ tj	boḍer,
20	riit	ewee	en oo eduut	mu ₁ tj	boḍer ^o
21	et jens		ty ₁ úu wiḥúut	mitk'l	boḍ ₁ r ^o
22			wiḥúut	mitk'l	bodher

1	en ji)l	bi)t	aksin iv er, oo ! wi)net
2	if ji)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , ái, wa ₁ d'nt
3	,, ,,	,,	oo ! wi ₁ d'nt
4	iv jə)d		eks)er.
5	if ji)l	nobet	eks)er, weetjə ?
6	if ji)l	nobet	e ₁ ks ₁ r ^o ée ₁ i wee ₁ nt
7	if ji)l	nobet	eks ₁ r, áaiji wad'nt
8	,, ,,	,,	áai)z siúu ₁ r
9	if jə)l	nobet	e ₁ ks ₁ r, mái wə ₁ rd, weent
10	if jə)l	nobet	eks ₁ r, áai, wee ₁ nt
11	ebú ₁ ut it,	if juu)d	nobet eesh ₁ r ^o , dha ₁ t
12	if ji)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , áai)i
13	if ji)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , áai)i wad'nt
14	if jə)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , áai)i
15	ou ₁ r ^o t' djob, if jə)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , 'et
16	if j ₁ il	nobet	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o , 'et
17	if ji)l	nobet	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o , dha ₁ t
18	if jii)l	nobet	ās ₁ r ^o , oo wo)nt
19	if jə)l	nobet	aks)er, á ₁ i dhat
20	if jə)l	nobet	as)er — at
21	if ji)l	nobet	a ₁ ks ₁ r ^o , dha ₁ t
22	if ji)l	nobet	a ₁ ks)er, e'i woont

- 1 shə?
- 2 shə₁?
- 3 „
- 4
- 5
- 6 shə₁?
- 7 shə₁?
- 8 shi wil.
- 9 shə₁?
- 10 shə₁?
- 11 shi wəd!
- 12 shə wəd dha₁t!
- 13 shə₁?
- 14 shə wil dha₁t núu.
- 15 wil shə₁.
- 16 wil shə₁.
- 17 wu₁l shə₁, máa₁i saq! but woont shə₁!
- 18 shi?
- 19 wil)shə!
- 20 wu₁l shi!
- 21 shi wil!
- 22 shə.

7.	1	líestínz	shə)d	tílin	o	ít	tə	·méi	wín	aa
	2	a ₁ ni	wee	shə ₁	tél'd	méii	sí ₁ á ₁ ,	when)	i	
	3	„	„	shə	„	„	„	„	á ₁ i	
	4	líest		shi	telt	mii				
	5	eni	weez	shi	telt	ít	mii	wen	a	
	6	e ₁ ni	wee ₁	shi	te ₁ lt	·mí ₁ i	dha ₁ t	whe ₁ n	á ₁ i	
	7	eni	wee	shə ₁	teld	mí ₁ i	sí ₁ á	when	a	
	8	„	wee ¹	shi	„	„	„	„	áa ₁ i	
	9	et b ₁ iist		shi	telt	·mí ₁ ii	ít	when	aa	
	10	síúu ₁ r enu ₁ f		shi	telt	·mii	twóo v	thrí ₁ i		
	11			shí ₁ i	telt	mí ₁ i		when	áa ₁ i	
	12	úu ₁ ·və ₁ r ^o ,		shə	telt	mí ₁ i	sí ₁ ie	when)	i	
	13	eni	wee,	shə	telt	·mí ₁ ii	sí ₁ e	when)	a	
	14	eni	wee,	shə	telt	·mí ₁ i		when)	a	
	15	eni	wee,	shə	telt	·mí ₁ i	sí ₁ e	when)	a	
	16	oni	wee	shi	telt	·mí ₁ i	ít	when)	a	
	17	eni	wee	shə ₁	telt	·mí ₁ ii)t		when)	e	
	18	eni	wee	shi	telt	·mí ₁ i	sí ₁ a ^o	when)	a	
	19	eni	wee	shi	telt	·mí ₁ ii	ít	when)	a	
	20	eni	wee	shi	telt	·mii		when)	a	
	21	et oni	r ^o e't	shə	telt	·mí ₁ ii		when)	á ₁ i	
	22	oni	wee'e	shə	telt	mí ₁ i	sí ₁ i	when)	á ₁ i	

1	akst ₁ v ₁ r ₁ v	téev ₁ tri	taamz	óu ₁ er ed ₁ she
2	ǎ ₁ st ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o	twí ₁ á ₁ thr ^o éi	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o , dha ₁ t ed
3	„ „	twí ₁ á ₁ thr ^o é ₁ ii	„ „	„ — —
4		tuu er thrii	táimz	óuer,
5	ekst ₁ er	túu er thrii	táimz	úer, dhat shi du ₁ d
6	e ₁ ks ₁ t ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o	tú ₁ u v thrí ₁ i	táimz	áu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
7	Ekst ₁ ǎ ₁ r,	tú ₁ u v thrí ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r, dha ₁ t
8	„ „	„ „ „	táa ₁ imz	„ —
9	Ekst ₁ ǎ ₁ r			
10	táa ₁ imz óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r	when v ekst ₁ ǎ ₁ r,		
11	Esh ₁ t ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óur ^o ebú ₁ ut it,
12	ǎ ₁ st ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
13	ǎ ₁ st ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
14	ǎ ₁ st ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
15	ǎ ₁ st ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
16	a ₁ ks ₁ t ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ ie thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
17	a ₁ ks ₁ t ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	twí ₁ a ₁ thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o
18	ast ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o ,	te'ù v thr ^o é ₁ i	táa ₁ imz	óur ^o
19	akst ₁ er,	twí ₁ ie er thrí ₁ i	táimz	áuer
20	ast ₁ er ^o ,	tuu er ^o thr ^o ii	téimz	óuer ^o
21	a ₁ ks ₁ t ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o	twé ₁ thr ^o ii	te'imz	óuer ^o ,
22	a ₁ ks ₁ t ₁ er	twí ₁ ie thrí ₁ i	te'imz	óuer

1	en a konséevts et she	ód ₁)'nt te bi raq v saaken v
2	did sh ₁ ,	en shi 'su ₁ d)'nt bi fà ^o r ^o 'r ^o a ₁ q
3	„ „	„ sh ₁ „ „ — „
4	en wi wad)'nt tak	ǎ ₁ r te bi raq
5	en shii su ₁ d)'nt bi	raq
6		en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi ra ₁ q
7	did sh ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i sa ₁ d'nt bi w'raq
8	„ „	„ „ su ₁ d'nt „ 'raq
9		en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi raq
10	du ₁ d shi,	en shii sud'nt bi w'ra ₁ q
11	et i did,	en shí ₁ i kud'nt bi 'ra ₁ q
12	did sh ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i óut'nt te bi 'ra ₁ q
13	dha ₁ t du ₁ d sh ₁ , [shí ₁ i]	en sh ₁ shud'nt bi si fà ^o r ^o r ^o á ₁ q
14	et du ₁ d sh ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i óut'nt te bi faar ^o r ^o aq
15	du ₁ d sh ₁ ,	en a ₁ z síúu ₁ ǎ ₁ r ^o et she óut'nt te
16	et du ₁ d sh ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i sud'nt bi w'r ^o a ₁ q
17	du ₁ d sh ₁ ,	en sh ₁ sud'nt bi 'r ^o a ₁ q
18	du ₁ d shi,	en shí ₁ i sud'nt bi r ^o a ₁ q
19	et du ₁ d she,	en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi raq
20	et did shi,	en shí ₁ i su ₁ d'nt bi r ^o aq
21	et did sh ₁ ,	en shí ₁ i sud'nt bi fa'r ^o 'r ^o aq
22	did shi,	en shi sud'nt bi si far 'raq

1	míut	ma ₁ ter	ez	dhis,	uu)s)t	je	thi ₁ q?
2	ebú ₁ ut	sáik)v	thi ₁ q	ez	·dhis,	wha ₁ t	thi ₁ q jéi?
3	on	„ „	póint	„ „		what	dez dhú ₁ u
4		in v	thi ₁ q	v	dhis	súert.	
5		in sik v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	dji naa?	
6	áua ₁ r ^o	síik v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	what dez	dháu
7	ebáut	sik v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhat,	what dez	·dháu
8	óu) ₁ r	„ „	„ „	„	dhis,	„ „	·dhú ₁ u
9	ebú ₁ uut	sik v	thi ₁ q	ez	·dhis,	sud shi	thi ₁ q je?
10	óu) ₁ r	sik v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	sud shi?	wha ₁ t
11	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	what dez	·dhú ₁ u
12	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	what dez	dhú ₁ u
13	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis'n,	what dest	dhe
14	on	sek v	póint	ez	dhis'n,	what thi ₁ q	·jéi?
15	bi si va ₁ r ^o v	faar ^o r ^o aq	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	ma ₁ t ₁ t ₁ r ^o	ez	dhis'n,
16	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	tis,	wha ₁ t dez)te	·thi ₁ q?
17	ebú ₁ ut	sik v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhisen,	wha ₁ t de	·JEE thi ₁ q?
18	ebú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	what de	·jee thi ₁ q?
19	on	sek v	póint	ez	dhis,	what thi ₁ qs)te?	
20	ebùt	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhat,	sud shi,	thi ₁ q)je?
21	en	sek v	póint	ez	·dhis,	what thi ₁ q	jéi?
22	abú ₁ ut	sek v	thi ₁ q	ez	dhis,	what de	·JEE thi ₁ q?

-
- 1
 2
 3 thi₁q?
 4
 5
 6 thi₁q?
 7 thi₁q?
 8 „ ebú₁ut it?
 9
 10 de jéi thi₁q?
 11 thi₁q ebú₁ut it?
 12 thi₁q?
 13 [de ·jee] thi₁q?
 14
 15 what de ·JEE thi₁q ebú₁ut it?
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22

8.	1	wiil,		ez	aa	wē	seej _{in}	·shii)ed
	2	wái)ē,	dha ₁ n,	ez)i		wēz	seej _{en}	shu)wad
	3			,,	áai	,,	,,	,, wud
	4	wái		ez	ái	wēz	seej _{in} ,	·shii)d
	5	wiil		ez	ái	wēz	seej _{en}	·shii
	6	wēl		ez	ái	wēz	te ₁ l _{en}	dhe shí ₁ i
	7	wáai)ē,	dhan,	ez	aa	wēz	seej _{en} ,	shí ₁ i
	8	vare	wiil,	,,	,,	áa ₁ i	te ₁ l _{en}	,,
	9	va ₁ re	wiil,		ez	aa	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	10	va ₁ re	wiil,		ez)v	wēz	seej _{en} ,	shí ₁ i)d
	11		wháa ₁ ii		ez	áa ₁ i	wēz	te ₁ l _{en} dhe,
	12		wáai)ē	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	13		wáa ₁ i)ē	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wēz	te ₁ l _{en} je
	14		wáai)ē,		ez	a	wēz	seej _{en}
	15		wáa ₁ i)ē,	dha ₁ n,	ez	a	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	16		wáai)ē,		ez	aa	wēz	·seej _{en}
	17		wēl,	dhen,	ez	a	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	18		wēl		ez	aa	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	19		wiil		ez	a	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	20		wéi		ez	aa	wāz	seej _{en} ,
	21		wēl		ez	ái	wēz	seej _{en} ,
	22		wéi	dj ₁ 'əst	ez	ái	wēz	seej _{en} ,

1	tīl	je	béeth,	uuguts	en	wíier	en	win	it
2	·tel	dhe		hú ₁ u		whaar ^o	en	when	
3	,,	,,		,,	en	,,	,,	,,	
4	tel	je		óu		wār	en	wen	
5	wod	tel	je	óu		waar	en	wen	
6	wad	te ₁ l	dhe	háu	en	whe ₁ n	en	whaar ^o	
7	wed	tel	dhe	háu		whaar	en	when	
8	wad	,,	,,)t' s ₁ á ₁ m,	hú ₁ u		,,	,,	,,	
9		tel	je	hú ₁ uu,		whaar	en	when	
10		tel)je		hú ₁ u,		when	en	whaar	
11	wud	tel	dhe	hú ₁ u	en	whí ₁ r ^o	en	when	
12		tel	je	hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	en	when	
13	wed	·tel	je	hú ₁ u		when	en	wheer ^o	
14	wed	·tel	je	hú ₁ u	en	whaar ^o	en	when	
15	wed	tel	je	tíu,	hú ₁ u	en	whoor ^o	en	·when
16	wed	tel	je		hú ₁ u		when	en	whaar ^o
17	wed	tel	dhe		hú ₁ u		wheer ^o	en	when
18	wed	tel	dhe		hú ₁ u		whoor ^o	en	when
19		tel	dhe		hú ₁ u		wen	en	whoor
20		tel	ji		húu		whóor ^o	en	when
21	wed	tel	je		hú ₁ u	en	when	en	whaar ^o
22	wud	·tel	je		hú ₁ u		when	en	wheer

1	wáaer	et	shə	fan)t'	druk'n	bíies	et	shə,z
2	shə ₁	fa ₁ n'd)	d'		d ^o ru ₁ qken	bíiest	ed	shə ₁
3	"	"	dha ₁ t		"	bíiest	et	"
4	shi	fand)	t'		dru _o k'n	bía'st	et	shi
5	shi	fu ₁ nd)	t'		dru ₁ k'n	bíást		shi
6	shə ₁	fa ₁ n't)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bíiest	et)	shə ₁
7	shi	fa ₁ nd)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ qk'n	bíiest	et	shi
8								
9	shi	fa ₁ n'd	"	dha ₁ t	dru ₁ k'n	bííist	"	shi
10	shi	fa ₁ nd)	t'		dru ₁ k'n	bííest	et	shə
11	shi	fá ₁ nd)	d'		druk'en	bíest	et	shi
12	shə	fa ₁ nd)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shə
13	shi	fa ₁ n')	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	felíle	et	shi
14	shə ₁	fa ₁ n'd)	t'	AAl'd	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shə
15	shə	fa ₁ n't)	t'	AAl'd	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shə
16	shi	fa ₁ n'd)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shi
17	shə ₁	fa ₁ nd)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shi
18	shi	fá ₁ nd)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shi
19	shi	fu ₁ nd		dhat	dru ₁ k'n	bííist		shi
20	shi	fan)	t'		d ^o ru ₁ k'n	r ^o u ₁ bísh	et	shi
21	shi	fa ₁ n		dhe	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shi
22	shi	fú ₁ und		dhet	d ^o ru ₁ k'n	bííist	et	shi

1	te	kóoel	er	uzben	on.
2	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		ma ₁ n.	
3	kAAZ	"		hu ₁ zb'nd.	
4	kooz	er		u _o zben.	
5	kooz	er		u ₁ zben.	
6	kAAZ	ə ₁		ma ₁ n.	
7	kAAZ	ə ₁ r		man.	
8	"	"		hu ₁ zbend.	
9	kAAZ			hu ₁ zbend.	
10	kooz	ə ₁ r		hu ₁ zben.	
11	kaaz)	t'		həz bent.	
12	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		hu ₁ zbent.	
13	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o		ma ₁ n [hu ₁ zben'd].	
14	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		hu ₁ zbent.	
15	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		hu ₁ zbent.	
16	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		hu ₁ zbent.	
17	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o		ma ₁ n.	
18	kooz	ə ₁ r ^o		hu ₁ zbent.	
19	kooz	er		hu ₁ zbend.	
20	kooz	er ^o		man.	
21	kAAZ	ə ₁ r ^o		gudma ₁ n.	
22	kAAZ	er		hu ₁ zb'nd.	

9.	1	she	t _r iiept	et	she	soo im	wiv	er	éeen
	2	shi	swaar°	et	shə ₁	saa)im	wiv	ə ₁ r°	aan
	3	shə ₁	„	et	she	„ „	wi	„ „	„
	4	shi	swi _{er}		shi	saa)im	wi	er	aan
	5	shi	swi _{ar}		shi	saa)em	wi	er	aan
	6	shə ₁	swyy ₁ a ₁ r	et	shə ₁	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r		aan
	7	shi	swi _{ar}	et	shi	saa)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r		aan
	8	„	„	„	„	„ „	„	„	„
	9	shi	swyy ₁ a ₁ r		shi	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r		aan
	10	sh _i i	sw _i i _{ar}	et	shi	saa)im	wi)ə ₁ r		aan
	11	wháa _i i, shi	swi _i r°	et	shi	saa)em	wi)t'		aan
	12	she	sw _i i _{ar} °	et	she	soo)im	wi ə ₁ r°		oon
	13	shi	swee ₁ r°	et	shi	soo im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°		òn
	14	shi	swyy ₁ r°t	et	she	s _i id im			
	15	shi	sw _i i _{ar} °	et	she	saa)em	wi e ₁ r°		oon
	16	shi	swyy ₁ ə ₁ r°		she	soo)em	wi(d)ə ₁ r°		oon
	17	shə ₁	s ₁ wyy ₁ er°		shə ₁	soo)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°		oon
	18	shi	swyy ₁ a°r°t	et	shi	soo)im	wi(d)ə ₁ r°		oon
	19	shi	swoor		shi	soo)em	wi(d)er		oon
	20	shi	swi _i er°	et	shi	soo)im	wu ₁ d er°		oon
	21	shi	swyy ₂ ə ₁ r°		shi	s _i id)im	wi)ə ₁ r°		een
	22	shi	swy ₁ a ₁ r	et	shi	s _i id)im	wi(d)er		AA

1	ien,	ligin		s _t r _i t _i t	et	laq	lenth	etop
2	éiin,	ligen	la ₁ q	s _t r°i ₁ á ₁ kt				etop
3	„	„	„	s _t r°iiekt				„
4	áiz,	ligin	v)t' fu ₁ l	rat ₁				
5	áiz,	ligin	laq	striiekt	et	fu ₁ l	lenth	
6	i ₁ in,	ligen		s _t ree ₁ k	áut			etop
7	éiin,	ligen		s _t rek	áut			etop
8	i ₁ in,	„		—	—			„
9	i ₁ iin,	ligen	ful	s _t ru ₁ k				
10	i ₁ in,	ligen	oo)iz				lenth	etop
11	i ₁ in en ə ₁ r°,	fl _i egen	aa iz		aan	fl _i enth		etop
12	i ₁ in,	ligen		s _t ry ₁ kt	ú ₁ ut	et	ful	lenth etop
13	i ₁ n,	ligen	oo iz				lenth	etop
14				s _t r°i ₁ ikt	AA iz	la ₁ q	lenth	
15	i ₁ in,	ligen	laq	s _t r°i ₁ ikt				etop
16	i ₁ in,	ligen	la ₁ q	s _t r ₁ i ₁ ikt				—
17	i ₁ in,	ligen		s _t r°et ₁ t	ú ₁ ut	oo)iz	lenth	
18	i ₁ iin,	liga°n		s _t r°éet	u ₁ ut	et	ful	lenth
19	i ₁ iin,	ligen	laq	s _t ri _i it				
20	áiz,	lái'en	laq	s _t r°iit				
21	i ₁ in,	ligen		s _t r°ikt	út	hiz	h _i l	lenth
22	i ₁ in,	lái'en		s _t r _i ikt	ú ₁ ut	AA iz	laq	lenth

1	e)t'	grund,	iv	iz	g'ied	sunde	kúvet,
2	e)d'	gr ^o u ₁ nd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ ndi	kwú ₁ et,
3	„ t'	„	„	„	„	„	„
4	on t'	gru _o nd,	in	iz	best		kúv ₁ t,
5	on t'	gr ₁ nd,	in	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kúvet,
6	e)t'	grú ₁ nd,	ín)iz		ha ₁ lídē		klí ₁ á ₁ z,
7	e t'	grú ₁ nd,	ev)iz			su ₁ nde	klí ₁ áz,
8	— „	„	in	„	best	„	kú ₁ et,
9	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ at,
10	e)t'	gry ₁ nd,	in	iz	be ₁ t ₁ rmə ₁ r		kló ₁ á ₁ z,
11	e)t'	grú ₁ uund,	in	iz	be ₁ t ₁ rmə ₁ r ^o		klí ₁ az,
12	e)t'	gru ₁ nd,	in	iz	best		klí ₁ á ₁ z,
13	e)t'	grú ₁ un'd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ at,
14	on)t'	gru ₁ n'd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwóot,
15	e)t'	gr ^o ú ₁ un'd,	in	iz	best	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ et,
16	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n'd,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ á ₁ t,
17	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	iv	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kú ₁ á ₁ t,
18	on)t'	gry ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ et
19	on)t'	gru ₁ nd,	ev	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kwot,
20	on)t'	gr ^o u ₁ n,	iv	iz	gu ₁ d	su ₁ nde	kúóoot,
21	on) dhv	gr ^o u ₁ n,	in	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kú ₁ et
22	on dhv	grú ₁ und,	ev	iz	gud	su ₁ nde	kwú ₁ et

1	tléevs	bi)v)t'	us	díiv,		duun
2	klwú ₁ es	bi)d'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	ev iz aan hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
3	„	„ t'		díúuer	e)t' — „	„
4	tlúus	esáid		ev iz	aan dúer,	dóun
5	klúues	bi)t'		dúer	stíán	dóun
6	klúues	bi)t'	háus	díúur		dáun
7	klú ₁ es			tev)iz	aan díúuə ₁ r,	dáun
8	„	hisáa ₁ (d)t'		hú ₁ us	díúuə ₁ r	dú ₁ un
9	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hú ₁ üs	dú ₁ uə ₁ r		dú ₁ un
10	klwú ₁ es	esáa ₁ (d)t'		hú ₁ us	díúur	dú ₁ un
11	haar ^o d	bi)t'		dúə ₁ r ^o	e)t' hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
12	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'		dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	ev iz oon hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
13	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hu ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
14	klwóos	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
15	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'		díúə ₁ r ^o	ev iz oon hú ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
16	klwú ₁ á ₁ s	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
17	klú ₁ evz	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	dú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o ,		dú ₁ un
18	klwú ₁ es	bi)t'	hú ₁ us	deú ₁ uə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
19	na ₁ r)t'			dúu ₁ er	e)t' hu ₁ us,	dú ₁ un
20	klúóos	bi)t'	huuz	dí ₁ er ^o		dún)t'
21	klú ₁ es	bi dhv	hú ₁ us	dy ₁ ə ₁ r ^o		dú ₁ un
22	klú ₁ es	bi dhv	hú ₁ us	dí ₁ er		dú ₁ un

1	et t'	níuk	e	jon	lon.
2	i'd'	níuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
3	et,t'	kwú ₁ er ^o ner ^o	,,	,,	lwú ₁ en.
4	et t'	ka'rner	e	jon	rúed.
5	i t'	kaarner	o)t'	lonín	jonder.
6	bi)t'	níuk	e)jon		lú ₁ en.
7	i)t'	níuk	e)jon		lú ₁ en.
8	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
9	i)t	karnə ₁ r	e	jon	lwú ₁ en.
10	i)t	níuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ en.
11	et)t'	kwú ₁ ə ₁ r ^o nə ₁ r ^o	e)t'		lwú ₁ en.
12	et)t'	níuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
13	et t'	nhnínuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ en.
14	et			jon	lonín níuk.
15	bi)t'	níuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
16	et			jon	lwú ₁ enín níuk.
17	e)t'	níuk	e	jon	lú ₁ a ₁ nín.
18	i)t'	níuk	e	jon	lwú ₁ enín.
19	bi)t'	koornər	e	jon	lonín.
20		kor ^c ner ^o	e	jon	leen.
21	et dhe	ka'r ^c nə ₁ r ^o	e	jon	lonín.
22	et dhi	níi ₁ Ek	e	jon	lonín.

10.	1	i	wer	egúiet	e	waanín	sez	shu,	fer
	2	hi	wes	r ^o wú ₁ er ^o en	ewee,	shə ₁	sed,		fə ₁ r ^o
	3	,,	,,	whindjen	ewee,	,,	sez,		fə
	4	i	wes	gríenín	ewee,				fer
	5	en i	wes	windjen	en	wáinín	ewee,	sez shii,	dju ₁ st fer
	6	hí ₁ i	wes	rú ₁ eren	ewee ₁ ,	se)shí,			fə ₁ r ^o
	7	hi	wes	rú ₁ eren	ewee ¹ ,	sed	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r
	8	hí ₁ i	,,	,,	,,	se	,,		,,
	9	hi	wes	rwú ₁ eren	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fer
	10	hí ₁ i	wes	róeren	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r
	11	hí ₁ i	wes	bí ₁ elen	ewee ₁ ,	†sízéd	†shí ₁ ie,		fə ₁ r ^o
	12	hi	wes	whindjen	ewee ₁ ,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	13	hi	wes	whindjen	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	14	hi	wes	whindjen	ewee,	shu	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	15	shu sed	et t'	aald fel ₁ le	wes	whindjen			fə ₁ r ^o
	16	hí ₁ i	wes	whindjen	ewee,	shu	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	17	hi	wes	whindjen	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fer ^o
	18	hí ₁ i	wes	whindja ^c n	ewee,	sez	shí ₁ i,		fə ₁ r ^o
	19	hi	wes	windjen	ewee,				fer
	20	hi	wes	kr ^o í ₁ enín	ewee,	shi	sez,—		fer ^o
	21	hi	wes	whá ₁ nen	ewee,	sez	shi,	dju ₁ st	fə ₁ r ^o
	22	hi	wes	grí ₁ iten	ewee,	shi	sez,		fer

1	éevl t'	waald	laak	tev	e s'iek	béevn,
2	AA) d'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd) d'	s'íám	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
3	AA) t'	wu ₁ r ^o el'd) t'	"	"	" "	"
4	AA ¹) t'	warld	lái'k		e stíkt	p'ig.
5	o) t'	wəə ₁ rld	lái'k		e badli	baarn,
6	AA) t'	wəə ₁ reld) t'	s'íám	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
7	AA) t'	wəə ₁ reld) t'	s'íám	ez	e badli	baarn
8	"	"	"	"	" "	"
9	AA) t'	wəə ₁ rld "	lái'k	"	e ba ₁ dli	baarn,
10	oo) t'	waardt [waar'ldt]	s'íem	ez	e badli	baarn,
11	aa) t'	wəə ₁ r ^o eld	lái'k		e ba ₁ dli	† b'íer ^o n,
12	AA) t'	wəə ₁ r ^o eld	lái'k		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
13	A' t'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd	t' s'íé ₁ m	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
14	AA) t'	waar ^o d'l	lái'k		e s'íik	baar ^o n,
15	AA) t'	wəə ₁ r ^o el'd	lái'k		e ba ₁ dli	baa ₁ r ^o n,
16	AA) t'	waar ^o eld	lái'k		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
17	oo) t'	wu ₁ r ^o ld	lái'k		e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
18	oo) t'	waar ^o eld	t' s'íá ₁ m	ez	e ba ₁ dli	baar ^o n,
19	oo) t'	warld	lái'k		e s'íik	baarn,
20	oo) t'	waar ^o ld	léik		e badli	béevr ^o n,
21	AA ¹)	dhe waar ^o ul	lé'ik		e sik	beer ^o n,
22	AA	dhe wəə ₁ r'ld	lé'ik		e s'íik	tjé'ild,

1	er	e laal	las	ev	e tiví.
2	er ^o	e láail	lās	et	ed gít'n sa ₁ dli fr ^o éit'n'd.
3	"	" "	"	"	— fr ^o éit'ndt.
4					
5	er	e láil	las	frít'nd.	
6	ə ₁ r ^o)e	láail	lās	gríiten.	
7	er)e	láail	las	et wez	sadli fréit'nt.
8	"	" láail	lās.		
9	ə ₁ r)e	láil	lās	in)e	fríit.
10	ə ₁ r ^o)e	láil	lās	gríiten.	
11	ə ₁ r ^o)e	láail	lās	in)t'	sa ₁ lks.
12	ə ₁ r ^o	e láail	lās	et	ed gít'n fríit'nt.
13	ə ₁ r ^o	e láil	lās	gríiten.	
14	ə ₁ r ^o	e lál	lās	iv)e	fríit.
15	ə ₁ r ^o	e lal	lās	ev)e	pet.
16	ə ₁ r ^o	e lal	lās.		
17	ə ₁ r ^o)e	laail	lās.		
18	ə ₁ r ^o)e	laa'l	lās	iv	e pet.
19	er	e laail	las	ev	e pet.
20	er ^o	e léil	las	i)t'	pet.
21	ə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ m wíi bit	lasi	iv	e fríit.
22	er	e lít'l	las	in	e fríit.

11. 1	en	·dhat	ap'nd	ez	shi	en t'	dóu ₁ t ₁ r i	léee	
2	en	·dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en t'	su ₁ n wáif		
3	„	„	ha ₁ p'ndt	ez	ə ₁ r ^o	„ ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
4	en	dhat	ap'nt,	ez	ə ₁ r	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r i	loo	wes
5	en	dhat	ap'nd	ez	shii	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r in	laa	
6	náú	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt	ez	hə ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
7	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	hə ₁ r	en e	dóu ₁ t ₁ r i	laa	
8	„	„	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	h ₁ r	„ ə ₁ r	„ „	laa	
9	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt whal	h ₁ r	en ə ₁ r	dóu ₁ t ₁ r i	laa		
10	nú ₁ u	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mt	ez	shii	en ə ₁ r	dóu ₁ t ₁ r i	laa	
11	en it		†hí ₁ ep'nt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en t'	†siú ₁ n wáa ₁ if		wes
12	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
13	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	laa	
14	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	hə ₁ r ^o	en t'	su ₁ n wáa ₁ if		
15	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	hə ₁ r ^o	en t'	su ₁ n wáa ₁ if		
16	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mt	ez	hə ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	loo	
17	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'mpt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o i	loo	wə ₁ r ^o
18	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nt	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	dóu ₁ t ₁ r ^o in	laa	
19	en	dhat	tok plíás	ez	shí ₁ i	en t'	dóu ₁ t ₁ r n	loo	
20	en	dhat	waz	ez	hə ₁ r ^o	en er ^o	su ₁ n wéif		
21	en	dhís	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	h ₁ r ^o	en ə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ n wé'if		
22	en	dha ₁ t	ha ₁ p'nd	ez	hə ₁ r	en er	dóu ₁ t ₁ r in	laa	wer

1	kam dhe wíez	t ₁ ruf ₁ t'	bak géee ₁ th	frev	aqín t'
2	kú ₁	t ₁ r ^o ú ₁ u'd'	ba ₁ ksáa ₁ d	fr ^o e	hiqén'd'
3	„	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	„ jaar ^o d	fr ^o e	hiqín — ú ₁ ut ₁ t'
4	kumín	thruu)t'	bak ja ₁ rd	fr ^o e	iqín t'
5	kom	thrau)t'	bak jaar ₁ d	fr ^o e	iqín óut t'
6	kú ₁ m	thrú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k faald	fr ₁ e	hiqén t'
7	kú ₁ m	thrú ₁ u)t'	bak faald	fr ₁ e	hiqín t'
8	„	„ „	„ sáa ₁ id	„	„ „
9	ko	thrú ₁ uu)t'	ba ₁ k jaa ₁ rd	fr ^o e	hiqén t'
10	ko thrú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k faald	[sáid]	free	hiqén t'
11	kú ₁ men	thr ^o ə ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k †hí ₁ er ^o d	fr ^o aa ₁	hiqén t'
12	kú	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k jaar ^o d	fr ^o e	hiqín ú ₁ ut t'
13	kom	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k fòl'd	fr ^o e	hiqén t'
14	kǔ	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k faal'd	fr ^o e	hiqén ú ₁ ut t'
15	kú ₁ m [kǔ]	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k sáa ₁ id	fr ^o e	hiqín t'
16	kú ₁	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k fool'd	fr ^o e	hiqén ú ₁ ut t'
17	kú ₁ men	thr ^o ú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k fool'd	fr ^o e	hiqén ú ₁ ut)t'
18	kú ₁ m	thr ^o vú ₁ u)t'	ba ₁ k sáa ₁ id	fr ^o e	hiqa ^o n)t'
19	kom	thrú ₁ ut)t'	foold	free	hiqén u ₁ p)t'
20	koom	thr ^o uu)t'	bak jaar ^o d	fr ^o ee	hiqén uut)t'
21	kam	thr ^o ú ₁ u dhe	ba ₁ k sáa ₁ id	fr ^o e	hiqén út dhe
22	kú ₁ ma ^o n	thrú ₁ u dhe	ba ₁ k fool'd	fr ^o e	hiqín dhe

1	wit	tlééuz	uut	te	d ₁ raa	ev	e	wéishin	díiv,
2	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ r ^o áai	e)d'		weshin	dee,
3	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z		„	„	ev)a	„		dee,
4		tlíez	óut			on)t'		wesh'in	dee,
5	wet	klíá ₁ z		te	dráí	on	e	wesh'in	dee,
6	we ₁ t	klí ₁ á ₁ z	áut	et	d ₁ ráai	jaa		we ₁ shin	dee ₁ ,
7	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z	áut	et	d ₁ ráai	jaa		weshin	dee ¹ ,
8	„	„	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ ráa ₁ i	„		„	„
9	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ rái	e)t'		weshen	dee,
10	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	jaa		weeshin	dee,
11	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	et	d ₁ rái	jaa		weshin	†dí ₁ E,
12	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z		te	d ₁ raa ₁ i	en	e	we ₁ shin	dee ₁ ,
13	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráa ₁ i	ja		we ₁ shen	dee,
14	wet	tlí ₁ é ₁ z		te	d ₁ ráai	et	t'	weshen	dee,
15	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráa ₁ i	ev	e	weshin	dee,
16	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z		te	d ₁ ráai	jaa		weshen	dee,
17	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z		te	d ₁ ráa ₁ i	ja		weshin	dee,
18	wet	klí ₁ á ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ r ^o áai	jaa		weshin	dee,
19	wí ₁ it	klíá ₁ z		te	d ₁ rái	ev	e	weshen	dee,
20	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z		te	d ₁ r ^o éi	o)t'		weshen	dee,
21	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z		ta	d ₁ rái	on	e	weshin	dee,
22	wet	klí ₁ é ₁ z	ú ₁ ut	te	d ₁ ráai	ev	e	weshin	dee'e,

12. 1	waal)t'	kit'l	we	bóoulin	fe)t'	tíiv,	e	jan
2	whâil)d'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o	téii,		jaa
3	wháail)t'	„	„	„	„	„		„
4	wáil t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilin	fer)t'	tii,		jàn
5	wáil t'	ket'l	we	bóilin	fer)t'	tii,		jaa
6	[wháa ₁ il)t'	ke ₁ t'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		jaa
7	wháail)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ ar)t'	téii,		jaa
8	whal „	„	„	„	fe)t'	tíi,		„
9	whal)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fer)t'	tíii,		jaa
10	wháail t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r)t'	tii,		jaa
11	tíl t'	†kí ₁ et'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	†tí ₁ E,		jaa
12	wháa ₁ il t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		jaa
13	wháa ₁ il t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o	tíii,		jaa
14	wháail)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁	tíi,		jaa
15	wháa ₁ il)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fe	tíi,		jaa
16	wháail)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		jaa
17	et t' táa ₁ im et t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		jaa
18	wháail)t'	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóila ^o n	fə ₁ r ^o)t'	tíi,		jaa
19	et t' táim et t'	ketel	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fer	tíi,		ja
20	when)t'	ket'l	waz	bóilen	fer ^o)t'	tii,		je
21	whé'il dhe	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóilen	fə ₁ r ^o	tíi,		je'
22	whé'il dhe	ket'l	wé ₁ z	bóila ^o n	fer	tíi,		jen

1	faan	briit		iftenüien i sume, nobet
2	fáain	br ^o éiit	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún, nobet
3	„	„	„	„ „
4 ríel	fáin			af ₁ ternuun i su _o mer,
5	fáin	briit	su ₁ mer	ef ₁ ternuun nobet
6		brí ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
7		bréiit	su ₁ m _ə r	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
8		brí ₁ it	„	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún „
9	fáin	brí ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níien nobet
10	boni	brí ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níien nobet
11	fáa ₁ in		su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níúin noobet
12		br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
13	fáa ₁ in		su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
14		br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
15 [w _u in]	fáain	br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
16	fáain	br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún nobet
17	fáa ₁ in	br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún, nobet
18	fáain	br ^o í ₁ it	su ₁ m _ə r ^o	ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níún, nobet
19	fáin	brí ₁ it	su ₁ mer	ef ₁ terníúen nobet
20	féin	br ^o iit	su ₁ mer ^o	ef ₁ terníúen nobet
21	fe'in			ef ₁ t _ə r ^o níúún nobet
22	fe'in	brí ₁ it	su ₁ mer	ef ₁ terníú'en nobet

1 e	wiik	sin	kum)t'	nekst	thozde.
2 e	wéiik	sen	ku ₁		thu _u r ^o zdi.
3 „	wéiik	„	ku ₁ m	nesht	„
4 en	it)'l	nobet	bi e	wik e	tha'rzde.
5 e	wik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thaarзде.
6 e	wíik	se ₁ n	ku ₁ m	ne ₁ kst	th _ə r ^o zde.
7 e	wéiik	si ₁ n	ku ₁ m		thu _u rzde.
8 „	wíik	sen	„	nest	th _ə arзде.
9 e	wíiik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	thu _u rzde.
10 e	wíik	sen	ku ₁ m	nekst	th _ə rzde.
11 e	†wíiek	†si ₁ en		†ní ₁ ekst	th _ə r ^o zde.
12 e	wíik	sen	ku	nekst	thu _u r ^o zde.
13 e	wíik	sen	ku		th _ə r ^o zde.
14)e	wíik	sen	kü	ní ₁ ist	th _ə ar ^o zde.
15 e	wíik	sen		e	thu _u r ^o zde.
16 e	wíik	sen	ku ₁ m	ní ₁ ist	th _ə ar ^o zde.
17 e	wíik			nekst	th _ə ar ^o zde sen.
18 e	wíik	sen		nekst	thu _u r ^o zde.
19 e	wíik		kom		th _ə arзде sen.
20 e	wiik	sen		niist	thar ^o zde.
21 e	wik	se'in	ku ₁ m	neist	thor ^o zde.
22 e	wíik	gon	ku ₁ m		thu _u rzde.

13.	1	en	noo	je,	béevn?	et	a	níiv	líivnt	nóut
	2	en	du ₁ s)	te	nhaa?	ái		nyvə ₁ r ^o	híivə ₁ r ^o d	nóut
	3	„	„	„	„	áai		níivər ^o	líivər ^o nd	„
	4	en	sii	je!		a		níivər	árd	e thi ₁
	5	en	d)je		naa?	a		níivər	laarnd	eni
	6	en	des)	te	naa?	aa		níivə ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut
	7	en	du ₁ s)	te	nhaa?	a		níivə ₁ r	híivə ₁ rd	nóut
	8	„	„	„	„	aa		„	laar'nd	„
	9	en	díi)	je	naa?	aa		níivə ₁ l ₁ r	laar ^o nt	eni
	10	en	de)	je	nhaa?	aa		níivə ₁ r	laarnd	nóut
	11	en	†dli ₁ s)	te	naa?	aa		†níivə ₁ r ^o	híivə ₁ r ^o d	eni
	12	en	du ₁ s)	te	noo?	a		níivə ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	nóut
	13	en	des)	te	noo?	e		níivə ₁ r ^o	har ^o d	nóut
	14	en	des)	te	nhaa?	e		níivə ₁ r ^o	haar ^o d	nóut
	15	en	des)	te	nhoo?	a ₁		níivə ₁ r ^o	ga ₁ t te híivə ₁ r ^o	nóut
	16	en	des)	te	tnhoo?	aa		níivə ₁ r ^o	nóu(də ₁ r ^o)	haar ^o d
	17	en	du ₁ s)	te	noo?	e		níivə ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nd	
	18	en	du ₁ s)	te	noo?	aa		níivə ₁ r ^o	laar ^o nt	nóut
	19	en	du ₁ s)	te	noo?	a ₁		níivər	larnd	níiv
	20	en	díi)	je	noo?	e		níivər ^o	fan út	óut
	21	en	díi)	je	ken?	ái		níivə ₁ r ^o	híivə ₁ r ^o d	
	22	en	díi)	je	noo?	áa ₁ i		nyvər	líivərnd	

1	ne	méevr	en	dhis	e	dhat	diid	up
2	ni	maar ^o	e	dhis			biznis	
3	„	„	„	dha ₁ t			biz'níis	
4				ebóut	it			
5		míár	an	dhis	ev	dhat	biznis	
6	ni	mee ₁ er	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
7	ni	mí ₁ ár	nə ₁ r	dhis	ebá ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
8		„	ne	„	ebú ₁ ut	„	„	
9		mí ₁ ár			ebú ₁ ut	dha ₁ t	biznes	
10	níiv	míár	nə ₁ r	dhis	ebú ₁ ut	t'	kensaarn	
11		†mí ₁ ə ₁ r ^o	dha ₁ n	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
12	ni	meeə ₁ r ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	ebú ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
13	ni	mee ₁ r ^o	ne	dhis	ebú ₁ ut	dhis	djob	
14	ni	maar ^o			abú ₁ ut	dhis	ma ₁ t tə ₁ r ^o	
15	ni	meer ^o			e	dhis	djob	
16	ne	soo	nóut	ni	meer ^o	ne	dha ₁ t ebú ₁ ut	tis djob
17	eni	meer ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
18	ni	meer ^o	nə ₁ r ^o	dhis	e	dha ₁ t	djob	
19		meer	ner	dhis	ebú ₁ ut	dha ₁ t	biznes	
20		méevr ^o			ebùt)	t		
21		meer ^o	e			dhis	djob	
22	eni	méevr	e			dhis	djob	

1	tiv tel	tədəev,	ez	súier	ez	mí	níiem)z
2	whel	tədəe,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	mái	níáim)zs
3	„	tədəe,	„	„	„	máai	„ „
4	tíl	tədəe,	es	t ríuu	ez	ái)s	standin
5	up te	dhis dee,	es	síúer)z		mái	níám)z
6	wháaíl	tədəe ₁ ,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	mí	níáim)z
7	wháaíl	tədəe ¹ ,	ez	síúuər	ez	máai	níám)z
8	whal	„	„	sí;úuər	„	máai	„ „
9	uip t'l	nú ₁ u,	ez	síúuer	ez	mí	níáim)z
10	wháaíl	tədəe,	ez	síúuer	ez	máai	níiem)z
11	†tí ₁ el	tədəe,	ez	†sí ₁ ər ^o t'n	ez	máai	níiem)z
12	wháaíl	tədəe ₁ ,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	me	níáim)z
13	whel	tədəe,	ez	shú ₁ uər ^o	ez	máai	níéim)z
14	whel	tədəe,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	mí	níéim)z
15	whel'	tədəe,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	mí	níáim)z
16	whel	tədəe,	ez	síúuər ^o	ez	mí [máai]	níáim)z
17	whel	tədəe,	ez	sy ₁ ər ^o	ez	mí	níaim)z
18	t'l	tədəe,	ez	sheúr ^o	ez	mái	níaim)z
19	uip tel	tədəe,	ez	shuu ₁ r	ez	mái	níám)z
20	tíl	tədəe,	ez	síúer ^o	ez	méi	níiem)z
21	uip tíl	tədəe,	ez	sy ₁ úər ^o	ez	me'i	níiem)z
22	uip te	tədəe'e,	ez	shú ₁ uer	ez	me'i	níi ₁ iem)z

1	:djúven	:shipəd,	en	aa	dis)'nt	want	te	díie
2	:djaik	:shypər ^o t,	en	i	duut	wa ₁ nt	te	nhaa
3	:djwú ₁ en	:shipər ^o t,	„	áai	du ₁)net	want	„	„
4	ier,		en	ái	dónt	want	te	ier
5	:djúen	:shiperd,	en	ái	dúent	want	te	naa
6	:djoní	:shipər ^o t	en	áai	doont	wa ₁ nt		
7	:djú ₁ en	shipərt,	en	áai	du ₁)net	want		
8	„	„	„	aa	„	„	te	nhaa
9	:djon	:shipə ₁ rd,	en	aa	doont	want	t'l	
10	:djoní	:shépərd,	en	áai	dúet	want		
11	:djaik	†:shíepər ^o d,	en	áai	díent	want		
12	:djaik	:shípər ^o d,	en	a	du ₁)net	want		
13	:djaik	:shípər ^o d,	en	a	du ₁ net	keer ^o	te	hí ₁ ər ^o
14	:djaik	:shípər ^o t,	en	a	du ₁ net	want	te	nhaa
15	:djwú ₁ en	:shípər ^o t,	en	a	du ₁ v)ent	want	te	nhoo
16	:djon	:shípər ^o t,	et	du ₁ d ₁ i	ny ₁ t [nu ₁ t].			
17	:djú ₁ a ₁ n	:shípər ^o d	en	aa	doo)nt	want		
18	:djwú ₁ en	:shípər ^o t,	en	aa	dúent	want		
19	:djwon	:shíperd,	en	a	dúuent	want		
20	:djon	:shíper ^o d,	en	e	div'nt	want		
21	:djoní	:shípər ^o d,	en	ái	div'n	keer ^o	te	ken
22	:djon	:shíperd,	en	áai	dínet	want		

- 1 dhíie nuu dhenz !
 2 needhə₁r^o, máa₁inds)te ·dha₁t nú₁u !
 3 needhə₁r^o.
 4 ne míer abóut it, en se dhen !
 5 eeder, dhíer nóu !
 6 nee₁də₁r^o.
 7 nee₁də₁r, sii)dhə ·dhí₁ár náu !
 8 ne mí₁ár ebú₁ut it.
 9 nee₁də₁r, ny₁t ái.
 10 nee₁də₁r. súv nú₁u dha₁n !
 11 níe₁də₁r^o.
 12 óu₁də₁r^o, máa₁ind ji ·dha₁t nú₁u.
 13 ebú₁ut it éi₁də₁r^o.
 14 nóu₁də₁r^o, ·dhí₁iə₁r^o nú₁u.
 15 nóu₁də₁r^o, sí₁ ·dhí₁iə₁r^o nú₁u !
 16
 17 óu₁də₁r^o, se ·dhí₁iə₁r^o !
 18 óu₁də₁r^o, sí₁a^o ·dheer^o nú₁u !
 19 náu₁der !
 20 nóu₁də₁r^o, ·dhí₁i₁er^o nu !
 21 meer óudhə₁r^o, ·dhí₁ə₁r^o nú₁u !
 22 óudher, ·dhí₁i₁er nú₁u !

14. 1 en see	aa)z	ganin	jam	te mi	supe.
2 en sí ₁ á ₁	ái men bi	gáaen	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
3 ,, ,,	aa)z —	gaan	[hí ₁ á ₁ m	,, —	,,
4 en se nóu	ái)z	ga)in	jàm	te mi	super.
5 an súv	ái)z	gaan	jam	te)t'	super nóu.
6 en náu	aa)z	gaan	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
7 en síá	a)z	gaan	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
8 ,, ,,	áa ₁ i)l	ewEE'	,,	,, t'	,,
9 en sí ₁ á ₁	aa)z	gaan	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
10 en nú ₁ u	aa)z	gâen	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r.
11 en síe nú ₁ u	aa)z	gaan	hí ₁ em	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
12 en sí ₁ ie	a)z	gaan	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
13 en sí ₁ e	a)z	gaan	hí ₁ é ₁ m	te)t'	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
14 en sí ₁ é ₁	aa)z bi	maken of	hí ₁ a ₁ m	te get mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
15 en nú ₁ u a men bi	gaaen	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .	
16 en sí ₁ e	aa)z	gaaen	hí ₁ á ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
17 en sí ₁ á ₁	aa)z	gaan	hí ₁ a ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
18 en sí ₁ a ^o	aa)z	gaan	hí ₁ a ₁ m	te mi	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
19 en súv	a)z	gaan	jam	tel mi	su ₁ per.
20 en	â)z	gân	jem	te mi	su ₁ per ^o .
21 en sí ₁ e	ái)z	gân	hí ₁ em	fə ₁ r ^o	su ₁ pə ₁ r ^o .
22 en nú ₁ u	áa ₁ i)z	ga ₁ nen	hí ₁ i ₁ em	te mi	su ₁ per.

1	gíed	niit,	en	dínet	bi	se
2	gud	néiit	te	dhe, en	thíqk on nái <u>u</u>	et dhu iz'nt si
3	"	"	—	—	"	— — — — du)net bi se
4	gu _u d	nít,	en	dònt	mak	se
5	súv gu _u d	nít,	en	doont	bi kwáit	súv
6	gud	níit	en	du)net	bi	se
7	sí ₁ a gud	néiit,	en	du ₁)net	bi	se
8	—	"	"	"	"	"
9	gud	níiit,	en	doont	bi	se
10	gud	níit,	en	dúet	bi	se
11	gud	†nít,	en	dúnet	†bív	si
12	gud	níiit,	en	du ₁ net	bi	se
13	gud	níit,	en	du ₁ net [duu ₁ t]	bi	si
14	gud	níit,	en	dúnet	bi	se
15	gud	níit	te	dhe, an máa,ind	et dhu iz'nt	sa
16	gud	níit,	en	dúnet	bi	se
17	gud	níit	en	du ₁ net	bi	se
18	gud	níiit	en	dúent	bi	si ₁ a ^o
19	gu _u d	níiit	en	dúuent	bi	síie
20	gu _u d	nít,	en	div'nt	bii	síiv
21	gud	nít	en	div'n	bi	se
22	gud	níit,	en	dínet	bi	si

1	shaap	te	kréek	óu)er	v	bodi	agéeen,	win i
2	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o aa	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	eggeen,	when v
3	r ^o y ₁ di	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
4	mitj gam			ev	v	bodi,		wen i)s
5	sharp	t'	kraa'in	úer	v	bodi	egíán,	wen i
6	shaar ^o p	te	kraa	óu ₁ r	v	bodi	eggeen,	when i
7	shaarp	et	kraaen	óu ₁ r	v	bodi	eggeen,	when v
8	"	"	kráa	"	"	"	"	"
9	shaarp	et	kraa'in	óur	v	bodi	eggeen,	when "
10	shaarp	te	kraa	óur	v	bodi	egen,	when i
11	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o aa	óur ^o	ja ₁ n		egíen,	when
12	fást ez	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíán,	when)v
13	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíén,	when)v
14	wh'k	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíén,	when)v
15	r ^o y ₁ di enu ₁ d ₁ r ^o	taa'im	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi,	when)i
16	kit'l	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíán,	when)i
17	ru ₁ di	te	kr ^o oo	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíán,	when)i
18	shaar ^o p	te	kr ^o oo	óur ^o	v	bodi	egé ^o n,	when)i
19	ru ₁ di	te	kroo	áuer	v	bodi	egíán,	wen)i
20	r ^o u ₁ di	te	kr ^o oo	óurr ^o	jen		egíen,	when
21	wh'k	te	kr ^o aa	óu ₁ r ^o	v	bodi	egíen,	when
22	shaarp	et	kroo'in	óuer	v	bodi	egí'en,	when)i

1	tóorks	e	téevn	en	tídhv	thíq.
2	taaks	ebú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
3	"	e	"	"	e	tu ₁ dher ^o .
4	telín		is	tíel	enudher	táim.
5	tooks		dhís	dhat	en	tu ₁ der.
6	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dhə ₁ r ^o .
7	taaks	ebáut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
8	"	e	"	"	ə ₁ r	"
9	ja ₁ n	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	en t' tu ₁ dh ₁ r.
10	tooks	e	tís	ta ₁ t	en	tu ₁ dh ₁ r.
11	dhú ₁ u	taaks	ebú ₁ ut	†dhíes	dha ₁ t	en †tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
12	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
13	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	e	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
14	taaks	e	dhís'n	dha ₁ t'n	e	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
15	telz dhe	ebú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	e	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
16	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
17	tooks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
18	taaks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	ə ₁ r ^o t'	tu ₁ dh ₁ r ^o .
19	tooks	e	dhís	dha ₁ t	er	tu ₁ der.
20	JEN)z	tooken	ebút	óut.		
21	JEN	ta'ks	e	dhís	ə ₁ r ^o	dha ₁ t ə ₁ r ^o dh' u ₁ dhə ₁ r ^o .
22		taaks	ebú ₁ ut	dhís	dha ₁ t	en dh' u ₁ dher.

15. 1	it)s	e	wéek	fíiel	et	pra ₁ tez
2	héii)z	nobet	e	week	fíúul	ed pr ^o a ₁ t'lz
3	hi'z	—	"	week	fíúul	at pr ^o aats
4	i iz	e		fíúul	et	tòks
5	it)s	e	púuer	fuul	et	praats
6	híi'z	nobet	e	wée ₁ k	fí ₁ uul	et taaks
7	héii'z	nobet	e	wEE ¹ k	fí ₁ uul	et taaks
8	it)s	"	"	fíúul	"	pree ¹ ts
9	híi'z	nobet	e	week	fíúul	et pr ¹ á ₁ ts
10	hi'z	nobet	e		ma ₁ flín	et tooks
11	híi'z	e	wíek	swú ₁ et	ev e	bodi et taaks
12	hi'z	e	wée ₁ k	fíúul	et	pra ₁ t'lz ewee ₁
13	híi'z	nobet	e	wec ₁ k	fíúul	et taaks
14	it)s	nobet	e	va ₁ r ^o e sili [week]	fíúul	et ra ₁ m'lz en taaks
15	it)s	nobet	e	WEEK	fíúul	et pra ₁ t'lz i sek e WEE
16	it)s	e	WEEK	fíúul	et	tja ₁ t t ₂ r ^o z
17	it)s	nobet	e	sili	fíúul	et taaks
18	it)s	nobet	e	week	fíúul	et ta'ks
19	hi'z	e	week	fíúul	et	tja ₁ t ₂ r ^o z
20	hi'z	e	week	fíúul	et	br'agz
21	it)s	bet	e	py ₁ ə ₁ r ^o sili	fíú ₁ uul	et tja ₁ t t ₂ r ^o z
22	it)s	e	WEEK	fíú ¹ el	et	taaks

1	edhuut	oní ríiez'n.	séev nuu, dhen, dhat)s ma last
2	withúut	r ^o íiezen.	en dhat)s Aal ái)v git'n
3	withúut	sens,	„ „ máai lăst wu ^r d.
4	wi'út	sens.	en súe jə kən mak jər best
5	wi'út	riiez'n	end dhat)s mi last wə ^r ld.
6	wi'áut	se ₁ ns,	en dhat)s mi lăst wə ^r d.
7	wi n ₁ á	sens.	en dhat)s AA áai' giten
8	withúut	„	„ „ mi lăst wu ^r d.
9	wi n ₁ á	r ₁ íiez'n,	en dhat)s AA aa'v giten
10	goomly ₁ s	maapment.	en dhat)s oo ebúut it.
11	widúut	r ^o íezen,	en síe dhat)s aa et áai' giten
12	wi'úut	r ^o íizen	en dhat)s AA a)v giten
13	widúut	sens.	en dhat)s t' end on)t.
14	widúut	óudə ₁ r ^o ráaim v r ₁ íiz'n.	en dhat)s AA v)v
15	wi'úut	óudə ₁ r ^o r ^o aa'im v ^o r ^o íiz'n.	en dhat)s t'
16	widúut	nhooen wha ₁ t for ^o .	en dhá ₁ t)s mi last
17	widúut	sens, en dhat)s oo ebúut it	[mi lăst wu ^r d].
18	widúut	sens, en dhat)s mi last wu ^r d.	
19	edúut	r ₁ íiz'n.	en dhat)s mái last wə ^r ld.
20	widuut	sens.	en dhat)s oo a)z gán tə see.
21	withúut	óudhə ₁ r ^o wít ə ₁ r ^o wizdem.	en dhat)s mi
22	withúut	sens.	en dhat)s mi last wu ^r d.

1	wod.	féev jə wil, gafe.
2	tə see.	s ₁ á ₁ gud néiit tə dhe.
3	— —	— „ „ — —
4	on)t.	gu ^o d nít.
5		gud nít.
6		gud n ₁ it.
7	et SEE ¹ .	s ₁ á gud néiit.
8	— —	„ „ „
9	et see.	s ₁ á ₁ gud n ₁ it.
10		gud n ₁ it.
11	et SEE ebúut it.	síe gud t'niet.
12	tə see ₁ .	s ₁ íie gud n ₁ it.
13		síe gud n ₁ it tə dhe.
14	git'n tə SEE.	gud n ₁ it.
15	en'd on)t.	gud n ₁ it tə dhe.
16	wə ^r d.	gud dee.
17		gud dee.
18		gud n ₁ it.
19		gud bóí.
20		gud nít.
21	va ₁ re lăst wu ^r d.	s ₁ íe gud dee.
22		gud n ₁ it.

Notes to No. 2, *Muker*, Yo. D 31, Vi, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (a₁) represents a sound between (a, a); see p. 539. The (wh) is fully sounded.—*for*, the (r^o) is a “stiff-tongued” and hence “untrilled” (r); see p. 542.—*John*, the (dʒ) is labialised in anticipation of the following (u₁), for which see p. 291 and p. 540.—*has*, the aspirate distinct, fully (h₁h), the vowel certainly (æ), not (e).—*no*, the great peculiarity of the fractured vowels is the distinctness with which each element of the fracture is pron., and the evenness of the stress upon each, though both seem to be short, as the (i₁) is one of the series (i, i₁, e¹, e), its sound is so intermediate in character, that JGG. often wrote (e, e¹) for it, and it was only after many trials that I decided to use (i₁) to shew that the sound gave me more the feeling of (i) than of (e); the last vowel (a₁) is another intermediate for which see p. 539, and for a long time I wrote it as (æ). This fracture (i₁ a₁) therefore seems comparable to the Ags. EA.—*doubts*, the (ú₁u) is a fracture quite like some of the fractures of (i); it begins with (u₁) which has the stress, and glides quickly on to fine (u), the latter being often lengthened; hence it tends to sound as (ó¹u) as JGG. often wrote it, and this rapidly passes into (óu), and is therefore the precursor of the (óu, æ¹u, áu) forms of U. The speakers of (ú₁u) believe that they say (uu), a sound which in fact is extremely difficult for their organs. To my ears (ú₁u) is totally different from (æ¹u), which begins with a higher and not a deeper sound, though, as we have seen, that also leads to (æ¹u), but it has likewise a tendency to (iu, y₁), which is not the case at all with (ú₁u). The distinction between (ú₁v, ú₁u) must be noted. It will be hopeless for any one who does not hear (ú₁u) constantly from native organs to acquire its accurate use from mere indications like this; even JGG. did not always quite satisfy native ears.

1. *well*, argumentative, in two distinct syllables indicated by the long first vowel to the diphthong. JGG. got the variant (nú₁u dhan) now then.—*neighbour*, the (éi) has a distinct (i), not like London (ee¹j), where (i) is not distinctly reached, the vowel (æ₁) is very difficult, see p. 541. JGG. appreciated

it differently at different times, but finally as (æ) or French *eu* in *peu*, which is of constant use in the Icelandic final -ur (see Part II. p. 548b). But as I heard a decided leaning from (æ) to (u), I use (æ₁) to shew a difference from the true French sound. This sign (æ₁) is used on p. 146 for one of the peculiar w.Sm. forms of O'. There is probably a difference which I cannot formulate. JGG. says he regards the sound as being intermediate between (v) and (u). Those who find a difficulty in conceiving (-æ₁r^o) final may content themselves with (-v₁r^o) or (-v). Thus few Londoners, even after many hearings, would distinguish this word *neighbour* from their own (nee¹jbv).—*ye*, the diphthong (éii) or (éi) differs in two particulars from (éi) in the preceding word. In the first place the lengths of the elements are reversed, and in the second the last element is pure (i) and not (i). Natives think they say (jii). This shortening of the first and lengthening of the second element leaves the impression of the second vowel in the mind.—*him*, (h) always well sounded.—*laugh*, the vowel is as deep as in (wha₁t), but much shorter. This very short (ǎ₁) is the sound given in Swaledale to *a* in all such words as *staff*, *ask*, *lath*, *chance*, which have (aa) in London, but see for Edenside, p. 539.—*at this news of mine*, variant (et t' níúuz et ái)v giten), at the news that I've got.

2. *it's few of*, variants (net, nyt si ma₁ni), not so many.—*that*, (vɛd) for (vɛt)=that, by attraction of the following (d).—*because*, variant (biko²z).—*we*, (wi) weak, (wéii) strong.—*know*, the initial voiceless (nh-) for *kn-* is very strong.—*none* (nyn), the exact value of this (y) is difficult to determine, see p. 540. I leave (y), which Mr. Melville Bell identifies with *e* in *houses*, but what that is when accented it is difficult to say.—*likely*, JGG. finds the final vowel to lie between (i, i), and it might be written (i¹), but it is so near (i) that with this caution (i) is used.

3. *these*, etc., variant (it)s dʒu₁st héii₁r^o nú₁u), it's just here now.—*friend*, here the (y₁) signifies a slight variant of (y), which I cannot precisely define.—*while*, variants (wháil, whel, t'l); this use of *while* for *until*, occurs in many other specimens, but is strange to s. ears. A schoolmaster is reported to have said to a noisy class

(âi kan)et bigin whâil jε'r° whâi(jεt), which sounds like 'I can't begin *while* you're quiet,' but meaning was *until* you are quiet.—*hear'st thou*, meaning *listen*, as we often say 'do you hear?' an interrogative for imperative. Variants (la)dhε núu, probably 'look thou now,' and (lâaist)ε listest thou, the (t) of the second word being lost after the preceding one.

4. *I'm certain*, etc., variant, thought to be better (âi)z siúuu,r° εd)i hiu,r°d) tem tel—tel on—εbu,ut it), I am sure that I heard them tell—tell on—about it.—*say*, here (se) is quite unaccented, the stress falling on the following (siu,âi).—*that did I*, variants (dhat εd âi did, dhat εd did)i), where the meaning of (εd), which should be unaccented *that*, is not clear, see also the end of par. 5. Observe (i) JGG.'s (i¹) for unaccented *I*, several times in this par.

5. *great*, var. (gr°iuet).—*father's*, observe the absence of the possessive 's in the dialect.—*squeaky*, var. (skwuiueki).—*and I would trust*, etc., var. (εn âi)l εp°d)im, hui)l' nut luiu, and I'll uphold [= warrant] him, he'll not lie.—*any*, var. (anu).—*that would I*, the meaning of (εd) is not apparent, see par. 4.—var. (âi wil ·dhaut núu), I will *that* now.

6. *body*, var. (wumuen).—*any*, var. (anu).—*without*, var. (widhu,ut).—*much*, var. (mitu).—*if you'll*, etc., var. (εn as)ε,r° an [one] ask her, where an = if, is supposed to represent 'an one,' that is, 'if one'; this is a peculiar idiom of the district, and being indefinite, would be preferred.

7. *any*, var. (anu).—*she shouldn't*, this was meant to be emphatic (shui), but the courtesy of the district finds the emphasizing of a personal pronoun invidious. People will even avoid *thou* in speaking, as too personal. A mother will prefer saying *she* (shu) unemphatic even when addressing her daughter.—*wrong*, var. (w'rauq) among the older people, (rauq) among the younger, the final (q) often prolonged emphatically.

8. *she would*, the vowel in the word (shu) is due to the attraction of the following (w), the people themselves feel this effect.—*found the drunken*, observe (d') coronal suspended before (d) alveolar, the tongue is felt to slip forward in passing from the first to the second. The Dale form is (d,r°u,qk'n), at Barnard Castle (12 nw. Richmond)

they say (d,r°u,k'n).—*beast*, var. (felu).—*husband*, var. (hu,zben'd).

9. *coat*, var. (klu,âi,z) clothes.—*close by the*, var. (haar°d bisâaid)d'), hard beside the.—*door*, the sound of (y₁) differs very slightly if at all from French (y), but the real sounds heard for this word were difficult to appreciate, and were in fact differently appreciated by JGG. at different times and from different speakers. He has lately heard the Swedish *y*, and thinks this nearly identical with it. Whether the sound was exactly the same as the (y₁) of D 10, 11, 19, is not quite certain.

10. *roaring*, var. (whindjuen) whingeing, compare Salesbury's *vvyng*e (suprâ, Part III. p. 763a), also heard at Rothbury, Nb.—*away*, in Cu. and We. (εwuee'), with a much deeper sound.—*world*, distinctly in two syllables.—*that had got sadly frightened*, there is no dialect phrase equivalent to 'fretting.'

11. *son's wife*, omitting the possessive 's, var. (do'u,tu,r°i)laa), daughter-in-law.

13. *business*, var. (djob).—*Jack*, var. (:djwuen).—*don't*, the (n) omitted, compare D 29, var. iub, p. 461; this word sounded to me more like (*doot*), and JGG. said that it forcibly reminded him also of (*doot*) at first hearing, especially when lengthened in singing. Observe that *doubt* would have been (du,ut), and hence quite distinct.

14. *home*, the aspirate sounded here to me as (jh).—*think on* is always used in the north-west for 'remember' and 'remind,' as 'I can't think on, you must think me on't.'—*that thou art not*, var. (duu,t bi), don't be.

15. *without reason*, var. (widhu,ut) and var. (wi nu,âi sens), with no sense.—*all I've got to say*, var. (mi last wuu,r°d), my last word.

Notes to No. 3, *Hawes*, Yo. D 31, V i, p. 563.

2. *nobody*, variant (fiuu fwu,ek) few folk.

4. *sure*, var. (saar°t'n), certain.

5. *bairn*, var. (suun).

9. *saw him*, var. (séiud)im), see'd him.

11. *hanging out*, old people say (âut).

Notes to No. 4, *Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel*, La. D 31, V iub, p. 563.

0. *John* or (:djak').

1. *Jim* or (lâd).—*thee*, used as in

s.La., as explained in Notes to West Houghton, p. 337.—*cares*, TH. leaves the (r) unmarked throughout.

2. *because they're*, variant (wi bi'in).

3. *however*, TH. writes (hūi'vər), but we should have expected (hōui'vər).

4. *I heard the same folk say as knew it all*, a various reading by the informant who has generally abridged the text.—*all* (AA) or (oo).

5. *rate*, var. (tāim), time.

7. *in a thing of this sort*, var. (əbōut ər aan uzben), about her own husband.

8. *drunken beast*, possibly (bíást) or (slóuk, sləmp). TH. uses (u) for U partially throughout this region, see p. 554.

9. *saw* or (siid).—*lying at full reach*, (s,t,rɛtɪt ɔut fu,l lɛnθ), stretched out full length.—*best* or (su,ndə) Sunday.

10. *for all*, (AA) or (oo).

13. *and so then*, or (nōu dhɛn') now then.

15. *he is a fool*, etc., or (ɛni jan)z v tʰaʊl tɛ tʰa:k [took] wi ɔut rɪz'nz, any one's a fool to talk without reasons.

Notes to No. 5, Coniston, La. D 31,

V iib, p. 563.

3. *matter*, or (kiás) case.—*quiet*, Miss Bell had heard only one old man use this form, gen. (kwáiet).—*done*, Mr. Bowness wrote *deun*, implying (dúun), which Miss Bell did not know. Mr. Ellwood thought *deeàn* (diən). better.

4. *I is*, Mr. Bowness wrote *I'm*. which Mr. E. says is not known as part of dialect.—*folk*, Mr. B. wrote *fwoke*, which older form (fwook) Miss B. did not recognise.—*enough*, no form of *enow* known to Miss B.

5. *father tongue*, Mr. Ellwood says the possessive 's is not usually omitted.—*to speak*, so written, and so Miss Bell, see Intro. to V iib, p. 550.—*that I would*, Mr. B. added (dhat wod'), which Miss B. did not know.

6. *now*, Mr. B. wrote *noo*, which was repudiated both by Mr. E. and Miss B., but as Coniston is so near the s. hoose line 6, no doubt many (nú,u) speakers are heard there.—*too*, this is generally replaced by (en oo), and all.—*won't she*, (weent shə) at full contracted into (weetʃə) according to Miss Bell.

7. *over*, this was Miss B.'s pron.

8. *beast* or (ru,bish, teestrel) rubbish, taistril, the last a n. country word for

a scoundrel.—*calls*, Mr. B. wrote *cooas*, *cwooas*, which both Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated.—*husband*, (man) more usual.

9. *eyes*, Mr. B. wrote *een ees*, but Miss B. only knew (áiz).—*ground*, Mr. B. wrote simply *grund*, the sound was difficult to catch, but it came to me from Miss B. like (grɔ,nd), the (ɔ,) is frequent before (r) according to JGG. in D 31, and I seemed to recognise it in Miss B.'s (nɔ,t, grɔ,nd) not, ground. It is probably the same sound which occurs in No. 10, and there marked (y), see Intro. to No. 10, p. 560.—*door stone*, or threshold, Mr. B. wrote *duer*, and Mr. E. preferred *dewer*, hence probably (diuer) or (diúur) may be heard from older people, as in Nos. 6, 7, 10.—*down*, here again Mr. B. wrote *doon*.

10. *bairn*, Mr. E. and Miss B. repudiated the form (beern).—*frightened*, suggested by Miss B., Mr. B. wrote *in a freat* in v iíat.

11. *out*, Mr. B. wrote *oot*.—*to dry*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.—*washing*, Mr. E. gave (wéishin), it will be seen that this does not occur in D 31, but is found in D 30.

12. *afternoon*, Mr. B. wrote *afterneun*, Mr. E. preferred *afternean*, Miss B. gave (nuun) here, but (nién) in the cwl.

13. *more than*, Mr. E. preferred (meer dhɛn).—*John*, in this place Miss B. admitted (:dʒún), but not in the title.—*either*, Mr. E. admitted dental or rather alveolar (dɛr), Miss B. did not employ them, but TH. says their use is quite prominent.

14. *I is going home*, Mr. B. wrote *I'm gāen heām*, I follow Miss B.—*at crowing*, written *i'craain'*, with variant *ta craa*, it seems as if Mr. B. used *at crowing* to escape *at crow*, see Intro. to V iii, p. 555.

15. *poor fool*, Mr. B. gave as a variant *fuil*. Mr. E. says that *peeur feeul* are not heard here.

Notes to No. 6, Casterton for Kirkby Lonsdale, We. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

5. *I'd trust him at speak*, observe *at for to*. Var. (āai)l ɛpɔ:d)im hɪ'i)l spɪ'ik, I'll uphold him, he'll speak.—*any* (e,ni) is an older form than (oni).

7. *wrong*, Mrs. Wilson could not remember (w'ra,q).—*thing* or (póint).

8. *telling thee*, or (see₁en) saying.—*man* or (huzbend).

13. *until to do*, the hiss of (wh) in *while* is weak.

14. *so sharp to crow*, so sharp at crow, would be more natural, but the dialect is rather mixed at Casterton, see par. 11 *at dry*, and par. 15 note *at say*; also p. 550.

15. *that's my last word* or (dha₁t)s AA ái)v giten et see₁) that's all I've got to say.

Notes to No. 7, *Dent*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) was fully trilled.

3. *is the* (ist), the German form, is occasionally used for *is*, without any contraction of *is it*. In this case it was perhaps due to the following (t'), and perhaps (is)t' faks) would be more correct.

7. *shouldn't*, observe the unusual form (sad'nt), comparable with (wad'nt) would not.—*wrong*, remembered (w'raq), but (raq) given as a variant.—*what dost thou*, and then Mr. Par- rington added (vbaút it dhisel' ?), about it thyself, which was not in the original.

14. *at crowing*, this must be the sense as it stands, but it looks as if it were meant for (et kraa) *at crow*.

Notes to No. 8, *Sedberg*, Yo. D 31, V iii, p. 563.

In these notes the variants of the Cauley version are referred to by C. prefixed; the text gives only the Sed- berg version.

0. *John*, C. (:dpuúen).

1. *thee*, C. (j₁i₁).—*at this news of mine*, C. (et t' níúuz et ái)v giten te tel je), at the news that I've got to tell you.—*cares*, C. (k₁i₁á₁z fe dhat), cares for that, obs. omitted (r).—*neither*, C. (neēdh₁r).—*there*, the form (dh₁a₁r), like (m₁i₁a₁r), par. 13, is peculiar to the s. side of the rocky backbone of the Lake District. JGG. says "the geological formation of the country in part determines the dialect by determining the kind of pasturage which the various kinds of people followed."

2. *few*, or (fiúu men), C (it)s fiúu fuu₁k et du₁z'nt l₁i₁v laq et e₁t₁r dh₁r láft at) it's few folk that does not live long at-after they're laughed at. "At-after" is a regular s.We. and n.La. phrase. Mr. Peacock in his Lonsdale Glossary compares Danish

efterat.—*we know that*, C adds (w₁i₁l vnu₁f) well enough.—*make*, or (m₁i₁á₁k), C (mak em d₁i₁).—*it is'nt*, C (it)s ny₁t) it's not—*is it*, JGG. writes (i₁i₁zs)t) here, and C (i₁izs)t).

3. *these are the facts of the case*, var. (áai)l tel dhe AAl vbú₁ut it) I'll tell thee all about it.—*prithe*, C (d₁u₁st) just.—*my lad*, C (try₁nd).—*while*=until, C (wháil).—*done*, C (du₁n).—*hark thou*, C (lis'n n₁ú₁u), listen now.

4. *I am certain*, C (áai)z síúur) I am sure.—*heard*, C (hi₁ard).—*say so*, C (tel vbú₁ut it).—*job*, C (thi₁q)—*from the first*, C inserts (var₁).—*that did I safe enough*, C (ái iz dhat síúur vnu₁f) I am that sure enough.

5. *youngest lad*, C (ju₁qist baarn).—*nine*, C (náin).—*old*, C (AAl₁).—*tongue*, C (vóis).—*all*, C (AAl).—*squeak- ing*, C (skw₁i₁iki).—*and I'll uphold it*, *he's a lad*, etc., C (en ái)d epod₁it, 'n₁i₁i)l ny₁t l₁i₁) and I'll uphold it, *he'll* not lie, or C (ái)d t₁ry₁st)im et sp₁i₁k) t' t₁riúth eni dee, ái₁i wad dhat n₁ú₁u), I'd trust him at (=to) speak the truth any day, aye, I would that now.

6. *woman*, also C (bod₁) = person, singular of folk or people.—*straight*, C (s₁t₁rek).—*any*, C (m₁it₁).—*any bother*, Sedberg inserted here (what- i₁v₁r), which it was not convenient to insert in the text.—*I'm sure*, this em- phatic pron. of 'sure' is stated to be common among old people all over the country, but chiefly in Swaledale, We. and e.Cu., the first (s₁) is very short, and is followed by the (;) check closure of the vocal chords, which explode suddenly on an intensified (uu). This is not given in the C version, which has C (ái₁i wad'nt sh₁z'), aye, *wouldn't she?*

7. *she told*, C (sh₁ teld).—*I*, C (i). *times*, C (táimz) without nasality.—*did she*, C (dhat did sh₁).—*shouldn't*, Sedberg, or (wad'nt) wouldn't.—*wrong*, S with (r), C (faar raq) far wrong, with inserted *far* and (ra).—*this*, C (dhis'n).—*what dost thou think about it*, C (what de₁je thi₁qk ?).

8. *very well*, C (wáai)e).—*then*, C (dhen).—*as I was telling*, C (ez₁i wez see₁en).—*would tell thee the same*, C (wed tel dhe), with 'the same.'—*she*, C (sh₁).—*drunken*, C (d₁ru₁k'n).—*husband*, C or (ma'n).

9. *she*, C (sh₁).—*with*, C (wi).—*lying*, C inserts (laq s₁t₁ri₁á₁kt) long stretched.—*atop the ground*, C restores (etop e)t gru₁n'd) atop of the ground.

—*best*, C (gud).—*coat*, C (kwúu,et).—*close beside*, etc., C reads (lhaard bisáid,t'), or (klwúu,es tɛjt diúuer ɛv iz aan lhu,us) hard beside, or close to the door of his own house.—*in the*, C (et t').—*lane*, C (lwúu,ɛnɛn).

10. *says she*, C (shə, sɛd) she said.—*little petted lass*, C (láil lās et wez sadli frí,ít'nd), little lass that was sadly frightened.

11. *her daughter-in-law*, C (lAA), or (t' su,ɛn wáif), the son's wife.—*side*, C (sáid) without nasality.—*at dry*, C either (et) or (tɛ d,ráí).—*one*, C (ɛv ɐ).

12. *while*, C (wháil).—*for the*, C (fer).—*one bright*, C inserts (fáin).—*come*, C (ku,ɛ), and omits *next*.—*Thursday*, C (thu,rzde).

13. *dost*, C (dɛs) weak. — *never learned*, C (ny,ɪvɛr lhaard) never heard.—*more*, C (mee,ɛr) certainly more modern than (mí,ár).—*job*, C (bízny,ɪs) business.—*while*, C (wháil).—*sure*, C (síu,ɛr), see par. 6.—*John* or (:dʒɒn), C (:dʒwúu,ɛn).—*Shepherd*, C (:shy,ɪpɛrt).—*and I*, C (ɛn,ɪ).—*want*, etc., C (want neethə,ɪr, máinds)tɛ dhat nú,u), want neither, mindst thou *that* now? the interrogation form of imperative, see p. 596, l. 4.

14. *I will away*, C (ái,z gaaɛn).—*to the*, C (tɛ mi).—*night*, C (ní,ít).—*so*, C (si).—*at crow*, C (et kraain) evidently a 'correction' by the informant.—*again*, S or (egí,á,u).—*t'other*, C (tɛu,dhə,ɪr).

15. *it's*, C (lhi,ɪ,z).—*fool*, (fiúul) is the pron. of the old, (fú,ul) of the younger men, C (fú,ul).—*my last word*, C also (Aal áí)v gít'n ɛt see), all I've got at (=to) say.—*night*, C (ní,ít).

Notes to No. 12, *Kirkby Stephen*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

3. *those are the facts of the case*. It would come more natural to a speaker to say (hodj)i! it's dʒu,ɪst hí,ɛr° nú,u!) hold ye, it's just here now.

6. *she would (do) that*, or (wad'nt shə,ɪ) wouldn't she?

7. *what dost thou think?* or (what de ·jí,ɪ think), what do ·ye think?

11. *back yard*, or (ba,ɪk sáaid) back part or side.

13. *job* or (bízny,ɪs) business.

Notes to No. 13, *Crosby Ravensworth*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

9. *good Sunday coat*, or (bet,tɛ,ɪr° mɛ,ɪ klí,é,z) better-more clothes.

13. *and I do not care*, or (ɛn)i duu,ɪt kɛ,ɪr), with (i) for (a) I, and (duu,ɪt) for don't.—*either*, more usually (óu,dɛ,ɪr°).

14. *sharp*, or (ry,ɪdi) ready.—*when he (when)ɐ*, or (when)i).

15. *only a weak fool*, or (nobɛt ɛ dáfɛt ɛn) only a daft one.

Notes to No. 14, *Temple Sowerby*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

1. *neighbour* or (neebə,ɪr°).—*tale* or (níuuz) news.

2. *few folk die* or (fíwú,ɪk du,z't dí,ɪ), folk don't die.—*we know that*, here Mrs. A. inserts *gaily well*; *such as we die indeed!* (geel wí,ɪl, sek ɛz ·hu,ɪz dí,ɪ ɛnd,ɪd!), where observe (hu,ɪz) emphatic for *us*, the s. Scotch say (haz), the only word to which they prefix an unauthorised (h).—*that is it not*, but the 'that' has the weak form (ɛt) strengthened.

3. *man*, (mín) is a diminutive, and is used in a depreciatory or familiar manner, (fry,ɪn'd) is much more dignified.

4. *say so*, either (sɛ ·sí,é,ɪ) with the emphasis on the second word, or (·see sí,é,ɪ) with emphasis on the first.—*whole thing* or (bízny,z) business.

5. *nine*, both (ní,ɪn, náain) are used.

7. *ought not* or (sud'nt) should not.—*wrong* (w'raq) with old people still.

9. *see'd him* or (sAA im) saw him.

10. *says she*, (shɛ shí,ɪ) so dictated, the s of *say* becoming assimilated to the following (sh).—*world*, the form (waar°d'l), which was so dictated, reminds one of the Dv. (wərd'l), but I have not met with it elsewhere.

11. *and that* or (dhis AA) this all.—*son wife* or (dóutɛ,ɪr° i lAA) daughter-in-law.

12. *come next* or (ku,m)t' come the.

13. *know* or (tnhAA), this was perhaps more exactly Mrs. A.'s pron.

Notes to No. 15, *Milburn*, We. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *gaily well*, introduced apparently from Mrs. Atkinson.—*that do we*, the (·ɛt) emphatic, but retaining the (ɐ) sound, or else (dʌnɛt wɛ?) don't we.—*what should make them die?* or (wha,t ɪz,tɛ in lá,ɪn tɛ ma,ɪk ɛ bodi dí,ɪ?) what is there in laughing to make a body die? The (ɪz,tɛ) stands for (ɪz dhə,r°), the (dh) changed to (t) by the influence of the preceding (z),

the (r°) omitted and consequently the (ə₁) falling into the usual (v).

3. *however* or (v̥w̥u-v̥ə₁r°).—*case* or (m̥at̥t̥ə₁r°) *matter*.—*hold thy* or (had t̥i) which dh assimilated.—*my lad* or (fr̥in'd) with (i) and not (y₁).—*got done* or (d̥iə₁n) *done*, or (git'n mi n̥iúuz telt, mi kraks d̥iə₁n wi), *got my news told*, my cracks—talk—done with.—*list ye*, or (las)t̥ə n̥ú₁u, la₁)d̥hə n̥ú₁u), *list thou now*.

4. *heard the folk* or (haar̥d̥ dh̥em) *heard them*.—*enough* or (en̥iə₁f̥).

5. *nine years old* or (n̥i₁n̥ j̥ə₁r° ool'd).—*and I would*, etc., or (v̥n̥)v̥əd̥ t̥r̥u₁st̥ ·h̥im̥ t̥ə sp̥i₁ik̥)t̥' t̥r̥iú₁th̥ eni d̥eē, eē'i m̥a₁r̥i₁ wad̥i), and I would trust ·him to speak the truth any day, aye, marry, would I.

6. *old* either (AA'l'd) or (ool'd).—*too* or (t̥iə).—*mickie bother* or (mit̥j̥ v̥d̥ú₁u) much ado.

7. *she telt me so* (s̥i₁e, s̥i₁i, s̥i₁a₁)—*and I'm sure that she*, etc., or (·sh̥i₁i) emphatic.—*wrong* or (v̥r̥o₁aq̥ w̥r̥i₁aq̥).—*what do you think* or (what d̥ə j̥ə ·th̥i₁q̥ v̥b̥ú₁ut̥ it?), *what do you think about it?*

8. *saying* or (t̥el̥n̥ o)j̥ə) *telling of you*.—*too* or (t̥iə).—*old* or (ool'd).

9. *with her* or (wi₁d̥ə₁r̥o). — *long stretched*, or (AA iz laq̥ lenth̥) *all his long length*.—*in his best Sunday coat* or (v̥v̥ iz b̥et̥t̥ə₁r̥m̥e kl̥i₁á₁z̥), *in his better-more, i.e. better clothes*.

11. *son wife* or (d̥ou₁t̥ə₁r̥o i lAA) *daughter-in-law*.—*back side* or (fool'd) *fold*.—*hanging* or (hiq̥'v̥n̥).—*washing* or (wesh̥n̥).

12. *of Thursday* or (k̥ū nekst̥ thu₁r̥o₁z̥d̥ə), *come next Thursday*.

13. *know*, (nhoo) is used by old people.—*job* or (bizny₁s) *business*.—*until* (wh̥el, t̥l̥).—*John* or (:d̥j̥a₁k̥).—*do not* (du₁v̥ent̥) *does not occur* in any other example I have obtained. Compare Nb. (div̥'nt̥).

14. *tells thee* or (tAAks̥).

15. *fool* or (fiə₁l̥). — *prattles* or (t̥j̥a₁t̥t̥ə₁r̥o₁z̥) *chatters*. — *without* or (wi₁d̥iú₁t̥).

Notes to No. 16, *Langwathby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

2. *not*, sometimes (ny₁t̥), but (nu₁t̥) was adopted as general.—*know*, (nhoo) was usually dictated (tnhoo), as in Mrs. Atkinson's case, No. 14, merely an emphatic utterance of (nhoo).

3. *my lad* or (fry₁nd̥) *friend*.—*done* or (d̥i₁ə₁n̥).

4. *thing* or (biz'ny₁s) *business*.—*enough* or (en̥iə₁f̥).

5. *him* or (·h̥im̥).

6. *too* (t̥iə) or (t̥i₁ə₁).

9. *swore*, but (swi₁á₁r̥o) as in No. 15, is the common form of the district.—*nook* or (n̥i₁ə₁k̥) *nook*.

10. *says she*, see No. 14, and note on par. 10, p. 599.

11. *daughter-in-law*, (t̥' su₁n̥ w̥áaif̥), the son's wife, the 's regularly omitted.—*washing*, with either (-v̥n̥) or (-in̥), the two forms of participle and verbal noun are therefore confused.

12. *Thursday*, JGG. thought he heard Miss Powley once say (thu₁r̥o₁z̥d̥ə), and believes that both forms are used.

14. *so*, both forms (s̥i₁e, s̥i₁e) are used.

Notes to No. 17, *Ellonby*, Cu. D 31, V iv, p. 563.

4. *tell about it*, the usual expression, but sometimes (SEE) *say*.

5. *I would trust him*, in such a case as this the emphasis would most likely be laid on the verb; if laid on the pronoun, it becomes (·h̥im̥).—*aye I would*, old people would say (·v̥t̥ wa₁d̥i)̥).

6. *that will she, my blood! but won't she!* 'my sang' is my blood, a mild form of swearing; or (wil sh̥ə₁ n̥et̥) *will she not?*

7. *when I*, (when)v̥ marked however as (when)a°, where (a°) is an obscure sound, reminding the hearer of (a) without quite reaching it, and again (dh̥isa₁n̥ s̥eēa₁n̥) and in all participles, for which (a°) I write (v̥) simply, as the sound was by no means certain.

8. *man* or (hu₁z̥b̥'nd̥).

9. *loning* or (lonin̥) = lane.

13. *job* or (bizny₁s) *business*.

Notes to No. 18, *Keswick*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

1. *who*, this (whoo) is a mere town form.

2. *know*, the form (nhoo) not remembered, (naa) is used in Borrowdale, the long narrow valley running s. from Derwentwater, from 4 to 7 s. Keswick.

3. *so*, the (a°) marks a faintly indicated sound of (a₁), (s̥əa°) in Borrowdale; it would be difficult to distinguish (a°, v̥), and (a°) may be only a personal peculiarity.—*friend*, in the same way (e°)

represents a sound of (e) rendered indistinct.

4. *through*, this (e'u) may have been really (e'u).

5. *for all it was so*, or with a different emphasis (tu₁r₃ oo 't)waz se₁ for all it 'was so.

6. *old*, Borrowdale (aald).—*much*, also (mikəl).

7. *two or three* (twi₁a₁thr₃i₁i) without 'or,' Borrowdale.—*wrong*, almost (wra₁q'), old people said (w'r^aa₁q).

Notes to No. 19, *Clifton*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *what*, the (wh, w) vary from person to person, (w) is more common near the Solway Frith, the (a) was distinctly not (a₁), indeed, had I not throughout these cs. adopted JGG.'s conception (p. 539) that (aa, a) are always fine, I should have written it (a¹), but as here (a₁) is used as the deep sound in German *mann*, which must be written (ma₁n), although I should generally write (man) simply, the use of (a¹) would be too great a contrast to (a₁). Perhaps JGG. would have written the sound (a) as an advanced (a). On the whole, I consider it safer to use (a) only.—*for*, the (r) was trilled by Mr. Hetherington very distinctly when final or before consonants; whether this is a general habit, I cannot say; very possibly not so.—*John*, the (d₁) was distinctly labialised even to the eye.—*doubts* was (duuts), and neither (duu₁ts) nor (dū₁uts). But (ū₁u) occurs as in *now*, par. 2.

1. *neighbour*, the broad (æ) is used here and elsewhere by the older people only, the younger use (ee).—*neither*, distinctly (āu), not at all labialised to (ōu); in the last syllable, and generally, I could not detect any difference from the common final (er).

2. *know*, not with (nh) or (tn).—*should*, (sud) is becoming gradually replaced by (shud).

3. *however*, this form is common and not exceptional, (hu₁wi^{er}ver, hewi^{er}ver) are both new forms.—*hold thy*, (ti) is the older and rarer form, (dhi) newer.—*done* or (diēn).

4. *I's*, (aa) is used only when emphatic, otherwise (a).—*those folk*, here I heard what seemed like (ə₁), and in (fuwook) the (f) was distinctly labialised, the inflation of the upper lip, which is characteristic of (w), being clearly seen, as Mr. H. pronounced the word.

5. *knew*, (ken) when there's recognition, Fr. *connaître*; (noo) when there's knowledge, Fr. *savoir*; thus (a ken im) I know him, but (a¹ noo et hi)z gaan hi^am) I know that he's gone home.

7. *told me it*, the older construction is (telt it mī₁i) told it me.—*when*, Mr. H. says he never heard (wh) in *when*, but always in *who*, *which*, *where*.—*wrong*, if (w) precede, it is not distinct, at most (wraq, 'raq).

8. *found*, usually (fu₁nd) not (fand), and the (d) is heard, as also in (gru₁nd) ground.—*husband*, (man) is common.

9. *eyes*, both (i₁iin) and (āiz) are used by the same people.—*coat* (klīaz) clothes, would be better.

10. *whindging*, (w) here more common than (wh); (jū₁ul) yowl is used for either an adult or a child.

11. *the daughter-in-law*, *her* would not be used, only *the*, similarly 'he and the son-wife,' not 'he and his son's wife.'

14. *home*, this (jam) is the commonest form, but (hiām) is also used.

15. *good b'ye* seldom used, and so is also (farwe'l). I doubt the form (bōi), although Mr. H. wrote it distinctly in glossic [baoy].

Notes to No. 20, *Abbey Holme or Holme Cultram*, Cu. D 31, V v, p. 563.

0. *for*, the (r) is very faint, no proper trill, very different from the Scotch, although Mr. Ellwood considered it to be the same. I could not identify it with the London (r₃), and hence I adopt (r^o), which I have used in so many previous versions.

1. *that*, I did not notice (a₁) here or elsewhere, but I cannot be certain.—*here there*, I did not notice (i₁i), only (ii₁). Mr. E. wrote simply *ee* = (ii).

2. *know*, Mr. E. considered it was (tnoo), but, as I heard him, he said simply (noo).

6. *much*, (mīk'l) also used, not (mit₁).

10. *crooning*, Mr. E. says "it is usually used in the dialect for the whining noise made by a cow, also by a drunkard, or any whining sound. It is much more expressive for the sound of a drunkard than our word whine."—*pet*, a common word.

11. *her*, it is possible that the sound was really meant for (hæ₁r), but it came to my ear exactly like a broad (hær),

and Mr. E. compared it to the pron. of the biblical name *Hur*.—*son's wife*, much commoner than *dóu tər in lAA*) daughter-in-law, which is also used.

Notes to No. 21, Carlisle, Cu. D 32, V i, p. 563.

5. *kent* or (ken'd) knew.

6. *woman* or (bodi) body.

7. *wrong*, with a slight vowel initial or (w'raq).

8. *goodman* or (hu₁zben'd).

9. *sware*, the (y₁) represents (y) spoken with a peculiar widening of the pharynx, which makes the sound somewhat different from any form of (y₁). The sound noted may, however, have been only Mrs. A.'s attempt to imitate the true sound, and even that may have been an individuality; but JGG. states that he has heard it from other old people.—*lying* or (láí'en).—*on the* or (etop v dhə) atop of the.—*good Sunday coat* or bet₁tər^omər^o klí₁ez, bettermore clothes.

10. *in a fright*, not 'in a fret' as was intended, but the word does not seem to be used in the dialect.

11. *son's wife* or *dáu tər in lAA*).

13. *job* or (ma₁tər^o, bizny₁s) matter, business.

14. *going* or (ga₁qən) ganging.—*night*, Mrs. Anderson remembered (ne'kjh̥t.—*quick—crow*, or *kroo*.

15. *poor*, similarly (dy₁tər^o, sy₁tər^o, my₁tər^o, fly₁tər^o) door, sure, moor, floor; but a 'form' to sit on is (foor^om) with *o* in *swore*, but (fə₁tər^om) at Milburn, We.—*wisdom*, or (r^oi₁iz'n) reason.—*word* or (wə₁tər^od).

Notes to No. 22, Knaresdale, Nb.

D 32, V i, p. 563.

1. *both* (bi¹eth), misprinted with (ii₁) on p. 564, last line. JGG. writes (ii¹) in place of (ii), as a general rule. I do not distinguish these two sounds, but of course (i₁ i, i¹ i₁, i i¹) form a series for ears capable of distinguishing the sounds, and probably the difference is very perceptible from native speakers in conversation, though it evades analysis. However I retain JGG.'s symbol. The (ɛ) is quite distinct.

3. *till I be done*, the use of this *be* is very suspicious.

10. *world*, JGG. wrote (wə₁r'ld), as in par. 3 he wrote (fə₁rst). In revising with me he introduced the sign (ə_o), this like (ə_u) was one of the signs for this vowel affected by (r) which we agreed afterwards to write (ə₁), which is the symbol I retain. He says that with regard to all these sounds "there seems to be a gradual glide from (u) with an (i) tongue point through pure (u) to (e^o). That is to say, the (u) position is held from first to last, but at first the point of the tongue is raised to the (i) position, and afterwards the natural vowel (ɐ) is sounded through the same position on to the buzzed (r^o). This remark applies, I think, to all the queer anomalous group with altered (y, ə) that I have come across in nw. Yo., in Cu., and We."

11. *day* (dɛ^oe'v), a trace of this form is heard in Cu., producing a kind of tired effect; it is not the rule in Cu., and is only found in the pause.

TRADITIONAL NAMES OF PLACES IN EDENSIDE.

The above is the title of a paper read before the Cu. and We. Antiquarian and Archaeological Society by Mr. J. G. Goodechild, at Peurith, in January, 1881, which with his permission I reproduce from the Transactions of the above Society almost at length, but differently arranged. Owing to his connection with the Government Geological Survey, JGG. had to spend many years in this neighbourhood in the most out-of-the-way places, and amidst the rocks and hills that there abound, all of which have traditional names, which the orthography generally used fails to convey. JGG., who commonly used palaeotype to express sounds, employed it in this paper to represent these names as spoken, and this gives an additional reason, if one were wanted, for introducing it in this book, for which pal. has been mainly invented, extended, and familiarly used. JGG. says: "The researches of philologists have made it clear that it is

unsafe to hazard an opinion upon the etymology of these place-names. Within the hydrographical basin of the Eden, or what, for convenience sake, it would be well to call by the name EDENSIDE [D 31, Var. iv, p. 555], we have evidence that there have been in use an unknown form of Iberian speech; the form, or forms, of Celtic current in the old kingdom of Strathclyde, also practically unknown; the various dialects of the Angles, which were probably as diverse in their day as are the dialects of the parts the Angles came from, at the present day; unknown forms and dialects of a more decidedly Scandinavian character; and, lastly, superposed upon the foundation formed by these diverse elements, forms of the literary English of every period from the earliest times to the present day. Under these circumstances it becomes difficult for any man to decide, in the present state of philological knowledge, what words are corruptions of words of known meaning, and what are veritable relics of former speech, now all but lost. I am not so sanguine as to believe that the view that the traditional names of places are the original forms and their literary forms their corruptions will meet with general acceptance. . . . Acting on this principle I have thought it best to lay before the Society simply a collection of facts, just as they were received from the dialect-speakers themselves. The plan I have adopted is to place on record the pronunciation of every place-name, where this differs in any way from its literary form as expressed on the Ordnance Maps, and to record all names not on the maps that are spelled with approximate correctness, when these names serve the purpose of shewing that a particular termination exists in various names throughout the length and breadth of Edenside. A large proportion of the names in the list is from my own notebook, but I have gladly availed myself of the aid of others. Amongst these are the late talented Mrs. Atkinson, of Winderswath [see p. 561], who collected many words with a view of bringing out a list jointly with myself; Miss Powley, of Langwathby, Mr. J. Bainbridge [see p. 562], Mrs. Graham, and Mr. Wm. Birket, of Penrith; Mr. Dover, of Woodfoot [see p. 560], Mr. John Robinson, of Milburn, and lastly, Mr. William Atkinson, [then] of the Science Schools, South Kensington, who has placed his knowledge of the subject entirely at my disposal. Other helpers, too numerous to particularize, have taken more or less interest in the subject."

Localities and Arrangement.

JGG. has generally, not always, assigned a "locality" as he terms it, to the name, and has also generally, not always, given the usual spellings of the names of the places mentioned. In order to save space I here give a list of these localities in alphabetical order and numbered, and subsequently I refer to them by these numbers.

JGG.'s arrangement is generally (there are a few exceptions) by the sound in which the names end, and these form the "original categories," which have been left undisturbed, and numbered i. to xl. But the names in each category have been re-arranged according to the number of the locality in which it occurs.

When several names are referred to the same locality, the number is repeated before each one. The order is always: first, the number of the locality; next, the name of the place in pal.; and then in the ordinary spelling in italics when given by JGG., and if not so given, by a dash —. Sometimes the localities are very vague, as simply 21 Cu. and 74 We. Sometimes two or more localities are assigned to the same name. In this case generally the number of the other locality is added in [] to each, and the name is given under each locality. The reader will thus be able to find the pron. of all the names here given for any locality. But very frequently no locality is named, generally, says JGG., because the name referred to is not recorded on the Ordnance Maps, and then the number 0 is used. Sometimes "various localities" are assigned to a name, but not written. In this case they are numbered 00. Sometimes one locality is given, and others unnamed are said to occur. In this case + is added to the number of the locality actually given.

The particular form of pal. used after discussion with JGG. is given on p. 539, as explained by himself in this paper.

0 No locality assigned. 1 Ainstable. 2 Appleby. 3 Ash Fell, We. 4 Bampton. 5 (given in error). 6 Barton. 7 Bewcastle. 8 Blencarn. 9 Blenco. 10 Broadfield. 11 Brougham. 12 Caldbeck. 13 Calthwaite. 14 Carlisle. 15 Carrath. 16 Carrick. 17 Colby. 18 Croglin. 19 Crossfell. 20 Crosby Ravensworth. 21 Cumberland. 22 Dacre. 23 Dent. 24 Dufton. 25 Edenhall. 26 R. Glenderaterra. 27 R. Glenderamackin. 28 Greygarth Fell. 29 Greystoke. 30 Hawes Water. 31 Heskett Newmarket. 32 Howgill Fells. 33 Ivegill. 34 Kaber. 35 Kendal. 36 Keswick. 37 King's Meaburn. 38 Kirkby Stephen. 39 Kirkby Thore. 40 Kirkland. 41 Knock. 42 Langwathby. 43 Lowther. 44 Mallerstang. 45 Mardale. 46 Martindale. 47 Melmerby. 48 Mickel Fell. 49 Milburn. 50 Milburn Grange. 51 Morland. 52 Mungrisedale. 53 Orton, We. 54 Ousby. 55 Penrith. 56 Penrith side of Eamont Bridge. 57 Penruddock. 58 Plumpton. 59 Pooley. 60 Rose Castle. 61 Saddleback. 62 Shap. 63 Skelton. 64 Skiddaw. 65 Skirwith. 66 Sowerby Row. 67 Stainmoor. 68 Stenkrith. 69 Temple Sowerby. 70 Thirlmere. 71 Tirril. 72 Troutbeck. 73 Ullswater. 74 Westmorland. 75 Whinfell. 76 Wilbert Fell, We. 77 Winskill. 78 Yorkshire. 00 various unnamed localities; a + added to the number shews that other localities are mentioned but not named.

List of Names.

i. *Names ending in (v).* 8 stu₁r^obē niuk *Sturba Nook*. 12 whelpē *Whelpa*. 21 skidē *Skiddaw*. 21 kaadē *Caldew*. 21 tor^opene *Torpenhow*. 22 u₁lkite *Ulcet Row*. 39 loo a₁bē *Low Abbey*. 41 bu₁r^onē *Burney Hill*. 41 flegdē *Flaydaw*. 46 bēi^odē *Beda Fell*. 49 wh^oaaite —. 55 baar^okē *Barcoe*. 55 flai^okē bek *Thackay Beck*. 55 wadē *Wolfa*. 57 stu₁dē *Stoddah*. 64+ kaave *Calva*. 67 dū₁mē kr^oa₁g *Dumma Crag*. 67 plu₁kē *Plucka Tarn*. 67 wū₁ute *Woufa*. 69 nhū₁utse *Houtsay*. 70 sta₁ne *Stanah*. 74 ryd^olse *Riddlesay*. 74 r^oodhe *Rawthay*. 74 tāibe *Tebay*. 00 pāa^okē —. 00 grēine kr^oa₁g —. 00 brū₁une —. 00 rispe —.

ii. *Names ending in (shē).* 32+ hheer^oshe *Hareshaw*. 32 bu₁shē *Bushaw*. 49 nhīqishe *Hanging Shaw*. 00 wetshē —. 00 loishe —.

iii. *Names ending in (r^oe).* 1 ska₁r^oe *Skarrow Hill*. 8 mu₁r^oe *Moray Hill*. 18 dāair^oe —. 21 ska₁r^oema₁nik *Skarrowmanwick*. 49 silv₁r^oe ba₁nd *Silver Band*. 73 eer^oe fū₁a₁r^os *Arey Force*. 73 sha₁r^oe bee *Sharro Bay*. 74 mu₁zgr^oe *Musgrave*. 74 ba₁r^oe *Barrow Moor*. 00 dok^oe —. 00 se₁t₁r^oe *Setterah*.

iv. *Names ending in (skē).* 2 [with 17] minske —. 17 minske —. 21 nhai₁ske *Haresceugh*. 21 [with 72] liske —. 21 [with 72] flu₁ske *Fluskew*. 21 nor^oske *Northsceugh*. 21 ba₁ske *Barco Dyke*. 37 baar^onske *Barnskew*. 38 gr^oa₁mske —. 41 koske *Cosca*. 47 [with 54] mu₁ske *Muska*. 49 thr^oiyske —. 54 [with 47] mu₁ske *Muska*. 55 sku₁mske *Scumscough*. 71 nhūske *Henghscar*. 72 [with 21] liske —. 72 [with 21] flu₁ske *Fluskew*. 00 flai₁ske *Flasco Flaskew Fluskew*, etc.

v. *Names ending in (le).*—0 br^aadl^e *Bradley*. 8 gr^ou^mpl^e *Grumpley Hill*. 21 r^oosl^e *Rosley*. 30 [with 36] wal^e *Wallow Crag*. 31 hhaatl^e *Haltcliff*. 32 kaatl^e *Cautley*. 36 [with 36] wal^e *Wallow Crag*. 41 [between this and 50] kóuzl^e —. 47 melk^e bek —. 48 finl^e kas'l —. 49 kaarl^e band —. 49 kaarl^e —. 50 [between this and 41] kóuzl^e —. 51 hhezl^e *Hesley*. 54 kokl^e *Cocklock Scar*. 54 hhu^usl^e máai^r *Hustley Mire*. 56 kempl^e *Kempley*. 73 pául^e *Pooley*. 74 béil^e *Bela*. 74 hhaarl^e hhaarl^e *Hartley*. 00 sáil^e —.

vi. *Names ending in (eth).* 0 kr^eig^eth *Crewgarth*. 0 sil^eth *Silloth*. 36 ar^omb^eth *Armboth*. 69 skaa^eg^eth *Skygarth*.

vii. *Names ending in (wyth).* Compare xi (weth) —. 0 sandwyth —. 12 láainwyth *Linewath*. 57 skitwyth bek *Skitwath*. 74 [above 41] hhelwyth —.

viii. *Names ending in (r^oyth).* 21 [or 55] pí^lgr^oyth *Penrith*. 21+ sk^ar^oyth *Skirwith*. 74 stenkr^oyth steqkryth *Stenkreth*. 74 ka^ryth *Carrath*. 78 gr^egr^oyth *Greggarth Fell*. [With the (r^o).] 12 [a mine] dr^oig^oyth —.

ix. *Names ending in (em).* Usually spelled with either final *holme* or *ham*; but many of the names are applied to places that never can have had any claim to either of these terminations. 0 br^oig^{em} ba^qk *Brigham Bank*. 7 spí^gdí^gdem *Spadadam*. 21 ní^usem *Newsham*. 21 seb^ar^{em} *Sebergham*. 26 br^oundem bek —. 38 a^qgr^{em} *Angerholme*. 43 bu^kem *Buckholme*. 74 a^skem *Askham*. 74 br^uu^{em} *Brougham*. 74 flit^{em} *Flitholme*.

x. *Names ending in (en).* 0 bekiel^{en} *Beckfellican*. 9 tí^mp^ar^{en} —. 21 [with 74] í^lá^{men} br^og *Eamont Bridge*. 21 la^qenbi *Langwathby*. 21 k^ar^og^{len} *Croglin*. 29 gílkAA^{men} *Gilcambon Beck*. 36 seteneba^ur^{en} —. 38 maa^{sten} *Mallerstang*. 45 mⁱz^{en} bek *Measand Beck*. 49 léⁱt^ar^{en} lú^d —. 53 sa^unbí^{en} *Sunbiggin*. 55 seb^ar^{en} *Celleron*. 62 kaarl^e hhu^len —. 67 óusen^{thet} *Ozenthwaite*. 69 óusenstand *Ovenstand*. 73 hhu^len kra^g *Hallin Crag*. 73 glenríd^{em} *Glenridding*. 73 du^umaa^{len} *Dunmallet*. 74 [with 21] í^lá^{men} br^og *Eamont Bridge*. 74 k^ar^obi steben *Kirkby Stephen*. 74 a^ka^ren ba^qk *Acorn Bank*. 74 gaarl^eth^ar^{en} *Gaythorn*. 00 ní^ben *Newbiggin* [3 or more places].

xi. *Names ending in (weth).* Compare with the names given under vii (wyth). 0 wáaidwth *Widewath*. 12 láainwth *Linewath*. [above 41] hhelwth gíl —. 57 skitwth *Skitwath Beck*.

xii. *Names ending in (ten).* These are commonly regarded as mere mispronunciations of the final syllable *-ton*; but I have thought it safer to record the facts, be their significance what it may. 0 baarl^{ten} *Barton*. 0 aas^{ten} *Alston*. 0 maa^{sten} *Mallerstang*. 0 ú^usten *Uverston*. 2 hhel^{ten} *Hilton*. 2 mu^rten *Murton*. 2 du^{ften} *Dufton*. 2 bóuten *Bolton*. 21 r^aaakw^{ten} *héd Raughton Head*. 21 plu^{nten} *Plumpton*. 21 br^anten *Brampton*. 55 stenten *Stainton*. 62 ba^{nten} *Bampton*. 74 wor^{ten} *Orton*.

xiii. *Names ending in (thet).* 0 r^oú^{un}thet *Rounthwaite*. 0 kr^oosthet *Crossthwaite*. 0 skaath^{et} rig —. 0 k^ar^othet *Carthwaite*. 0 ba^snthet *Bassenthwaite*. 0 ap^lthet *Applethwaite*. 0 thaarl^{un}thet *Thornthwaite*. 0 wan^{thet} *Wanthwaite*. 0 shóul^{thet} —. 0 óuthet —. 0 hhuⁱithet kas'l *High Head Castle*. 21 [with 74] lóun^{thet} *Lownthwaite*. 21 kaath^{et} *Calthwaite*. 21 sú^{uthet} *Southwaite*. 24 blí^{uthet} *Bluthwaite*. 33 smaath^{et} *Smallthwaite*. 33 br^eethet *Braithwaite*. 36 om^{thet} *Ormathwaite*. 36 lóun^{thet} *Lownthwaite*. 74 [with 21] lóun^{thet} *Lownthwaite*. 74 óusen^{thet} *Ozenthwaite*. See xxvii.

xiv. *Names ending in (fet).* 0 wor^fet *Overthwaite*. 2 saⁿfet *Sandford*. 34 dóusen^{fet} *Dolphin Seat*. 38 la^dfet *Ladthwaite*. See also (a^dum^{fet}, gr^oiz^{fet}, set^{fet}).

xv. *Names ending in (b^ar^{en}).* This ending is exceedingly common in many parts of the north-west of England; and it is applied occasionally to the heaps of loose stones cleared off the surface of the land. 17 b^ar^{en}z hhu^l —. 20 hhuar^ben *Harberwain*. 20 má^ben má^ben *Meaburn*. 36 wáa^ben *Wythburn*. 39 b^ar^{en}z —. 49 b^ar^{en} —. 55 síu^{bor} en^z *Seaborwens*. 62 wáa^ben *Wyburne*. 74 klí^ben *Cliburn*.

xvi. *Names ending in (ber^e).* 0 kel^{ber} —. 0 thorⁿber^e *Thornbarrow*. 6 k^ar^kber^e *Kirkbarrow*. 9 whít^{ber} —. 57 k^ar^kber^e *Kirkbarrow*.

xvii. Names ending in /el, yl/. 0 pe,t₁r^eel *River Petteril*. 55 t₁r^eel *Tirril*. 00 hhu,q₁r^eel hhu,q₁r^eyl *Hunger Hill*.

xviii. Names ending in (skyl). 0 winskyl [more often] winskul *Winskyl*. 0 lonskyl *Lonscale Fell*. 21 enskyl —. 21 hhu,dskylz *Hudscale*. 55 sku,skyl *Skirsgill*. 57 swáanskylz *Swanscales*. 60 geetskyl *Gaitsgill*. 61 bóuskyl *Bowscale*. 62 r^oskyl *Rosgill*. 73 bonskyl —. 74 nha,v₁r^eskylz —. 74 ga,skyl tarⁿ —. 74 geetskyl *Gaitsgill*. 74 thr^eu,skyl *Thrushgill*.

The principal vowel /e/ in the terminations given above is usually regarded as a slovenly substitute for one or other of the better recognised sounds. The group of place-names given next below will suffice to prove that the /e/ in the words given below is not due to careless utterance. The same speakers that employ this /e/ use also the "clear" vowels, and sound them, if anything, more distinctly than one is accustomed to hear in ordinary received English.

xix. Names ending in (bi). Uniformly sounded (bi) as (a.p^lthi, k₁r^ebi, kr^osbi), etc. [So written but probably (bi^l) or (bi, was meant, see p. 540.]

xx. Names containing or ending in (iq). 0 liqstu bz *Ling Stubbs*. 0 la,mbeki^q *Lumbecking*. 0 liqkewel —. 44 iq,nhil *Ing Hill*. 49 daar^liq —. 58 piq^ll *Plumpton*.

xxi. Names ending in (sit, sid). 0 nhaaksid *Hawkshead*. 0 a,m^ltsid *Ambleside*. 3 r^eesit *Rayseat*. 16 swáamsit —. 17 swáamsit —. 21 neep^sit *Knapside Fell*. 41 swáaisit. 44 swáainsit. 45 selsit *Selside*. 67 léisit *Ley Seat*. 74 or^msit *Ormside*. 74 kr^osbi rí^áv^{ns}it *Crosby Ravensworth*. 74 léisit *Ley Seat*. 74 tú^usit *Towcet*. 74+ selsit *Selside*. 74 aⁿesit *reek Annaside Rake*. 75 léisit *Ley Seat*. 00 jaar^lsit *Yarlside*.

xxii. Names ending in (sáaid). 42 skaar^osáaid —. 47 nhaar^otsáaid —. 55 ket^lsáaid —. 00 felsáaid —.

xxiii. Names ending in (r^oik, r^oyk). 0 ka₁r^oik *Carrook Fell*. 11 we,d₁r^oiks *Weatherriggs*. 12 keelbr^oyk *Calchrack*. 21 nhíar^oik *How Rigg (School)*. 21 nhíar^oik *Hung Rigg (Quarries)*. 45 du₁d₁r^oik —. 54 bu₁te₁r^oik gr^eeenz —. 62 bu₁t₁r^oik *Butterwick*. 73 nhu^or^oyk wud —.

xxiv. Names ending in (ik). 0 kezik *Keswick*. 0 ska₁r^euma₁nik *Scarroumanwick*. 0 gr^eestik *Greystoke*. 0 má^ur^edivik *Moor Divock*. 0 ka₁md^ov^oik *Cumdivock*. 21 wa₁t₁r^o mdik *Water Millock*. 21 pen^ud^oik *Penruddick*. 61 dod^oik *Doddick*. 73 nholik *nhóu* —. 73 sa₁nik *Sandwick*. 73 bló^oik —. 74 spu₁d^oik *Spurrig End*.

xxv. Names ending in (in). 0 sokin^ober^o —. 0 br^eekin^osla₁k *Brackenslack*. 0 la₁q maar^lin *Long Marton*. 0 taakin^o tarⁿ *Talkin Tarn*. 2 kr^eek^othr^o op *Crackenthorpe*. 13 br^eekin^obru^of —. 41 ska₁bin^o du^ob —.

xxvi. Names ending in (i^l) or (i). 0 ma₁nesti *Manesty*. 2 k₁isli *Keisley*. 58 br^okli má₁ur^o —. 74 r^ezli *Reasley*. 74 est^or^oi —.

xxvii. Names ending in (whit, wheet, whet). 0 br^eekenwhit, *Brackenthwaite*. 0 aar^omwhit *Armathwaite*. 29 gr^oi^oinwheet *Greenthwaite Hall*. 36 walwheet *Walthwaite*.

xxviii. Names ending in (kyt). 0 threlkyt *Threlkeld*. 73 spaar^okyt *Sparkhead* and *Sparket*. 00 ba₁r^okyt *Birket Mire*.

xxix. Names ending in (lyk, lik). 67 geelyk —. 67 má^uudhlyk *Mouthlock*.

xxx. Names ending in (thr op). 0 nha^okthr^o op *Hackthorpe*. 0 melkinthr^o op *Melkinthorpe*. 2 kr^eekinthr^o op *Crackenthorpe*. 23 and 35 milthr^o op *Milnthorpe*.

xxxi. Names having distinct /u/ in combination. 0 skiuf nhí^oid *Seough Head*. 0 skiuf dáik *Seough Dyke*. 0 la^omskiuf *Lambseugh*. 0 má^llskiuf *Middleseugh*. 0 hhu^od^llskiuf [older pron. -'skiuk^oh] *Huddelseugh*. 0 ka₁r^o bi fíu^or^o *Kirkby Thore*. 0 kr^oíu^oguth *Crewgarth*. 0 hhegl^oí^oíat *Heggle Foot*. 0 ka₁n^or^o nhíuf [older pron. -'hiuk^oh] —. 12 nhu^ot^on skiuf *Hutton Seough*. 21 [with 74] nhu^ot^on r^oíuf *Hutton Roof*. 24 blíathet *Blathwaite*. 25 skiuf —. 47 fíu^ol píal *Fairy Pool*. 49 kr^oíaktwáaiz. 55 líum *The Lham*. 73 glen^okíu^on *Glencoin*. 73 kr^oíukidaik —. 74 [with 78] líu^on *Lum*. 74 dúked^l *Duckerdale*. 74 [with 21] nhu^ot^on r^oíuf *Hutton Roof*. 78 líu^on *Lune*.

xxxii. Names having distinct (í₁a₁) in combination. 0 kí₁a₁ba₁r^o *Kaber*. 0 í₁a₁m^on *River Eamont*. 0 skí₁a₁lz-nh₁aa *Scales Hall*. 0 ne^od₁r^oskí₁a₁lz *Netherscales*. 0 sti₁a₁ngílz *Stongill*. 19 laal dí₁a₁l *Little Dale*. 21 brí₁a₁dí₁í₁d *Broadfield*. 21 lí₁a₁dhz *Laiths*. 22 dí₁a₁ka₁r^o *Dacre*. 38 ní₁a₁tbi *Natby*.

49 úud'l dí₁a₁l —. 55 dí₁a₁lmí₁a₁n *Dalemain*. 62 tí₁a₁lb₁r^ot *Tailbert*. 66 whí₁a₁l gíl *Whale Gill*. 74 t' hhi₁a₁l *Hale Field*. 74 slí₁a₁ks *Stakes*. 74 whí₁a₁l *Whale*. 74 kr^oosbi r'í₁a₁v'nsít *Crosby Ravensworth*. 78 tí₁a₁zd'l *Teesdale*.

xxxiii. Name ending in (ië) or (ië). 14+ r'í₁ie^o *Wreay*.

xxxiv. Names having a distinct (ú₁a₁) in combination. 0 júenklú₁a₁s *Ewen Close*. 0 hheg'l lú₁a₁nín *Heggle Lane*. 14 kú₁a₁t hhi₁l *Cote Hill*. 16 m'í₁a₁zd'l —. 22 dí₁a₁nbi *Johnby*. 29 áaik'l lú₁a₁nín. 41 klú₁a₁s hhi₁us *Close House*. 41 kú₁a₁t sáaik *Cotsike*. 55 kú₁a₁t klú₁a₁s *Colt Close*.

xxxv. Names having a distinct (ón) in combination. 0 bóuga₁p *Hutton Grange*. 21 óuzbi *Ousby*. 55 íóar vs *Fowrass*. 55 bóu skaar^o *Bow Scar*. 74 bóat'n *Bolton*. 74 kóubi *Colby*.

xxxvi. Names having distinct (iuu) in combination. 0 kú₁mr^oíuu *Cumrew*. 0 níuuten *Newton Reigny*. 2 biuuli kas'l *Bewley Castle*. 55 síuubor unz *Sew-borwens*. 73 íuuuzd'l —. 73 biuuli (— or (b)) *Beulah House*.

xxxvii. Names ending in (b₁r^ot). 45 tí₁a₁lb₁r^ot *Tailbert*. 55 sokb₁r^ot *Sock-bridge*. 74 wilb₁r^ot fel *Wildboar Fell*.

xxxviii. Names ending in (m₁r^o). 0 r^oa₁gm₁r^o mos *Wragmire Moss*. 0 stanm₁r^o —. 0 sém₁r^o taar'n —. 0 dú₁dm₁r^o *Indmire*. 36 thelm₁r^o *Thirlmere*. 41 ka₁t'lm₁r^o taar'n *Cattle Mire*. 49 oom₁r^o —. 52 réidm₁r^o —. 67 bla₁km₁r^o —. 67 winm₁r^o *Windmoor End*.

xxxix. Names ending in (wath). 21 stog'lwath *Stockdalewath*. 74 winden-wath *Winderwath*.

xl. Addenda and Miscellaneous Names not reducible to any of the above categories. 0 hhu₁lw₁at₁r^o *Ullswater*. 0 dof'nbi *Dovenby*. 0 dofenbi *Dolphinby*. 0 ensteb'l *Ainstable*. 0 su₁dh₁r^oenbi *Southernby*. 0 wespa₁r lend *Westmorland*. 0 ku₁m₁r^olend *Cumberland*. 0 ma₁kchenbi *Maughanby*. 0 ba₁nest *Bannest Hill*. 0 baskedé'ik *Bascodyke*. 0 ba₁r^oik *Barrock Park*. 0 kas'l ka₁r^oik *Castle Carrock*. 0 hhi₁i bríg *High Bridge*. 0 stí₁il jet *Steelgate*. 0 eeket jet *Aiket Gate*. 0 kú₁ur'ig. 0 ga₁r'snep *Grass Knop*. 1 br^oa₁m₁r^oi —. 2 brekinb₁r^o *Brackenber*. 6 thoor^op —. 10 áait'ní₁i'l'd —. 13 eekba₁qk *Oakbank*. 14 warik *Warwick*. 21 u₁k'lb₁r^o skaar^o *Oglebird Scar, Temple Sowerby*. 21 wili bú₁u₁r^o skaar^o *Wildboar Scar*. 21 wilbení₁uk *Willybower Nook*. 21 mel₁r^obi *Melmerby*. 21 ga₁mezbi *Gamblesby*. 21 lal sa₁f'l *Little Salkeld*. 21 ga₁r't sa₁f'l *Great Salkeld*. 21 la₁geubi *Langwathby*. 21 ba₁ste bek —. 21 r^ooo bek *Roe Beck*. 21 blenkaar'n *Blencarn*. 21 ka₁r'ku₁z'l'd *Kirkoswald*. 21 [and 74] kodbek *Coldbeck Caldbeck*. 21 blí izi'l *Blaze Fell*. 21 mengr áai₁z'd'l *Mungrisdale*. 21 waan'l *Wan Fell*. 21 skíprig —. 24 hhaastí₁idz *Hallsteads*. 27 gráaizd'l'bek —. 36 [with 67+] bor^oed'l *Borrowdale*. 36 for^onsyt —. 38 skelsiz *Skelcies*. 40 aar^ol hhi₁id *Ardale Head*. 41 hhar^ow₁r^oi bek *part of Swindale Beck*. 43 whípestí₁idz *Whitby Steads*. 47 shil gr^oin *Shield Green*. 51 leedhe —. 52 hhez'l'hu st —. 54 hhaáikep *High Cap*. 55 aalbi *Aldby*. 55 la₁qushiz *Milestone House*. 55 hHEEMz *The Queen's Haims*. 55 bra₁m₁r^oi —. 55 la₁núts *Landsfoot*. 55 hhi₁r^oig *Highrigg*. 57 ber^oi₁r^o nit'lz *Eycott Hill*. 57 beksiz *Beckcies*. 57 walawe *Walaway*. 58 skí₁ilz *Skeels*. 58 skr a₁tíme skaar *Scratch Mill Scar*. 58 bróam₁r^oi —. 59 walírh₁us —. 61 ba₁nedel *Bannerdale*. 63 rigde'ik *Rigdyke*. 67+ [with 36] bor^oed'l *Borrowdale*. 67 ba₁r^oes — *Station*. 67 b₁r^o ke pas₁t₁r^o —. 72 a₁skr íg —. 72 sá₁uthut'l —. 72 ba₁nedel *Bannerdale Fell*. 73 benet hhi₁id *Bennethead*. 73 flosheet —. 73 thoor^op —. 74 dí₁lien bú₁u₁r^o *Julian Bower*. 74 r^oys'ndel *Ravenstonedale*. 74 hhaáikeb'l *High Cup Gill*. 74 skaa fel *Scald Fell, Dufton*. 74 hhelbek *Hallbeck, Braugh*. 74 má₁u₁r^olen *Morland*. 74 kr^oyn'l dáaik *Cringle Dyke*. 74 nhok páaik *Knock*. 74 hHEEM kr^ooft —. 74 eekli bek *Milburn*. 74 loskez *Loscars*. 74 br^oom₁r^oi *Bramery*. 76 dollin stáai *Dolphin Sty*. 77 r^oobibi *Roborby*. 00 hhaas *horse, hause, etc.*

[Names of places are always more altered than other words. We have abundant examples of such alterations in received speech. Hence such changes cannot be relied upon for general dialect pronunciation. But the above list is the most complete of its kind that has been drawn up, and I feel much indebted to JGG. for this opportunity of presenting it to my readers.]

SEWARD'S DIALOGUE FOR BURTON-IN-LONSDALE, YO.,

otherwise called Black Burton, nearly on the border of La. (13 ne.Lancaster, 3 w.Ingletton). The stalactite Yordas Cave (as the name is usually written, is near Ingleborough Hill, 56 yards long, 13 wide, and 16 high, Thornton Force or waterfall is also close by. There is a rare book, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte possesses a copy, that he allowed me to inspect and partly copy, entitled: "A Tour to Yordes Cave, by William Seward, Burton-in-Lonsdale, accompanied by a Shepherd from Thornton Force, Price one Shilling to Subscribers, Kirkby Lonsdale, printed by A. Foster for the Author, 1801," 8vo. in half-sheets. The Visit occupies pp. iv. 1-30. Then follows on half-sheet E. second leaf, "An attempt to illustrate the Dialect spoken in Burton-in-Lonsdale and its Vicinity in a familiar dialogue." When JGG. was in this neighbourhood on Geological Survey Duty, in 1876, he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Powley (pɔ́uli), of the post office, Burton-in-Lonsdale, a contemporary and fellow-townsmen of the author, William Seward, and from his dictation pal. a translation of this dialogue, which JGG. considers to be "one of the best specimens [of dialect] within his knowledge, and to present more than any other a nearly complete conspectus of the structure and phonology of the dialect of that part of Craven." I have therefore taken great pains to give JGG.'s writing with accuracy, and we have gone over the whole together vivâ voce. The cwl. which follow will be a further guarantee of the faithfulness of this representation of the speech current in these primitive rural districts. For the convenience of comparison I give the original orthography and the phonetic translation interlinearly. The original is an excellent specimen of dialectal spelling as usually found. It would have been totally impossible for a stranger to guess at the sounds used. Hence I put the translation first, which ought to be legible enough to those who have read so far, and add the original verbatim and literatim, with all its strange punctuation, use of capitals, and misprints, in the next line. The speeches are numbered as separate paragraphs for ease of reference, and a few notes are added at the end. As to the custom of sweethearts visiting at night, it must be remembered that it is thoroughly established, and suggests no impropriety.

"A Dialogue between Harre and Malle. Enter Harre."

1. *Ma₁li.* náu, ɿ háu i₁z) tɐ tenéit ?
1. *Malle.* Naw haw iz ta ta nete ?

2. *Ha₁ri.* geeli₁, ɿ háu)z 'táu tenéit ?
2. *Harre.* Gaily, haws taw ta nete ?

3. *M.* ái nha)net ɿ háu) i₁z. ái sa₁t u₁p sɐ laq' ɿes₁tá₁rnæ'it ut)
3. *M.* I knannat haw é iz. I sat up sa lang yesternete at

ái'ken ɿ haardli₁ ɿ hod mi₁ éin op'n.
I can hardly hod my ene oppen.

4. *H.* wat di₁d) tɐ si₁t u₁p ebáut, mi₁ las ?
4. *H.* what did ta sit up about, my lass ?

5. *M.* ku₁m, si₁t) tɐ dáwn, en)âi)z tel'dhu. mi₁ mu₁dá₁r)z) i₁)bed,
5. *M.* Cum, sit ta dawn an iz tell tha, mi mudder's e bed,

en 'hez bi₁n dhi₁s ɿ hòf áuá₁r. wí₁ ɿ héd)ɐ káu ut fard ɐ
and hez been this hofe aur. We ad a Cow at fard a

koovín, en áí sa₁t be)mí₁sel' omust a' néit.
covein, an I sat be me sel ommast o nete.

6. *H.* dháu₁dez weíl te'see 'omast. áí ku₁m bâi íá₁u₁r díú₁r
6. *H.* Thau duz weel ta say ommast. I com by yaur dure

vbáut ía₁n e'klok, an áí sà e t₁ap e su₁m ma₁k sí₁ten enenst₁te.
about yan a Clock, an I sa a chap a sum mack sittan anenst ta.

7. *M.* oo, dhat wez nobet :tom, et kaad te líuk et't' ka'f, en
7. *M.* Ho, that waz nobet Tom at code ta luke at cofe, an

í₁t waz'nt kAAvd, en sí₁e í'kla₁pt'í₁m dáwn e't' stíul, en fel
it wazzent cov'd, an sea he clap'd him dawn ath stule an fell

usléip. en sí₁e eft₁r e whâil í₁ wa₁k'nt, en bí₁ga₁n e'telen'me
a sleep, an sea efter a while he wackened an began a tellin ma,

et'í₁ d' bín d'riemen.
at e ad been dreaman.

8. *H.* wat dí₁í₁ d'riem vbáut, pre dhé) náu?
8. *H.* what did e dream about pray tha naw?

9. *M.* í₁ d'riemd sí₁k e d'riem ez moní₁ fook ní₁v₁r hârd. í₁
9. *M.* E dream'd sic a Dream az monny foke niver hard, e

tháut et áu₁r ka₁t wez báund te plee e't' ba₁gpâips, en'et
thaut at our Cat waz bawn ta play ath Bagpipes, an at

háu et'í₁t'ed gí₁t'n e par'e shú₁un, en í₁t stud st₁rek u₁p en
haw at it ad gitten a par a shoön, an it stud streak up and

sháuti₁d: "ma₁k rú₁um f₁r't' ra₁t'nz!" en eft₁r e whâil e
shouted mack roum for Rattans, an efterawhile a

gæ₁rt d₁rov ku₁m, en she wu₁ri₁d em 'AA, en 'et'em sha₁qk
girt drove com an sha worry'd am O an it am shank

en'ra₁qk.
an rank.

10. *H.* áí ní₁v₁r sa sí₁k e d'riem ez tat! but [hez't' ka'u kAAvd?
10. *H.* I never sa sick a Dream az tat, bat hezt Caw cov'd?

11. *M.* nee, bet)t' ka₁t's 'kí₁t'l'd.
11. *M.* Nay bat Cit kittled.

12. *H.* háu moní₁ kí₁tlí₁nz dí₁d she kí₁t'l?
12. *H.* Haw many kitlins did sha kittle?

13. *M.* ba₁n, shí₁d nobet twí₁e, en dhe'e₁r ez lá₁k't' aal'd ka₁t
13. *M.* Barn shead nobbat two an theare az like thauld eat

az twí₁a₁ bru₁də₁rz, en dhè b'í₁a₁th sáuk.
az two Brudders an they beath sauk.

14. *H.* í₁t)s wéil et)te)z sí₁ geelí₁ tenéit. á₁i)l sí₁t e bí₁t
14. *H.* Its weel as tas sea gailey ta nete, Ile sit a bit

na₁r'dhə.
nar tha.

15. *M.* í₁é me sí₁t ez níur ez í₁i 'wí₁l, en je wí₁l bet |hod 'of
15. *M.* Ye ma sit az near as ya will, an ya will but hod of

me.
ma.

16. *H.* what? wí₁l)te ta₁k)e kí₁s?
16. *H.* What will ta tack a kis?

17. *M.* á₁i lâik nóut v)t' ma₁k. rí₁a₁k)t' bàrz, en ma₁k e léit.
17. *M.* I like nout ath mack reak bars, an mack a lete.

18. *H.* 'á₁i)l ma₁k ne léit. we)ken) tAAk v)t' dark, bet en)te)l
18. *H.* Ile mack na lete we can toke ith dark, but an tle

gí₁)me)v kí₁s, á₁i)l gí₁)dhə)v rí₁ben et :bu₁rten feer.
gimma a kis, ile githa a Ribbin at Burton Fair.

19. *M.* á₁i)l gí₁)dhə 'ní₁n. bet)dhə)me)v ta₁k í₁a₁n, en)te 'wí₁l.
19. *M.* I le githa nin bat thau ma tack yan an ta will.

[Salutes her.]

20. *H.* dháu nhaaz á₁i lâik dhə ez wéil ez)í 'ka₁n díu. en)te
20. *H.* Thau knaes I like tha az weel az e can du anta

hed'nt e fàrdí₁n, á₁i wad he)dhə v'fú₁er oní₁ et 'í₁və₁r)i
hedent a fardin I wad hetha afoar onny at iver e

saa)i₁)mí₁ láif.
sa emy life.

21. *M.* fook sud lâik í₁a₁n)enu₁də₁r réit wéil wen)dhə)r gaan te
21. *M.* Foke sud like yananudder reight weel when thar gangan ta

wed, fer)v déil e fook fAA áut et eftə₁r.
wed, for a dele a foke foes aut at efter.

22. *H.* á₁i wu₁n)də₁r wat dhe fAA áut v'áut!
22. *H.* I wonder what tha fo aut about!

23. *M.* á₁i wad'nt wí₁sh te nhaa. á₁i |hóop 'wí₁)z bí₁ thík ez)
23. *M.* I wadent wish ta kna I hoap wees be thick az

laq)ez we báaid tegí₁də₁r. en dháu néid gí₁t nóut vgee'n
lang as wa bide tagidder, an thau need git nout again

háuuskéipín. mī₁ mu₁də₁r el gī₁)mē v déil ev odments, en
 hausekeepin mi Mudder al gimma a dele af odments, an

AA ma₁ks)v stu₁f i₁z so díer et wē₁)mēn s'í₁a₁v AA)t' bras wē
 O macks a stu₁f's sooa dear at we man seave oth brass we

·ka₁n. ʒa₁n nhaaz nóut wat wē₁)z wa₁nt, en dháu sud bi₁gī₁n
 can. yan knaes nout what wez want, an thau sud begin

su₁m t₁reed wi₁d)d' bi₁t)v mu₁ni₁ et)wē₁)·hev.
 sum trade wit bit a munny at wa hev.

24. H. háu mī₁tj bras hēz)tē s'í₁á₁v d, :ma₁l?

24. H. Haw mitch brass hez ta seav'd Mal?

25. M. á₁)v nobet ebáut ʒa₁n)en'twenti₁ paund; ·háu mī₁tj ez ·táu?

25. M. I ev nobbut about yan and twenty pound; haw mitch az taw?

26. H. á₁ hēv'nt ez mī₁tj. á₁ nobet ebáut ten er)ēlev'n, wē₁)i

26. H. I av not az mitch I nobbut about ten ar alevén, when e

peed)t' shú₁uma₁kə₁r, bet dháu nhaaz i₁t)l bi₁)v gee déil
 paid Shoemaker, but thou knaes ittle be a gay dele

wē₁)i₁t)s AA pu₁t tegi₁də₁'r.
 when its O put tagidber.

27. M. ·ma₁ri₁, net ·i₁t. wat t₁reed el)tē bi₁gī₁n? á₁ thi₁qk v

27. M. Marry nat it, what trade al ta begin? I think a

·ba₁d·djə₁r)z best.
 Badger's best.

28. H. á₁ wad'nt bi v ba₁d·djə₁r, en)ta)wēd gī₁)mē)t' best st'í₁á₁t

28. H. I wodent be a badger an ta wad gimmath best steate

i₁ :bu₁rten! á₁)d ree₁də₁r bi₁ v kolə₁rd ə₁r)v t₁imle swēipə₁r.
 e Burton, I ed raader be a Colyard er a Chimley sweeper.

ʒa₁n mē)si fook ku₁rsin)t' bad·djə₁rz i₁veri₁ dee, en soov dhá₁z
 Yan ma se foke cursant Badgers iveriy day, an soa thaus

síuə₁r et dhe kaant díu wéil ·laq'. ba₁d·djə₁rz wants tē ma₁k
 sure at tha can't du wele lang, Badgers wants ta mack

hu₁z bi₁léi·v et wi₁)d)v feelen krop iv :iqlend, bet á₁ nhaa
 az believe at wead a falean crop iv England, but I kna

et)i₁t)s nóut et)AA bet si₁k də₁rt ez)·tem et kla₁mz AA)t'
 at its nout at O bat sick dirt az tem at clams oth

ku₁ntri₁: stu₁f)ed bi₁ laa i₁nu₁f, en wi₁ hed'nt si₁k swaarmz
 countrey; stuff wad be law enuf an wa hedent sich swarms

on)em. bet, ·kom, fotʃ)ez su₁met te d₁r₁qk, :ma₁li₁!
on em, bat cum, fotch az summat ta drink Malle.

29. *M.* mi₁ mu₁də₁r)z wak'n ái deer see, bu₁t ái)l' fotʃ iə)v su₁p)v
29. *M.* Me Mudders wacken I dar say, bat ile fotch ya a sup a

tʃə₁rn millhk.
Chirn Milk.

30. *H.* ái)l' |hev n₁á₁ s₁k blaishment! i₁t ma₁ks mi bel₁i waark.
30. *H.* Ile hev nea sick blashment, it macks me belle wark.

31. *M.* mən)i ma₁k)iv v sú₁ep v téi?
31. *M.* mun e mack ya a sup a Te?

32. *H.* w₁aar en w₁aar, i₁t)s nóut bet slaa pu₁z'm. let mi₁ hev
32. *H.* war an war, its nout but slaw Puzum, let me hev

v gə₁rt pu₁din, et)s míád i₁n)v pú₁ek, en top ful v síú)i₁t.
a girt puddin ats mead in a Poak, and top full a suit.

33. *M.* i₁t)s gud enu₁f et)v n₁ú₁n, bet en hu₁z wi₁min mu₁d'nt
33. *M.* Its good anuf at a nune, but an huz wimmen muddent

|hev v sú₁ep v téi, wi₁ med bi₁ hu₁qə₁rd.
hev a sup a Te we mud be hungard.

34. *H.* wáa₁i bu₁t en)i₁ wad'nt d₁r₁qk sə m₁tʃ on)t, iə tʃéiks
34. *H.* Wia bat an ya wadent drink sa miteh ont yer cheeks

wed béi v déil ryd)də₁r, en)iə)vəd léiv v déil laqə₁r. bu₁t
wad be a dele redder an ya wad leve a dele langer, bat

ái)v git'n su₁m ku₁ps en saasə₁rz for)dhe, dheel díú agəən)t'
l a gitten sum cups and sacers for tha theel du aganet

wed₁n. dháu nhaaz i₁t)s nobet vbáut v mu₁nth tu₁l náu.
weddin, thau knaes its nobbat about a munth tull naw,

mu₁n wi₁ bi₁ ekst et kə₁rk, ə₁r)wi₁)mən wed ·tu₁də₁r wee?
mun we be ext ith Kirk ar we mun wed tudder way,

35. *M.* wi₁)l tAAk vbáut ·dha:t su₁m néit els, wat sez)ti₁ fa₁də₁r
35. *M.* Weel toke about that sum nete else, what sez te Fadder

en mu₁də₁r vbáut i₁t?
an Mudder about it?

36. *H.* mi₁ fa₁də₁r)z réeə₁rl₁i pl₁ézd, en sez et v)l ·gi)mə
36. *H.* Me Fadder's rarely pleas'd, an sez at heel gimma

thrēi káai, en áai)z git ·AA eftə₁r)i ·déiz. en mi₁ mu₁də₁r
three Ky, an iz git O efter he dees an me Mudder

sez : "líuk et ju bíá₁th pú₁u t)₁a₁ wee, en kéip dhí₁sel
sez luke at ya beath poo tea way, an keep thesel

fre)t' íel'es, en ·dhen íe)₁l' ·díú." wat sez)t₁í mu₁d₁r?
fraith Eales, an then yeel du; what sez ty Mudder?

37. *M.* shu)wəz nín sɐ wɐl plíəzd et áí)z gaan tɐ lɪəv)ə₁r.
37. *M.* Shoes nin sa weel pleas'd at iz gangan ta leave er,

dháu séiz áí)z AA)t' baarnz shí₁ ·hez bíá₁th ru₁f en smú₁udh;
thau siz iz oth Barn sha hez beath ruf an smooth;

mu₁n shu léiv wí₁'es?
mun sha leve with az?

38. *H.* áí)í siúə₁r, ez laq ez shu)wí₁l. wə)men gí₁t feevə₁r wí₁)t'
38. *H.* Eigh sure as lang az sha will, we man gith favver ath

aal' fook, ə₁r wí₁)z gí₁t ·nóut. en áí)l tel)dhe ·wat áí wəz
ald foke er wese git nout, an ile tell tha what I waz

thí₁qken tɐ mɪ'sel' et áí wəd tək)v lu₁mp v la₁n'd su₁m
thinkan ta me sel at I wad tack a lump a land sum

weer ebáut :bu₁rten, en gí₁t su₁m bíes, en sel í₁t AA í₁ níú
whare about Burtan, an git sum Beas an sel it O E new

mí₁llhk, en)wə)ken paart wí wər bu₁t₁tə₁r et oní₁ práis.
milk, an we can part we wer Butter at onny price.

39. *M.* wat? men)wí₁ sel AA)t' níú millhk, en tʃəə₁rn tíú? fook
39. *M.* what mun wa sell oth new Milk, an chirm tu, foke

wəd síún see et wə sɛld mí₁llhk en wət₁tə₁r. áái)d sel')t'
wad sune say at wa seld milk an watter. I wad selth

bíes efúə₁pr áí wəd hev sí₁kv níám.
Beas afoar I wad hev sic a neam.

40. *H.* áí sud'nt lâik fook tɐ tAAk bí₁hí₁nt mɪ ba₁k, bu₁t v ·déil
40. *H.* I suddent like foke ta toke behind me back, bat a dele

v fook ·keerz)net, en)dhee díú)but ·gí₁t bras, háu í₁t ku₁m.
a foke caresent an tha du bat git munne haw it come.

41. *M.* áí rek'n nóut v béi)in rí₁tj. í₁t nobet mæks ía₁n gréidi,
41. *M.* I reckon nout a bein rich it nobbat macks yan greede

en ía₁n nhaaz nóut [háu laq ía₁n [hez tɐ stee wí₁)í₁t. fook
an yan knaes nout haw lang yan ez ta stay wete foke

déiz fast í₁ :bu₁rten ·náu.
dees fast e Burtan naw.

42. *H.* hod)ti₁ 'tu₁q' pre)dhv náu! dháu fleez mē wi tAAkin vbaút
 42. *H.* Hod te tung preathanaw, thau flays ma we token abaut

deí)in. wi sud hev v deíl v baarnz vfúu₁er wi₁ thi₁qk v deí)in.
 dein we sud hev a dele a barns afoar we think a dein.

43. *M.* 'su₁d wē? 'dha₁t)s AA)t' felez 'thi₁qks on, gi₁ti₁n v
 43. *M.* sud wa? that's O at Fellas thinks on gittin a

háusful v baarnz fe wi₁mi₁n fook tē ta₁k keer on! en dháu)l'
 hauseful a Barns fort wimmen ta tack cear on, an theyl

h₁aip'n ru₁n tē)t' iel'es, en baarnz rúu₁eren en skr₁emen
 happen run tath ealas ant barns roarin an screamon

fi₁t tē bri₁st.
 fit ta brist.

44. *H.* du₁st)tē bi₁léiv et ái)l diú sí₁á₁?
 44. *H.* Dusta believe at ile du sea?

45. *M.* nee áiv v gæ₁rt epiniēn et dháu)l' diú ez)tē 'sud diú, en
 45. *M.* Nay I ev a girt apinyan at taul du az ta sud du, an

dhen baarnz)'l diú ez ní₁á₁ hu₁rt. ía₁n ed bet₁tē₁r ee twí₁á₁
 than Barns al du az na hurt, yan ad better a two

baarnz en íaa d₁ru₁k'n fele í₁)t h₁aus.
 Barns an ya drucken Fella ith hause.

46. *H.* á₁i)í, en ái)l tel dhv wat)s ez ba₁d tíú—v gosepen
 46. *H.* Eigh an ile tel tha what's as bad az tem—a gossapan

wâif, et ga₁qz ti₁t'l' ta₁t'l' fre h₁aus tē h₁aus wi₁ v lâ₁l baarn
 wife, at gangs tittle tattle fray hause tē hause with a lile Barn,

en nhaaz AA)t' níûz í₁)t táun, en lí₁evz v h₁aus lâ₁k v
 an knaes oth news ith Tawn an leaves a hause like a

swáain kúu₁vt.
 swinecoat.

47. *M.* wáai)v dháu néid'nt fiú₁r et ái)l' bi ía₁n)v dhem. ái)l
 47. *M.* wia thau needent fear at ile be yan a them, ile

kéip mi₁sel' tíú mi₁sel', en dhen ní₁á₁bodí₁)l' fi₁nd faat
 keep me sel ta me sel, an then neabody al find fate

wi₁)mē.
 wimma.

48. *H.* ái húu₁ep dháu)l' bi v gud)en, bet ái mēn vwee tē 'bed.
 48. *H.* I hooap thaul be a gud an, bat I man away ta bed.

49. *M.* wen)'l tɐ kʌ₁m ʌgeɐn?

49. *M.* When al ta cum again?

50. *H.* tɐ)múu₁ɐrn ɐt nəít.

50. *H.* Ta morn at nete.

51. *M.* máaɪnd tɐ díû. gud nəít tɐ)dhv!

51. *M.* Mind ta diu. gud nete to tha.

52. *H.* gud nəít tɐ)dhv, dʒói!

52. *H.* Gud nete to tha, joy!

Notes to Seward's Dialogue for Burton-in-Lonsdale.

1. *Molly.* Final *y*, or *e* as Seward writes it, is here always (*i*₁) with the deeper variety of (*i*) used for the simple (*i*) in all cases. JGG. had sometimes written simple (*i*), but as he thinks it was an inadvertence, I have written (*i*₁) everywhere.—*now*, *how*, although Burton-in-Lonsdale is essentially the same variety of D 31 as Upper Swaledale and Wensleydale, yet it lies s. of the s. *hoose* line 6, and the primitive (*uu*) which there was (*ú*₁*u*), has passed into (*áu*) here. This Seward represents by *aw*, and hence has no sign but *o* for (*aa*), see par. 7.—*how*, the aspirate is always very faint.—*art thou*, the (*dh*) of (*dháu*), when the word is unaccented as (*dhæ*), becomes usually (*t*) after (*z*) as here, and (*d*) as in par. 4, and (*t*) par. 5. 'I is, thou is, he is,' are the regular constructions.—*to-night*, the regular form of long (*ii*) is (*éi*) beginning with short (*e*) and ending with medial (*i*), both with stress. JGG. had sometimes written (*éi*, *éü*), but he considers that this was mere hesitation, and that the vowel was always of medial length. The people themselves consider that they say pure (*ii*), hence the original spelling *nete*, but this is a sound they have much difficulty in pronouncing.

3. *know not*, with initial (*nh*).—*how I am*, *I* enclitic becomes (*i*), but *he* becomes (*i*₁) or (*ɐ*).—*yesternight*, JGG. says that initial (*j*) is usually replaced by a brief vowel, here written (*i*) throughout, the accent on the following vowel being then omitted, as (*i*) sufficiently indicates both glide and subsequent stress. The vowel (*e*) varied much as (*ɐ*) in JGG.'s writing, and he thinks there must have been a reason for it in Mr. P.'s pron. In some words, as (*hez*, *ɛftə* *r*), the use of (*ɐ*) is regular. Hence JGG.'s writing is

followed for (*e*, *e*, *ɐ*); the last syllable (*næ*'it) for (*néit*) is quite abnormal, why Mr. P. here used (*næ*'it) is unknown, it may have been an inadvertence.

5. *I shall*, 'I is' not only represents the present, but 'I shall or will' in the immediate future, here 'come sit thou down and I will tell thee directly.'—*mother*, the dental (*d*, *t*) before (*r*) are never represented by Seward.—*e* for *in*, Seward was apparently afraid of using *i* lest it should be taken as (*âi*).—*half*, *calving*, *all*, and *calf*, in par. 7, observe Seward's helpless use of *o* in these words, see par. 1, *now*.—*fared* or *went*, began.—*almost*, becomes (*omest*) by mere absorption of (*l*).

6. *come* for *came*, regular.—*of some make*, of some kind.—*anest*, opposite to.

7. *so* (*sí*₁*ɐ*), this form is used again immediately, but (*sí*₁*a*) or (*sí*₁*a*₁) is the regular form.

9. *boun*, the translation (*báund*) seems to be an error for (*báun*) *boun* or *going*.—*and that how that it had got a pair of shoes*, the first 'that' depends upon 'dreamed,' the second 'that' depends upon 'how,' and would not be used in rec. sp.—*rats*, 'ratten' or 'raton' is the regular word for 'rat' in the singular.—*an ate them*, possibly (*et*) is an error for (*i*, *t*).

13. *two*, first (*twí*₁*ɐ*) as (*sí*₁*ɐ*), par. 7, and then (*twí*₁*a*₁), which looks as if the first form had been an inadvertence.

14. *nearer*, (*nar*) is the comparative of (*níer*) in par. 15.

15. *hold off me*, keep from touching me.

21. *at after*, the Danish *efterat* thereafter.

23. *we shall*, immediate future.—*thick*, close friends, undivided.—*odds*, odds and ends, the French

termination *ment* has been quite incorporated in the dialect.—*all makes of stuff*, all kinds of food.—*we shall want* immediate future.

26. *I nobbut about*, I have only about, the have omitted idiomatically, so immediately 'when I paid' for when I have paid. JGG. says that this omission is general in the north of England.—*together*, clearly 'tagidber' was a misprint in the original for 'tagidder.'

27. *badger*, travelling cornfactor, see introduction to Orton cs., D 31, No. 11. These men are constantly held in disrepute, and are actually charged with increasing the price of corn, see par. 28, where Harry represents a very general feeling.

28. *state*, estate or farm holding, a 'statesman' is a yeoman possessing the land he farms.—*a collier or a chimney sweeper*, as symbolising dirty trades.—*us*, here Mr. P. has used (*hu z*) the emphatic form, but as the original has *ta mack az*, it is evident that Mr. Seward meant (*tə mak əz*) unemphatic, as indeed the whole context shews it should be. The aspirate to *us* in emphatic form, as (*həz*) is found in D 33.—*stuff*, corn; in rec. sp. we talk of 'bread stuffs,' i.e. bread materials, and here 'bread' is simply omitted.—*clam* starve, and *fetch* (*fətʃ*), these two words extend as far as Cautley-by-Sedberg (for Cautley, see introd. to cs. No. 8, p. 559), and are not used further north, where *clam* becomes *hunger* as in par. 33. On the range of *clam* see TH.'s *Four Dialect Words*, published by the E. D. Society.

29. *my mother shall* (i.e. will) *wake*, probably meaning that she would have to go through her mother's room and waken her.—*churn milk*, buttermilk; observe the introduced (*lh*).

30. *blashment*, to blash is to splash or paint, hence applied as a substantive to rubbish or weak liquor, blashy and blashment are both used; observe the *-ment* as in *oddment*, par. 23.—*work*, simply ache, applied also to teeth.

31. *sup* was (*su p*) in par. 29.

32. *worse and worse*; *it's nought but slow poison*, to which JGG. thought that *isn't tea* (*iz'nt tēi*) should be added.—*a poke*, a bag or tied-up cloth.

33. *a noon* or midday meal, dinner, *Mittagsessen*,—*might be*.

34. *I have got*, in the original 'I'

is misprinted 'I.'—*they'll do for the wedding*, the 'they' is Mr. P.'s word, the original has *theel*, i.e. thee will, or thou wilt; the *against* must then mean 'until,' that is, you'll do as you are till the wedding; but the passage is obscure and possibly faulty.—*a month* from then *till now*.

36. *kine*, cows, of which *ky* (ags. *cy*) is the proper plural, *kine* being formed by adding the plural *n* to the pl. inflection.—*I shall get* certain future.—*Alehouse* with (*i*) prefixed as frequently occurs.

37. *She was* is Mr. P.'s alteration, to make (*shu*), as usual, result from the attraction of (*w*); but Mr. S. wrote *shoes* (*shu₁z*), she is, using the *shoo*, which is frequent enough in m. and s. Craven, and s.Yo. This is then a pure *shoo* (*shū₁u*) as in Horton-in-Ribblesdale (see cwl.), uninfluenced by a following *w*.—*going*; here again Mr. P. has (*gaan*) and Mr. S. (*gaqen*); both are used.—*all the bairns*, Mr. P.'s word for *all the bairn* which last is better.—*both rough and smooth*, probably bearded and non-bearded, that is, male or female.

38. *get favour with the*, this is Mr. P.'s version, the original spelling shews that Mr. S. meant (*gi₁t*)t'favər v't') get the favour of the, with a different pron. of *favour*.—*some beasts*, that is, cows.

40. *brass*, the original has (*mu₁ni*) money.

43. *that's all the fellows think on*, but the original has 'that's all that fellows thinks on,' meaning all that men (not the men) think about.—*for women folk to take care of*, the original has 'for the women to take care of,' *the* being used before women, implying (*fə₁r*)t'); *care* should be (*kí₁ár*) according to the spelling.—*thou'lt perhaps run to the ale-house*, here Mr. P. has made a serious change of (*dhee*)l) they will, into (*dháu*)l) thou wilt, which is certainly a mistake, as the whole context and next two paragraphs shew.

45. *at thou'lt*, should be (*ət táu*)l) as shewn by the originnl.

46. *as bad too*, the original has (*əz bad v₁ tem*) as bad as them=they are.

47. *myself to myself* is, in the original, *myself to* (*tə*) *myself*, with unaccented *to*.—*nobody will find fault*, JGG. thinks should be 'nobody will find no fault' (*ní₁ faat*).

WEARDALE AND TEESDALE dt.

Of the 4 dt. which I have received for this region, all in io., it seems best to give only one, with such variants in the notes as seem of importance. They all point to a practically identical pron., but as regards the U' words there is the same trouble as for the St. John's Weardale cwl. The exact value of it cannot be determined, but it cannot be widely different from (a'u). The 4 dt. were:—

1. *Heathery Cleugh* (klí pf), nearly at the head of Weardale, the last houses passed on going from Weardale to Allendale. Nb. (9 w.Stanhope), written in 1879 by Mr. Dalton, the schoolmaster, at the request of Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), Rector of Edmondbyers (16 nw.Durham).

2. *Stanhope* (13 w-by-s.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Mr. W. M. Egglestone, bookseller, of Stanhope, but a native of Upper Weardale, author of those excellent dialect books, *Betty Podkins' Visit to Auckland Flower Show*, and her *Letter to the Queen on Cleopatra's Needle*. This was accompanied with very full notes and explanations, and is therefore here adopted as the most trustworthy. It uses, however, pure (ii, uu) and not (íi, éú).

3. *Bishop Auckland* (9 ss.w.Durham), written in 1879 at the request of the then vicar, Rev. R. Long, by Mr. John Wild, master of the Union Workhouse at Bishop Auckland, described by the vicar as "a man of considerable knowledge of the dialects of the district, and one who has made language his study."

4. *Easington* (9 e.Durham), written io. in 1879 by Miss E. P. Harrison, daughter of the Rector, who had lived chiefly at Hart (4 w.Hartlepool, where the pron. seems to be the same.

These dt. cover the whole ground of Weardale in s.Du., the Wear itself passing into n.Du. just w. of Bishop Auckland and going to Durham and Sunderland, which belong to D 32.

For Lower Teesdale, Mrs. Alfred Hunt, novelist and wife of the artist, b. in the neighbourhood of Durham, who had, however, acquired her knowledge of the dialect in Lower Teesdale, in Jan. 1876 kindly dictated to me a cs., and gave me a lw. for that district, but her recollections were not precise enough for me to print it at length. Her version adopted pure (ii, uu), and was very like the Middleton-in-Teesdale cwl. with, however, an occasional tendency to an (éú) form.

STANHOPE dt.

1. wái a see, lads, ʒ sii nuu ed aa)z riit ebuut jon lít'l las kumén fre jon skíel.

2. shí)z ganen (duun)d' lonen dhíer, thruu)d' riid ʒít on)t' left hand sáid v,d' rood.

3. shúer aníef, t' beern)z gíen s̄tráit up tí)d' dúuer v)d' raq huus,

4. weer shí)l mebi fínd that ɖrək'n diif shruqk'n felv, v)d' ním v :tomí.

5. wí aal naa'm vare wiil.

6. wínet t'aad felv s̄ien l̄iern er nut t̄e d̄i)d egíen, púuer thiq !

7. lók ! íz'nt it t̄ríu ?

Notes.

The references to Nos. 1, 3, 4 are to the Heathery Cleugh, Bishop Auckland, and Easington versions respectively, see above.

1. *well*, the *so* would not be used in this place, the (wái) answers to our *well*; *so* would be (sii) or (si) as in (*nut si gud*) not so good.—*I* is always (a, aa), No. 4 writes *oi*.—*lads*, mates is imported (given in No. 4, *marrows* in No. 1), fellow-workers in lead mines are (shuudher fell̄ez) shoulder fellows,

but speak to one another as 'lads.'—*ye*, superiors and elderly people are generally so addressed.—*now*, especially said to rhyme to *too*, *do*, *loo*. The

following are all the words of this kind in the specimen, with their mode of treatment in Nos. 1, 3, 4.

	No. 1.	No. 3.	No. 4.
1. <i>now</i>	<i>noo</i> , rh. boot	<i>now</i>	<i>noo</i>
<i>about</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>about</i>	<i>about</i>
<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>	<i>down</i>	<i>doon</i>
2. <i>through</i>	<i>throo</i>	<i>through</i>	<i>throw</i>
3. <i>sure</i>	<i>seer</i>	<i>sure</i>	<i>shower</i>
<i>door</i>	<i>door</i> , rh. boor	<i>door</i>	<i>dower</i>
<i>house</i>	<i>hooss</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>hoose</i>
5. <i>poor</i>	<i>power</i> , poor	<i>pouer</i>	<i>pouer</i>

All written with *oo* in No. 2.

Mrs. Hunt also dictated to me (*puur*) = power, and (*póur*) = poor. It is evident therefore that the general s.Du. pron. cannot be pure (*uu*), and probably not pure (*ú,u*), but has some sound which suggests (*ou*), for which JGG. in despair wrote (*é'uu*) in St. John's. See also D 32, the dt. from near Lanchester and notes.—*that*, there is a fondness for a (d) termination, (*vd*) for (*vt*).—*I is*, *I are*, *he be*, *we'm*, *you'm*, *we you they is*, do not occur; *am* is not used.—*right*, "r trilled as in Scotch," this (ii) is against the St. John's cwl., said to rhyme *fleet*, *meet*, *beet*; probably the (ii) is not quite pure; written *reet* in Nos. 1, 2, 3, but left as *right* in No. 4.—*yon* used for something at a distance.—*little*, probably *bit* would be added, or else used alone, as 'little bit lass' or 'bit lass'; No. 1 has *smaw*, *bit*, *wee*.—*coming*, the part. and vb. noun are not distinguished.—*the*, (*t*, *d*) are both used, see rule at end of these notes.—*school*, I believe (*skí'el*, *skí'el*) was intended; Mr. E. writes *skeail*, is inclined to *skeäl*, but used 'pli'ace fi'ace mi'ad hi'am,' etc., in Betty Podkins, and says that 'moon bone again done gone tune' have all the same vowel, and adds that '*-liet* in *Juliet* is very near our *leait* late,' No. 1 *skeecool*, No. 3 *skule skyul*, No. 4 *skule*.—*yonder* is used in the form (*jondher*); but (*inder*, *dhondher*) are both unknown.

2. *down*, rhymes to *soon*.—*through* rhymes to 'too.'—*red*, rh. *weed need creed*, Nos. 1, 2, 3 have *reed*, No. 4 *red*.—*gate*, both (*jít*, *jet*) used, (*op'n*)d' *jít*, *t'* *jet*s *op'n* open the gate, the gate's open; No. 1 *yet*, No. 3 *gate*, No. 4, *gëate*.—*left hand side*, No. 1 has

left neaf side, rh. leaf, meaning 'left fist side,' and says it is common, but not particularly so.—*road* and *lane* and also *way* are used with a difference, as in the examples (*hi*)z djust *grén duun*d' *lonen*; *máind end kiip v*)d' *rood*, what *wee is*)tə *ganen*? a *thiik a*)l *gan t'* *hii wee*, or *riit duun*)d' *rood*, he's just gone down the lane; *mind and keep on the road*; what way art thou going? I think I'll go the high way, or right down the road; No. 1 writes *wāā*, No. 4 *way*, Nos. 2 and 3 change the word.

3. *enough* (*enúu*) is sometimes used; Nos. 1 and 4 have *neugh*, No. 2 *eneuf*, No. 3 *eenyuff*.—*has*, here contracted to (*z*), he has it (*hi hes*)t; conjugation affirmative (*a hee*, *hev*, *wi ji dhe hee*, *dhuu hi hez*), negative (*a hev'nt henet*, *heñe*, *wi ji dhe henet*; *dhu hi hez'nt*).—*straight*, No. 1 *streight*, No. 2 *stryte*, No. 3 *sthrite*, No. 4 *straight*.—*house*, aspirated.

4. *drunken*, No. 1 *drookn*, Nos. 2 and 4 *drucken*, No. 3 *dhrucken*.—*name*, No. 1 *nay-um*, No. 2 *neaim*, No. 3 *n'yam*, No. 4 *neeam*.

5. *all*, No. 1 *a*, *owe*, No. 2 *avll*, No. 3 *all*, No. 4 *arll*, the last explained as (*aal*).—*know*, No. 1 *ken*, No. 2 *knav*, No. 3 *ken nau*, No. 4 *knowse*.

6. *won't*, No. 1 *won-et wun* as *won*, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 *winner*.—*old*, No. 1 *od*, rh. toad, Nos. 2 and 3 *awd*, No. 4 *ard*, explained as (*aad*).—*to do it*, No. 1 *t' d' ad*, (*dee*)*ad*, No. 2 *te did*, No. 3 *te di'd*, No. 4 *t'deet*; on the contraction (*di*)*d* see note, p. 619, on the 'Differences, etc.'

7. *look*, No. 1 *leecook*, No. 2 *leuik*, No. 3 *leuk*, No. 4 *lukstho*.

Differences between Stanhope and St. John's.

Mr. Egglestone recognises only the following :

	<i>all know won't old, too, do</i>
<i>Stanhope.</i>	(aa'l naa winet aad, ti, di).
<i>St. John's.</i>	(oo noo wunet ood tie di).

In Mr. Moore's version of the Song of Solomon into St. John's Chapel dialect made for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, he says : " At East Gate [2 w. Stanhope] and Stanhope the words *didst thou do it* and *wilt thou do it* are pronounced *did te did* and *will te did*, while at St. John's Chapel they are *dud tu dud* and *wull tu dud*." Mr. Egglestone says he has often heard (dud te du)d, or dhu dud'nt du)d? at St. John's, but more for the sake of the sound or repetition of (dud) than general usage. *Do* at St. John's is (di) sometimes (duv), *do it* is (di)'d or (dii)d, the *it* becoming (d), and the (i) being lengthened (dud te du)d is used, but the others are more common at St. John's. Also (tu)d is used for 'to it,' as (h'ur, :djak, gan ti)d' hors! ái, a'l gan tu)d, here, Jack, go to the horse! aye, I'll go to it.

The definite article (d', t').

- I. In commencing a sentence and after all breaks, (t') is used.
 - II. If the preceding verb end in a voiced consonant, (d') is used; if in a voiceless one (t'). But verbs ending in (d) require the art. (t').
 - III. Verbs ending in (l, m, n, r) may be followed by either (t' or d').
- The pronoun *it* is governed by the same laws. Examples:—

(whii)l	rub)d'	hors.	a)l	rub)d.	[I will rub it].
„ „	shuu)d'			shuu-)d	[shoe it].
„ „	gag d'		„ „	gag)d.	
(let)s	galəp)t'	horse.	a)l	galəp)t.	
„	tak)t'	„	„	tak)t.	
„	jook)t'	„	„	jook)t.	
„	trot)t'	„	„	trot it.	
„	fiid)t'	„	„	fiid it).	

Var. i, form a. NORTH CRAVEN cwl.

This should be compared with Dent and Howgill, Var. iii.

- B Burton-in-Lonsdale or Black Burton (13 ne.Lancaster), see introduction to separate specimen, p. 607. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Powley, there mentioned as having dict. the specimen. The slight differences between this cwl. and that spec. are probably all due to double uses, pronunciations, or appreciations.
- C Chapel-le-dale (19 ne.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Wharfedale Hills, through which runs Dalebeck, which flows into the Greta by Ingleton, and thence into the Lune, which passes by Lancaster. Pal. in 1876-7 by JGG. from the dict. of Wm. Metcalfe, Esq., of Weathercote (1 nne. of Chapel), who had been acquainted with the dialect all his life (different from the Mr. Metcalfe, of Dent).
- H Horton-in-Upper-Ribblesdale (21 ene.Lancaster), between Ingleborough and Pen-yghent Hills. Pal. in 1877, by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. John Jackson, of Studfold (:stufel'd) (a hamlet 2 s.Horton), b. about 1800, and acquainted with the dialect all his life.
- M Muker, etc., see p. 557, introduction to No. 2. This was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of E. Alderson and James Kearton, two of those from whom the cs. was obtained, and the words are added here for comparison. The principal difference is the treatment of the U' words.

When no initial is prefixed, the pron. refers to all four places; when subsequently an initial is prefixed to a pron., it implies that this is a second pron. heard

in this place. Often only the points of difference are noted. Where only some initials are given, there is no information from the missing places.

Throughout (x) = (r^o).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bí á k*. 4 *ta₁ k*. 5 *ma₁ k*. 6 *mí á d*. 7 *sí á k*. 8 *hev*, M *hee*. 9 C *bí hí á v*, BHM -*eev*. 10 *had*. 12 BHM *saa*, C *saa*. 13 [M ('nhaar'l) used]. 14 M *d₁raa*, *d₁raa*. 15 M *aa*. 17 BH *laa*, C *laa*. 18 *kí á k*. 19 *tí á l*. 20 *lí á m*. 21 *ní á m*. 22 *tí á m*. 23 M *sí á m*. 24 *sha₁ m*. 25 *mí á n*. 27 BHM *nhí á v*, C *n-*. 28 BH *hí á r*, CH *heer*, M *haar*. 30 BH *kí á r*, C *keer*. 31 *lí á t*. 33 *ree d₁ r*. 34 *last*. 35 [M ('elsen) used]. 36 BC *thaar*, M *thau*. 37 *klaa*.

A: 39 [*ka₁ m*] used. 40 B *ká u₁ em*, C *ká u₁ em*, H *koom* [honecomb, M (*hu ni-kí á m*)]. 41 BM *theqk*, C *e*, H *e*, M *a₁*. 43 *há n'd*. 44 *lá n'd*. 46 *ka₁ n'l*. 47 M *wa₁ n d₁ r*. B *saq*, BCHM *a₁*. 50 *ta₁ q'z*, M *teqz*. 51 *ma₁ n*. 53 BHM *ka₁ n*. 54 *want*. 55 *as*, M *as*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *as*, M *as*.

A: or O: 58 BM *free*, C *e*, H *frém*, M *frev*. 59 *la₁ m*. 60 CM *la₁ q*, BH *a*. 61 *ema₁ q'*. 62 BH *s₁ traq'*, CH *a₁*. 63 C *thraq'*, H *a₁*, M *tra₁ q*. 64 CM *ra₁ q*, B *ra₁ q'*, M *w'ra₁ q*. 65 BH *saq*, CM *a₁*. 66 C *waq*, BHM *wh*.

A'- 67 M *gaa*, [& M (*ga₁ q*) used]. 69 *noo*, M *ní á*. 70 *tí á*. 71 BCM *wí á*, C *woo*. 72 C *wí á*, B [*wh*, H *whí i₁ e*, M *whí á*, *whé*. 73 BC *sí á*, CH *soo*. 74 BM *twí á*, H *tá u*, C *óu*. 75 *s₁ tré á k*, M *s₁ tré á k*. 76 *tí á d*. 77 CM *lord*, H *ó*, B *á i₁ e*. 78 M *aa* [*á ut*, *aad*]. 79 *aan*. M *aan'd*. 80 *ha lí d₁ e*, M *-di*. 81 *lu en*, M *luó en i₁ n*. 83 *mí á n*. 84 BC *mí á r*, H *ee*, M *aa*. 85 BC *sí á r*, H *ee*, M *aa*. 86 BCM *á ets* [H (*kaarn*) used, M (*ha₁ v₁ r^o*) used]. 87 *klí á z*. 88 *klí á dh*. 89 *bí á th*. 90 *blaa* [pt. *bliû*]. 91 *maa* [pt. *miû*]. 92 *nhaa*. 93 *snaa* [pt. *sníû*]. 94 M *kraa*. 95 *thraa*, M *t₁raa*. 96 *saa* [pt. *siû*], M *soo*. 97 *sóul*, M *sául*. 98 *nhaan*. 99 *thraan*. 100 *saa*.

A': 101 *í a₁ k*. 102 CH *eks*, BM *as*. 104 *rú i₁ ed*, M *rwó ed*. 105 *rí á d*. 106 *brí á d*. 107 *lí á f*, C *loof*. 108 CH *dóuf*, C *dí á f* [B (*pí á st*) used]. 109 *laa*, H *lóu*. 110 M *nu₁ t*. 111 M *óut*. 113 BCM *hí á l*, H *whá i₁ el*. 115 *hí á m*. 118 M *bí á n*. 121 BCM *gí á n*, H *gon*, M *gaan*. 122 CBM *ní á n*, H *nín* [the two last as in 'none so bad']. 123 [M ('naut) used]. 124 *stí á n*. 125 [(*nobet*) used]. 127 CH *há i₁ rs*. 128 [(*dhem*) used]. 129 C *goost*, H *gú i₁ st* [B (*bog₁ rt*) used], M *gí á st*. 130 H *bá i₁ et*. 131 M *goot*. 132 *fét*. 133 B *brí á t*, CM *rí á t*, H *rí i₁ et*. 134 BCM *í á th*, H *ooth*. 135 *klí á th*.

Æ- 138 *fa d₁ r*, M *fá ddh₁ r*. 140 *heel*. 141 M *neel*. 142 CM *sné i₁ l*, BH *ee*. 143 M *teel*. 144 *eggen*. 146 *meen*. 147 *breen*. 148 CHM *feer*, B *feea₁ r*. 149 B *blí e z*, H *ee*. 150 CH *lí i₁ est*, B *í e*. 152 *wa₁ t₁ r*. 153 *se t₁ r d₁ e*.

Æ: 155 *tha₁ k*. 157 *rí á v' n*, B *ee*. 158 *ef t₁ r*. 160 *eg*. 161 *dee*, M *dee*. 164 *mee*. 165 *sed*. 166 CH *meed*, M [(*lās*) used]. 167 *dí á l*. 168 *tale*, M *a₁*. 169 BC *wen*, H *when*. 170 HM *haaryst*, C *harest*, B *e*. 171 CH *baarli*, B *i₁*. 172 CHM *gá i₁ rs*, B *ga₁ rs*. 173 M *waz*. 174 C *EE'sh*, BHM *e*. 175 *fast*. 179 BC *wat*, HM *wh*. 181 [M (*t₁ rod*) used].

Æ- 182 BH *sé i₁*. 183 C *tí i₁ et*, B *tí i₁ et*, H *tí i₁ t* [hardly distinguishable]. 184 BC *lied*, H *ee*, M *léd*. 185 *ré i₁ d*. 186 *brédh*. 187 *lí i₁ e*. 188 H *ne' i* [C (*wini*), B (*whini*) used], M *ne' i*. 189 M *wé i₁*. 190 CM *ke' i*, B *ke' i*, H *ke' i*. 191 BH *hé i₁*. 192 B *mí e' n*, CH *mí i₁ en*, M *mí i₁ n*. 193 CH *klí i₁ e' n*, B *klé' n*, M *klé i₁ n*. 194 CH *on i*, B *on i*, M *a₁ ni ani*. 195 B *mon i*, CH *mon i*, M *ma₁ ni mani*. 196 BC *war*, H *woor*. 197 *tú i₁ z*. 199 *bleet*, B *blé i₁ t*. 200 C *wí i₁ et*, H *whí i₁ et*, R *í e*, M *whé i₁ t*. 202 C *hé i₁ t*.

Æ: 203 BHM *spé i₁ t*. 204 *dé i₁ d*. 205 *thré i₁ d*. 207 *né i₁ d'l*. 210 *klee*. 211 *gree*. 212 B *wé e*, CH *wh*, M *wee*. 218 CM *ee d₁ r*, B *eedh₁ r*. 216 BH *dí i₁ l*, C *dí i₁ el*. 218 *shé i₁ p*. 219 *slé i₁ p*. 221 CH *fí i₁ e*. 222 B *hé e₁ r*, H *heer*, C *hí á r*, M *haar*. 223 H *dhí á r*, C *í e₁*, B *í e*, M *dhaar*. 224 BCH *waar*, M *wh-*. 225 M *flesh*. 226 *mí á st*. 227 *wet*. 228 CH *swí i₁ et*, B *í e*. 229 BHM *breth*, C *bryth*. 230 *fat*, M *fa i₁ t*.

E- 232 CM *brí i₁ e' k*, B *í e'*, H *é i*. 233 CHM *spí i₁ e' k*, B *í e'*, M *spé i₁ k*. 234 CHM *ní i₁ e' d*, B *í e'*. 235 CH *wí i₁ e' v*, B *í e*. 236 C *í e v₁ r*, HM *fé i-*. 237 M

tjil'bleen. 238 hedj. 241 reen. 242 H whien, M twi'áj. 243 [leek used]. 246 kwéin [queen], M whien [quean]. 248 B meer, CHM miér. 249 wíér. 250 swíér. 251 CHM miét, B íe. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 le'ér, M leddér. 255 wedj. r.

E: 257 edj [pl. eddiz]. 259 wedj [pl. weddiz]. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 cel. 265 BCH stréit, M stréit. 270 CHM belis, B -es, CHM belí, B -i. 272 HM elem [CB boom used]. 273 men. 274 BHM biqk, CH e. 276 CHM thiqk, B i. 278 M wentj. 280 eliev'n. 281 leqth, M lenth. 282 stréqth, M strénth. 283 CHM myri, B i. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 hajre. 287 béiz'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 íi íi íe. 290 híi híi íe. 291 dhéi dhi dhv. 292 méi mi mv. 293 wéi wí, B wu. 294 íid. 296 bíkiv. 298 fíil. 299 grín. 300 káip. 301 híér. 302 méit. 303 swéit.

E': 305 BH híi, C héi. 306 héit. 307 M náai. 308 néid. 309 sp'id. 310 híil. 311 ten. 312 híér. 314 BH háard, C háard, M híerd. 315 fíit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gíáip. 320 M kaar. EA: 321 saa. 322 lóf. 323 fóat. 324 éit, M éit. 325 waak. 326 CB aal'd, C óal'd, H óad, M aad. 327 CH bóal'd. 328 CB kaal'd, H koad, M kaad. 329 C íóal'd, H íóad. 330 hod. 331 [sel't used]. 332 [tel't used]. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 CB aa, HM aal. 336 CB faa, HM faal. 337 waa, M waal. 340 jø rd, M jø rd. 342 aar'm, M aarm. 343 waar'm, M waarm. 345 BC daar, H deer, M daar. 346 B íet, C íyt, H íet, M íat [distinctly different from (ja)t, (gíá)t, a road].

EA'- 347 CHM híe'd, B íe [here in 350-6, 360, 361, etc., the (e) is not certain in M, but becomes indistinct]. 348 éi [pl. áin] C. 349 H riú, BC íe'ú.

EA': 350 CHM díed, B díe'd. 351 CHM líied, B líe'd. 352 CH red, B ryd. 353 CHM briied, B bríed. 354 CHM shíiet, B íe. 355 CHM díiet, B íe'. 356 CH líiet, B íe'. 357 [íer AA] for all, used]. 359 C neér, BH éi, M ne'íér. 360 CHM tiem, B íe. 361 CHM bíien, B íe. 363 CHM tíiep, B íe. 365 níu r. 366 gørt, M griet. 367 CHM thriiet, B íe. 368 CM díieth, B íe', H deth. 369 CBM slaa, H slaa. 370 CB raa, H raa. 371 stríá.

EI- 372 BM ái i, C æ'i, H æ'i. 373 dhe. 374 nee. 375 M reez. 376 beet. EI: 377 stíáik. 378 week. 382 CHM dheer, B dhéér.

EO- 383 C seb'n, BH v, M síev'n. 384 hev'n, M híev'n. 385 H biníieth. 386 íou. 387 BC níu, H níu.

EO: 388 CHM míllhk, B i. 389 íook. 390 sud, H shud. 393 BHM bíiont, C bíion'd. 396 waark. 397 BC sú'rd, HM swørd. 398 staarv, M ái z náai hu q'rd te díieth en feer staarvd wí't kaad [I am nearly hungered to death and fairly starved with the cold]. 399 bréit. 400 M íverníst. 402 CH lørn, B aa, M líiern. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 C haasten, BH ásten, M astin [=hearthstone, hearth not being used separately]. 406 M íverth. 407 faardín.

EO'- 409 BH béi bi, C bi. 411 BCH thréi, M tréi. 412 shéi shi shv, HM shu shúu. 413 C div'l, B dev'l, HM dív'l. 414 BCM fléi. 415 léi. 416 díér. 417 C tjig, BH tjé'uu, M tjóu. 418 bríu. 420 BHM fóuér, C faær. 421 CM farti, B forti, H forti.

EO': 423 théi. 424 rúí. 425 lét. 426 BHM fe'it, B fae'it, C fíit. 427 M béi bi. 428 séi. 430 fry'nd. 431 bíuér. 432 HM fóart, B fóart, C fooért. 433 bry'ist, M bréist. 434 B bet. 435 íúu, M jóu ju v. 436 tríu. 437 tríuth.

EY- 438 CM déi, BH díi. EY: 439 B trú'ist, CHM trý'ist.

I- 440 HM wéik, BC íi. 441 CHM sív, B i [M has (síev) a rush, (stíáiv) to save]. 442 CH áivin, B -ín, M háivin. 443 M íráidi. 444 HM stéil, BC íi. 446 BCH náin, M néin. 448 M dhur. 449 CHM gít [gat gít'n], B i. 450 BCH tíuzde. 451 CH se'uu, B sae'u, M síu.

I: 452 C áai, BHM ái [enclitic, B i]). 454 CHM wítj, B i. 455 CH lig, B i. 457 CHM máit, B méit. 458 BM néit, C níit, H náit. 459 CB ræ'it, H ráit, M réit. 460 M wéit. 462 BHM séit, C síit. 464 HM whítj, C w, B wí. 465 CH síty, C sík, B sík, M saik. 466 [baarn] used. 467

wáaild. 468 [(baarnz) used]. 471 CHM timə₁r, B i₁. 473 C blin'd, BH i₁. 475 CHM win'd, B i₁. 476 CHM bind [ban'd bu₁n], B i₁. 477 CHM tin'd [fan'd fu₁n], B i₁. 478 CH gru₁nd [gran'd gru₁n], B i₁, M gry₁nd. 479 B wi₁n'd [wan'd wu₁n], CHM i. 481 CH fiqə₁r, B i₁. 485 CHM this'l, B i₁. 486 C iiest, M iest, H iest [B (baarm) used]. 487 C iiestə₁rde, B iest-t-, H iest-t-, M iis-t-. 488 CH iyt, B iit, M iit.

I'- 490 C bi, báai, H bi, B bi₁. 493 C drāiv [dríáiv drov'n]. 494 taim. 496 āir'n. 498 C rāait, H rāit, BM vrāit [vríáit vri't'n].

I': 500 lāik. 501 wāid. 502 fāiv. 503 lāif. 504 nhāif. 505 wāif. 506 wūmen. 507 CH wimin, B i₁, M wūmin. 508 māl. 509 wāl, B wel. 511 wāin. 513 wāiə₁r. 514 āis. 515 wāiz. 516 wizdem. 517 BC iuu, H žuu.

O- 520 BHM bóu, C bú₁u. 521 BCH fū₁el, M fu-. 522 op'n. 523 H hoop, C ú₁ə, B óv, M whú₁əp. 524 BHM wor'l'd, C wə₁r'l'd.

O: 526 koí. 527 BCH bóut, M áu. 528 BCH thóut, M áu. 529 BCH bróut, M áu. 530 M vrāut w'rāut. 531 BCH dóutə₁r, M dāu-. 532 BCH kú₁el, M kw-. 533 du₁l'. 534 BCH hú₁el, M wh-. 536 BCH góud, M góul'd. 537 móud. 538 BHM wad, C wud. 539 bōul. 540 CHM holin, B i₁. 542 bōut, M bolt. 545 hop. 547 bú₁ə₁rd. 549 hú₁ə₁rd. 550 BHM wu₁rd, C wə₁rd. 551 C stor'm, BH staarm, M storm. 552 C kor'n, B kaarn, M kwú₁ə₁rn. 553 C hor'n, B haarn, M horn. 554 CHM kros.

O'- 555 BCH shú₁u, M shū. 556 te [at is not used for to in Var. i, only in Var. iii.]. 557 BCH tú₁u, M tū. 558 B liūk, C luk, H lú₁uk, M liūk. 559 mu₁də₁r. 561 BH blú₁um, M bliam. 562 CH má₁un, B miūn, M miun. 563 BCH mu₁nde, M -di. 564 B siūn, M siun, CH sú₁un. 565 BCH nú₁əz, M nw-. 566 u₁də₁+r.

O': 569 H biūk, C buk, B biūk, M bōuk. 570 H tú₁uk, C tuk, B tiūk, M tiuk. 571 gu₁d. 572 BCH blu₁d, M blūd. 573 BCH flu₁d, M fiūd. 574 BCH brú₁ud, M briūd. 575 BCH stu₁d, M stiūd. 576 BCH wed'nzde, M -di. 577 BCH bú₁u, M biū. 578 BCH plú₁u, M pliū. 579 BH enú₁f, C inú₁u, M eniuf. 580 BCH tu₁f, M tiuf. 581 M sāt. 582 CH kú₁ul, B kúl, M kíul. 583 CH tú₁ul, B tiúl, M tiul. 584 CH stú₁ul, M stiul. 585 B brú₁um, M brium. 586 C diū, H dú₁u, M diu. 587 du₁n, B diūn, M diun. 588 CH nú₁un, B niūn, M niun. 589 spú₁un, B spiūn, M spian. 590 CH flú₁uə₁r, B iū, M fly'ur. 591 mú₁uə₁r. 592 [BCH swíá₁r, M swaar sware, used]. 594 M biut [also (te biut) to boot]. 595 CH fú₁ut, B fiūt, M fiut. 596 M riūt. 597 CH sú₁ut, B siūt, M siut.

U- 599 BCH ebú₁v, M ebú₁in ebium. 600 lu₁v. 601 BH fōul, M fú₁ul. 602 BCH sú₁u, M siū. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 CH dú₁uə₁r, B iū, M y'u, iu. 607 bu₁tə₁r.

U: 608 CH u₁glē, B i₁. 609 fū₁l'. 610 wú₁ul. 611 bələk. 612 su₁m. 613 d₁ru₁qk. 614 M hu₁n'd. 615 M pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁nd. 617 M sú₁un'd. 618 BCH wāund, M wū₁un'd. 620 gru₁n. 622 u₁ndə₁r. 625 tu₁q'. 626 hu₁qə₁r. 629 su₁n. 631 thə₁rzde, M thu₁rdi. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 BCH thrú₁u, M trú₁u. 635 M wu₁rth. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du₁st.

U'- 640 BCH káu, M kú₁ù. 641 BCH háu, M hú₁ù. 642 BCH dháu, M dhú₁ù. 643 BCH náu, M nú₁ù. 644 sáuk. 645 du₁v. 646 BCH báu, M bú₁ù. 647 CB ául, H hu₁lert, M hiúlert. 648 BCH áur, Mú₁uə₁r. 649 BCH tháuzend, M thú₁üz'nd. 652 kú₁d. 653 bu₁t.

U': 654 BCH sherāud, M -ú₁ud [the only word in which shr- =(sher-)]. 655 BCH fāul, M fú₁ul. 656 rú₁um. 657 BCH brāum, M brú₁un. 658 BCH dāum, M dū₁un. 659 M tú₁un. 661 BCH sháuə₁r, M shú₁uə₁r. 662 'hu₁z [emphatic]. 663 BCH háus, M hú₁üs. 664 BCH láus, M lú₁üs. 665 BCH máus, M mú₁üs. 666 hu₁zbend. 667 BCH áut, M ú₁ut. 668 BCH práud, M prú₁ud. 671 BCH máuth, M mú₁ù. 672 BCH sáuth, M sú₁uth.

Y- 673 HM mī₁tj, BC i₁, M mik'l'. 674 M did. 676 lēi. 677 d₁rāai. 678 CHM dīn, B i₁. 679 BCM kə₁rk, H t₁ə₁rtj, M t₁ə₁rtj. 680 CH bizi, B bi₁zi₁, M bizi. 682 lāl.

Y: 683 CH mīddj, B i₁, M mīdj. 684 CHM brig, B i₁. 685 M rig. 686 báai. 689 CH bild, B i₁ [M pp. (billht)]. 690 káa₁nd. 691 máa₁nd. 693 CHM sīn, B i₁. 694 wu₁rk. 696 bə₁rth. 697 by₁ri, M beri. 699 réit, M

eréit u'r-. 700 waars, B waar. 701 fæ₁rst. 703 CHM pit, B i₁. 704 H vik's'n.

Y'- 705 skáai. 707 thæ₁rtéin. 708 háai₁r. Y': 709 fáai₁r. 711 láais. 712 máais.

II. ENGLISH.

[No words were given in this division from Chapel-le-dale except 737, 744, 746, 761, 767, 769, 778, 808.]

A. 713 ba₁d. 714 la₁d [compare M (lasi) not (la₁si)]. 715 M pa₁d. 716 M a₁d'l' [to earn]. 717 BCH djeed, M jood [an old horse]. 718 M t₁reed. 722 BM dreen. 723 B dée₁ri, H deeri, M deeri. 724 baald. 725 si₁a₁l. 728 sha₁m. 729 freem. 730 HM ka₁ntō₁r. 733 [M (flee) v., (fleet) sb. used]. 734 daarn. 735 ma₁sh. 737 meet. 740 M weev. 742 BCH leezi₁, M -i.

E. 743 HM skriem, B i₁e. 744 mez'l'z. 745 M t₁riet. 746 B bréidh, CH bríedh. 748 M fligd.

I. and Y. 753 [(HM kīt'l, B i₁) used]. 754 M pig. 757 M téini. 759 H fit, B i₁.

O. 751 k₁á₁d. 767 nóiz. 769 CHM móudiwarp, B i₁. 771 fon'd. 772 bí₁á₁nfaai₁r. 774 BCH póani, M -i. 777 shop. 778 BCH efá₁w₁rd, M efu-. 783 B páut₁ri, H pa₁t₁ri. 785 B láundj. 789 róu [but (e lóu en róu néit) a calm, quiet, still night]. 790 H gáun, B góun, M gú₁un.

U. 793 hu₁g. 794 dju₁g. 799 H sku₁l. 801 ru₁m. 803 dju₁mp. 805 kru₁dz. 808 pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

[No words marked in this division for Chapel-le-dale.]

A.. 809 BM ia₁b'l, H eeb'l. 810 fí₁á₁s. 811 plí₁á₁s. 812 lí₁á₁s. 813 M beek'n. 814 mí₁á₁s'n. 815 M fa₁ks. 816 M feed. 817 B ra₁di₁sh, H i. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 B di₁lee₁, HM i. 822 mee. 824 t₁eer. 825 HM weef. 826 M éig'l'. 827 ieg₁r. 828 H eegv. 829 M geen. 830 HM treen. 833 B pée₁r, M peer. 835 M ríez'n. 836 M síez'n. 838 M tréit. 840 M t₁a₁m₁r. 841 BCH t₁aus, M a. 842 pla₁qk. 843 BCH brantj [M (biu) bough used]. 844 t₁rensh. 845 M eenshent. 847 deend₁r. 848 t₁eendj. 849 s₁treen₁r. 850 BCH dāns, M a. 851 BCH aut, M ànt. 852 ap₁ren, M ia₁p'r'n. 853 HM baargin, B i₁. 854 ba₁rel. 855 ka₁ret. 856. pá₁rt. 857 k₁á₁s. 858 M brees. 859 t₁a₁s. 860 pí₁á₁st. 861 tí₁á₁st. 862 sí₁á₁f. 864 B bikaz, M bika's. 865 faat. 866 pá₁u₁r.

E.. 867 téi. 869 HM viuel. 871 H egréi, BM gréi. 874 HM riien, B i₁e. 875 BCH fent, M fent [as a vb. pres. (fant) gen. in the N]. 877 H eer. 880 egzamp'l. 881 sens. 883 dandi₁laaiem. 886 M friu₁r. 887 H klō₁rdj. 888 sart'n. 890 bliest, B i₁e [M pl. (béis)]. 891 fúiest, B i₁e. 892 M nevi. 893 B flāu₁r, H ou. 894 H diséev, B i₁, M diséiv. 895 H riséev, B i₁, M riséiv.

I. and Y.. 897 H diláit. 898 HM náais. 899 HM néis. 900 pree. 901 faain. 902 BM máain, H ai. 903 B daain, H ai. 904 B váaiet. 908 M edvā's. 909 HM bréiz. 910 B djaai₁st, H ai, M djaais. 911 H siuest₁r. 912 BM ráis.

O.. 913 BCH kú₁etj, M ku-. 914 B brú₁etj, M brw-, H oo. 915 stu₁f. 916 HM u₁niem, B i₁. 917 roog. 918 H fēib'l. 919 óintment. 920 M póint. 921 M ekwent. 922 BCH bu₁shel, M bish'l'. 924 t₁pōis. 925 vōis. 926 spōl. 927 t₁ru₁qk. 928 BCH áuns, M ú₁uns. 930 lōin. 931 B d₁u₁gl₁r. 933 fru₁nt. 935 ka₁t₁ri. 936 H font. 937 M kōk. 938 BM korn₁r, H kaarn₁r. 939 BCH klá₁es, M klw-. 940 BCH ká₁ut, M kw-. 941 BCH fú₁ul, M fú₁l'. 942 bu₁tt₁r. 943 tu₁tj. 944 B elāu, H elōu. 945 B váu, H vōu. 947 bóil. 948 [(baa, baal) used], M bú₁ul. 950 su₁p₁r. 951 ku₁p'l. 952 B kú₁ars, H áu₁, M kw-. 953 BM ka₁zi₁n, H -un. 954 B whi₁shen, ku shen, HW whishin. 955 BCH dānt, M dáut. 956 ku₁v₁r.

U.. 961 BCH griuēl, M -el [final (e) distinct, and so (kriūel) cruel, but (kriūl) crewel]. 963 BCH kwāai₁ut, M wh-. 964 H síiūt, B -ut. 965 óil. 966 friūt. 967 siūt. 968 óist₁r. 969 siu₁r. 970 dja₁st. 971 diūt.

(5) Var. i, form b. N.W. Horn of Yo. cwl.

Written in io. by the Rev. W. R. Bell, Vicar of Laithkirk (20 nw. Richmond, Yo.), who gave himself much trouble to explain his symbolisation, but, as already remarked, p. 547, I was unable to interpret it satisfactorily. Fortunately JGG. had been able to see him personally, and had written the pron. of most of the words in the Wessex section of my cwl. from his dictation, assisted by an old parishioner. On comparing this with Mr. Bell's descriptions, JGG. and I felt that they agreed. Under these circumstances, considering the peculiarities of the style of speech, I give JGG.'s appreciation of the pron. The (r), as usual, must be considered as (r^o).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b₁a₁k. 4 t₁a₁k. 5 m₁a₁k. 6 m₁ā₁d. 7 s₁a₁k. 8 hev. 9 b₁hēe₁v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 naa. 14 d₁raa. 15 aa. 16 daan. 17 laa. 19 t₁a₁l. 20 l₁a₁m. 21 n₁a₁m. 22 t₁a₁m. 23 s₁a₁m. 24 sh₁a₁m. 25 m₁a₁n. 27 n₁a₁v. 28 hēer. 31 l₁a₁t. 32 bēedh. 33 raa₁dē₁r. 34 la₁st. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 [(ku) for come used]. 40 kē₁em. 41 th₁a₁qk. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 47 wa₁dē₁r. 48 sa₁q. 50 tēēqz. 51 ma₁n. 54 want. 56 wesh. 57 a₁s. A: or O: 58 frēe. 59 la₁m. 60 la₁q. 61 e₁ma₁q. 62 s₁t₁ra₁q. 63 th₁ra₁q. 64 ra₁q. 65 sa₁q. 66 thoq [(whia₁q) commoner].

A'- 67 ga₁n. 69 n₁i₁a₁. 70 t₁i₁a₁. 71 waa. 72 wh₁i₁a₁. 73 s₁i₁a₁. 74 tw₁i₁a₁. 75 strook. 76 t₁i₁a₁d. 77 lēard [see 85]. 78 aa. 79 aan. 80 ha₁l₁ dē. 81 ii. lonen. 83 m₁i₁a₁n moon. 84 mēer [see 85]. 85 sēer [described by JGG as *ō* in *kōnig*]. 86 i₁a₁ts oots. 87 kl₁a₁s. 88 klēid. 89 h₁i₁a₁th. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 s₁a₁d. 99 thraan. 100 saan.

A': 101 i₁a₁k. 102 a₁ks. 104 rood. 105 r₁i₁a₁d. 106 br₁i₁a₁d. 107 l₁i₁a₁f. 110 i. n₁ā₁ut, ii. nō't. 111 ā₁ut. 113 jh₁i₁a₁l. 115 jh₁i₁a₁m. 118 b₁i₁a₁n. 121 g₁i₁a₁n. 122 n₁i₁a₁n. 124 st₁i₁a₁n. 125 [(nobet) used]. 127 hēars [? see 85]. 129 goost. 131 goot. 132 het. 133 r₁i₁a₁t. 134 ooth. 135 kl₁i₁a₁th.

Æ- 138 fa₁dher. 139 drēe. 140 heel. 141 neel. 142 snā₁i'l. 143 teel. 144 e₁g₁a₁n. 145 sleen. 146 meen. 147 breen. 148 feer. 150 l₁i₁st. 152 wa₁tē₁r. 153 sē₁tē₁rde.

Æ: 155 th₁i₁k. 157 ri₁a₁v'n. 158 e₁tē₁r. 160 e₁g. 161 dēe. 163 [(wēz ligen) was lying, used]. 164 mee. 165 sēd. 167 d₁a₁l. 168 ta₁lg. 169 when. 170 haari₁st. 171 beerlē. 172 gēōers. 173 wa₁s. 174 ēsh. 175 fa₁st. 179 wha₁t. 180 baa₁th. 181 peeth [(trod) common].

Æ'- 182 sēi. 184 lēid. 185 ri₁i₁d. 186 brēid. 187 lēiv. 189 wēe₁i. 190 kee₁i k₁a₁i k₁aa₁i. 191 hēil. 192 mēin. 193 klēin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 waaron. 197 t₁ēiiz. 200 whēit. 201 hēiidh'n. 202 hēit.

Æ': 203 spēiit₁. 204 dēid. 205 thrēid. 206 red. 207 nēid'l. 210 klee. 211 grēe. 212 wēe. 215 taat tā₁ut. 216 dēil. 218 shēiip. 219 slēiip. 221 fēiier. 222 hēer. 223 dheer. 224 whaar. 225 flesh. 226 m₁i₁a₁st. 227 wet. 228 swēit. 229 brēiith. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 brēik brīk. 233 spēik. 235 wēiiv. 236 fēiiver. 238 he₁dd₁. 239 seel. 241 reen. 243 pleē [leek) also used]. 246 i. kwēin. 247 [(sp₁i₁a₁n) used]. 248 mēiier. 249 wēiier. 250 swēiier. 251 mēiit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edd₁. 259 wedd₁. 260 lāai. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 267 jēil'd. 268 eldist. 270 i. belēs, ii. beli. 272 el'm. 273 men. 274 bēnsh. 276 thēqk. 280 clēiiv'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 283 mē₁ri. 284 thresh. 286 ha₁rē. 287 buzem. 288 let. E'- 289 jēi i jē. 290 hēi hēi. 292 mēi mēi. 293 wēi wi wē. 294 fēid. 295 brēid. 296 blēiiv. 298 fēil. 299 grēin. 300 kēiip. 302 mēiit. 303 swēiit. E': 305 hēi. 306 hēiit. 307 nāai. 308 nēid. 309 spēid. 310 hēil. 311 ten. 312 hēiier. 314 haard. 315 fēiit.

EA- 319 giáp. 320 kaar. EA: 321 saa. 022 la₁f. 323 fá₁ut. 324 ée₁it. 325 waak. 326 aad. 327 bá₁u'd. 328 kaad. 329 faad. 330 haad. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [telt] used]. 333 kaa₁f. 334 haaf. 335 aal. 336 faal. 337 waal, waa. 340 i. JEERd. 342 EERM. 343 WEERM. 345 daar. 346 ja₁t. EA'- 347 héi₁d. 348 éi₁ [pl. (éi₁n)]. 349 fiéu. EA': 350 déi₁d. 351 léi₁d. 352 réi₁d. 353 bréi₁d. 354 shaaf. 355 déi₁f di₁f. 356 léi₁f. 357 dhoo. 359 náiber. 360 téim. 361 béin. 363 tjeip. 365 néier. 366 gri₁t. 367 thre₁it. 368 déi₁th, di₁th. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 straa.

EI- 372 ée₁it. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 376 beet. EI: 377 stjá₁k. 378 we₁k. 382 dheer. EO- 383 séi₁v'n. 384 héi₁v'n. 385 en₁u₁de₁r. 386 je₁u₁. 387 niú. EO: 388 málk. 390 sud. 393 e₁ont. 396 waark. 397 sũord. 398 staarv. 399 bréi₁t. 400 jœornist. 402 laarn. 403 faa₁r. 404 staa₁r. 405 haar₁th. 406 jœorth. 407 faa₁r'd'n. 408 niú. EO'- 409 béi₁. 411 thre₁i. 412 shi₁i shi₁ shv. 413 déi₁v'l. 414 fléi₁. 415 léi₁. 416 déi₁er. 417 tje₁u₁. 418 bruu. 420 fœuer. EO': 423 théi₁. 424 ru₁f. 425 léi₁t. 426 fœ'it. 427 béi₁. 428 séi₁. 430 frin'd. 431 béi₁er. 432 fœu₁rt. 433 bri₁st. 434 bet béi₁t. 435 jii₁ je. 436 triuu. 437 tjei₁th. EY- 438 déi. EY: 439 tru₁st.

I- 440 wéi₁k. 441 séi₁v. 442 haaiv₁n. 443 frœ'idv. 444 stéi₁l. 446 néi₁n. 448 dhœoz. 449 git. 450 tiúuzdv. 551 siú. I: 452 aa a v. 454 witj. 455 lig. 457 méi₁t. 458 néi₁t. 459 réi₁t. 462 séi₁t. 464 whilk. 465 saa₁k. 466 [baarn) used]. 467 waa₁i'd. 468 tjeidded. 472 skriqk [(w₁n u₁p) used of woollen cloth]. 473 blind. 474 rœ'in'd. 475 wœind wind. 476 bind [pp. (bu₁nd)]. 477 find [pt. fa₁nd], pp. (fu₁nd)]. 478 grœind. 479 wœu [pt. (wa₁n) pp. (wu₁n)]. 481 tiqer. 484 dhœs. 485 thris'l. 486 jist. 487 jisterdv. 488 jit. I'- 490 baa₁ bi. 493 drœaiv. 494 tœ'im. 496 aairn. 498 rœ'it. I': 500 lœ'k. 501 wœ'id. 502 fœaiv. 503 lœ'if. 504 nœ'if. 505 wœ'if. 506 wu₁men. 507 wu₁min. 508 maa₁il. 509 whaa₁il. 511 wœ'in. 513 wœair. 514 œ'is. 515 aœiz. 516 wizdem. 517 jœu.

O- 520 béuu. 521 fool. 522 op'n. 523 hœ'up. 524 wœr'l'd. O: 526 kaa₁f kœ'u. 527 brœ'ut. 528 thœ'ut. 529 brœ'ut. 530 wrœut. 531 dœ'uter. 532 kool. 533 dœl [not (du₁l)]. 534 hool. 536 gœ'u'd. 537 mœ'u'd. 538 wad. 539 bœ'u'd. 540 holin. 542 bœ'ult. 545 hop. 547 bæord. 548 fœord [(wath) common]. 549 hæord. 550 wœœord. 552 kœœrn. 553 hæœrn. 554 krœs. O'- 555 shœ'uu shœ'uu. 556 tœ [unacc.]. 557 tœi₁ tœi₁v. 558 lœik. 559 mu₁dher. 561 blœum. 562 mœun. 563 mu₁nde. 564 sœan. 565 nooz. 566 u₁dher. O': 569 biœk. 570 tœak. 571 gud. 572 blœu'd. 573 flœud. 574 briœd. 575 stœad. 576 wed'nzdv. 577 béuu. 578 plœuf. 579 enœuf. 580 tœuf. 581 sœ'ut. 582 kœul. 583 tœul. 584 stœal. 586 dœi₁ dœi₁v. 587 dœun. 588 nœun. 589 spœan. 591 mœ'uer. 592 swœier. 593 [(mu₁n, men) used]. 594 biœt. 595 fœt. 596 riœt. 597 siœt.

U- 599 œbœan. 600 lu₁v. 601 féul. 602 séu. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 déuer. 607 bu₁ter. U: 608 uglœ. 609 ful'. 610 wœ₁u. 612 su₁m. 613 dru₁qk. 614 hu₁n'd. 615 pu₁n'd. 616 gru₁n'd. 617 séuun'd. 618 wœuun'd. 619 fu₁n'd. 620 gru₁n'd. 622 u₁n₁de₁r. 625 tuq. 626 hu₁qer. 629 su₁n. 631 thœrzdœ. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 thrœ₁u. 635 wœœorth. 637 tu₁sk tu₁sh. 638 bu₁sk. 639 dœ₁st [(stœuer) used]. U'- 640 kéuu. 641 héuu. 642 dhœuu. 643 néuu. 645 dœ₁v. 646 béuu. 647 œuul. 648 œuur [also (œz) enclitic]. 649 thœuuzend. 652 kud. 653 bu₁t. U': 654 shrœund. 656 réuun. 657 brœuun. 658 déuun. 659 téuun. 661 shœuur. 662 hœz. 663 hœuus. 664 léuus. 665 méuus. 666 hu₁zbend. 667 œuut. 668 prœuud. 671 méuuth. 672 séuuth sœ₁u.

Y- 673 mik'l. 674 did dud. 676 lœi. 677 drœai. 678 din. 679 kjœœrk. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midl. 684 brig. 685 rœg. 686 bœai. 687 flœi. 689 bi'd. 690 kœ'ind. 691 mœ'ind. 693 sin. 694 wœœrk. 696 bæœorth. 697 beri. 699 réi₁t. 700 wœœors. 701 fœœorst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 skœai. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 thœtœiin. 708 hœaier. Y': 709 fœaier. 711 lœ'is. 712 mœ'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 bréiidh. 748 fligd. O. 761 lí₁a₁d. 770 [(má₁udi-waarp) used].

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 réin. O.. 948 béuul.

VAR. iia, NORTH LA. cwl.

Lonsdale south of the Sands.

This is made up from the following sources:—

Unmarked words. Heysham (iisem), (4 w.Lancaster), from a partial wl. in io. by the Rector, Rev. C. T. Royds, who when sending it had had 12 years' acquaintance with the speech, conjecturally pal. by AJE. The (i₁i, ú₁u, ee, EE, er, e₁r) are uncertain in many words.

H wn. by TH., Lancaster, Cockerham (6 s-by-w.Lancaster), Hornby (8 ne. Lancaster), and Caton (4 ene.Lancaster).

The words from these several places not being enough to distinguish local forms, they are here collected in one list without any separation. It may be assumed that the whole of this ne.La., or Lonsdale s. of the Sands, has a similar pron.

The (r) is probably (r^c) throughout. TH.'s medial second elements of diphthongs and suspended final consonants, although constantly marked by him, have, in accordance with my general rule, not been indicated, either here, or in the next cwl., see pp. 316, 317.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 tek, H tak. 12 soo. 14 droo. 20 leem, H leem. 21 neem. 24 sham. 31 H léet. A: 46 kan'l. 56 wesh, H wash. A; or O: 60 H laq. 61 emaq. 62 H s₁traq. 63 thraq. 64 ruq, H raq. A'- 67 gee, H gu gúe. 76 túed. 87 kléeez. 89 bieth. 91 maa. 92 naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. A': 101 jek. 106 H braad. 115 H ûem, úem. 117 jan, H wan. 121 giem, H ga'n. 123 [H (nóut) used].

Æ- 138 fader, H fadher. 152 H wa₁ter. Æ: 155 thak. 167 diel. 172 gres. Æ'- 182 H sie. 190 H kje'i. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 218 shi₁ip. 224 H wier.

E- 232 brèk. — H e'it [to eat]. 251 H me'it. 255 we₁ter. E: 262 H wee. — i₁ilz [fields]. 284 thresh. E'- 290 i₁i, H i₁i. 292 m₁i. E': 305 H e'i. 312 H ier. 315 H iit.

EA: 326 H óud. 328 H kóud. 330 haad hod, H od. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 336 faa. 337 woo waa. 346 H gjæ't. EA'- 347 hiied. EA': 350 H diéd. EO- 386 háu. EO: 395 juq. 402 H larn. EO'- 417 t₁ig. 420 H fóer fóuer. EO': 422 sik. 424 H ra₁f ru₁kh. 425 liit.

I- 440 H wíik. I: 458 niit. 459 reit riit. 468 H t₁il₁der. 477 find. 478 grind. 484 H dhis. I'- 492 H sáid. I': 502 H fáiv. 508 H máil.

O- 519 óuer, H over. 521 fóoil. 522 H op'n. O: 529 bróut. 532 kóoil. 534 hóoil. O'- 558 H læ'uk lek. 559 H mu₁dher modher. 560 H skuul. O': 571 gud, H gu₁d. 577 buu. 578 plu. 579 H enu₁f. 586 H de'u du. 588 H nuun.

U- 600 lu₁v. 603 ku₁men, H ku₁m. 605 sèn. 606 H dúer dúuer. 607 bu₁ter, H bu₁ter. U: 608 ugli. 612 H su₁m. 613 H d₁ru₁qk. 622 H u₁n₁der. 626 ugger, H u₁qer. 629 sun. 632 H u₁p. 633 kup. 639 du₁st. U'- 641 H an. 642 dhau. 643 H nan. 648 wer [unaccented]. 650 H ebaut. U': 658 H dāun. 663 háus, H áus.

Y- 682 lâil lit'l. Y: 684 H brig. 702 H widh.

VAR. iib, FURNESS AND CARTMEL cwl.

Lonsdale north of the Sands.

This district I divide into three groups, C, U, and B. The information is derived from wn. by TH. in 1877 and 1881.

C Lower Holker (:òuker), and Cark (5 e-by-s.Ulverston), see also p. 558, No. 4. I reject the words of Mrs. Betty Butler, b. in 1797, near Grasmere, who had come to Cartmel at 6 years old, because the pron. seemed to be a mixture of Grasmere and Cartmel.

U Ulverston.

B Broughton-in-Furness (7 nw. Ulverston), see also p. 553, for a dt. from Broughton. The pron. here had not altered from 1861 to 1881. Together with High Nibthwaite (7 n-by-e.Ulverston), at the s. part of Coniston Water, and Coniston, from TH.'s wn.

E This belongs to the preceding group, but is taken from Mr. Ellwood's wl. for Coniston, Hawkshead (3 e.Con.), Seathwaite (5 w-by-s.Con.), Torver (2 ssw.Con.), Ulpha (7 sw.Con.), Broughton-in-Furness, Kirby Lowick (7 ssw.Con.), and the higher parts of Colton (7 s.Con.), as read to me by Miss M. A. Bell, native of Coniston, introduced by Mr. Ellwood. The *r* final or before consonants is uncertain, probably (*r*^c). The dentality of *tr*-, *dr*- was so uncertain, and, if it really occurred, slight, that I do not mark it. The (iá) did not sound to me like (iá). Miss Bell belonged to the younger generation in pron. The vowel in 172 *girse*=grass, seemed to be (a), but it was difficult to identify. I seemed generally to hear (ee) rather than (ee). No aspirate heard. The diphthongs (a'i, a'u) sounded to me most like (ái, óu), and the former seemed to become (ái) before voiced consonants, see No. 502 and 505, but Miss B. did not acknowledge any difference. The (óu) sounded at first like (á'u), but I found it difficult to determine, and have therefore used (óu).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 E bíák. 4 E tak. 5 C m'á'k. 6 E m'íád. 7 E síák. 8 E hev. 10 E haa. 12 E saa. 14 B d'roo, E draa. 17 B loo, E laa. 19 E t'íál. 20 C léem, E lém [ʔ (léem) *leaam*]. 21 C néem, B néa'm neem, E n'íám [ʔ (néem) *neaam*]. 22 E t'íám, written *teaam*. 23 E síám. 24 E sham. 25 E m'íán. 27 E n'íáv. 28 E jaar. 31 C B l'èet, E l'íát. 33 E reeder. 35 E aal. 36 E thaa thóv [both used]. 37 E klaa.

A- 39 E kom. 40 E k'áem. 46 E kan'l. 47 E wander. 50 E taqz. 56 CE wesh.

A: or O: 58 E fre. 59 E lam. 60 C laq, BE laq. 61 E vmaq. 62 E s'traq. 63 E thraq. 64 B roq, BE raq. 65 E saq.

A'- 67 C g'áin, UB gaan [going], E gaa. 69 m'á. 70 E t'íú. 72 E waa. 73 C B s'úv, E síá [and (s'úv)]. 74 C t'íu, E tuu [must be modern]. 78 E aa. 79 BE aan. 80 E alide. 81 E lián lonin [but (l'áen) as in Mr. E's *loan* was known]. 82 CB jans. 84 B m'eer, E m'íar. 85 E s'ár. 86 C óuts [E (aver) used]. 87 C t'íéz, E klíáz. 89 C b'éuth bíá'th, E bíáth. 90 E blaa. 92 C naa. 93 E naa [(ken) in sense of *connaitre*]. 94 E kraa. 95 E thraa. 96 E saa. 97 E sózl. 98 E naan. 99 E thraan. 100 E saan.

A': 101 E jak. 102 E eks. 104 CE r'úed. 105 E r'íád. 106 E br'íád. 107 E l'íáf [(l'á,áf) more common]. 108 [E paste (p'íást) used]. 109 laa. 110 E n'ót [Mr. E. had written *nirt*]. 113 C úel, E jal. 114 E mool. 115 CUB jàm, E j'íám. 117 C t'íév [the one], jà ee, B jàn. 118 b'íán. 121 E gan [(gaan) going]. 122 CB n'ée[n], C n'iv, B n'iv, E n'in. 123 [E n'óut used]. 124 B st'ea n st'ien, E st'íán. 125 E [(nobbut) used]. 127 E oos [so Miss Bell, but Mr. E. wrote *huorse*]. 128 E d'hoor [used]. 129 E goost. 130 E b'úet. 131 E g'úet. 132 j'íát. 133 BE r'íá't. 134 E ooth. 135 E [(kl'óut) used].

Æ- 138 CU fadh'er, CE fa'd'ar. 141 E n'íel. 142 E sn'íal. 143 E teel [obs. these last three forms]. 144 E vgeen. 148 E feer. 149 E bl'iez. 150

E lîest. 152 CBE wa_ter [(t) uncertain from Miss Bell]. 153 CUBE se_ter_de, [the (t_r) uncertain from Miss B.].

Æ: 158 BE e_ter. 161 CUB dee, BE dee. 164 E mee. 166 [E lass used]. 167 B dèel, E d_äl. 169 E wen. 170 E harest [Miss Bell had heard this only from an old farmer, generally (aavest)]. 172 CBE gars', E g_ärs. 173 C waz wuz, E woz. 174 E esh. 179 E wat.

Æ': 182 E sii. 183 E tiétj. 184 E liéd. 187 E liév. 188 E nee. 189 E wéi. 190 E kéi. 191 E iél. 193 CBE thiin. 195 E meni [Miss B. did not know (man_i)]. 197 E tjiiz. 199 E bliet, bliek. 200 UBE wiet. 201 E eedh'n. 205 E thriéd. 209 C niver. 210 E klee. 211 E gree. 213 E eeder. 215 [E (laarnt) used]. 222 E jaar. 223 E dhier. 224 UBE wår. 225 CE flesh [Mr. E. writes *fleys*, *fleigsh*]. 226 C miá'st, E miást. 227 E wet. 228 E swiet. 230 C fa_ter [fatter].

E- 232 E brik [brak brok'n]. 233 C spíák B spíek. 234 E níed. — B we_der [weather]. 235 E wíev. 236 E feever. 237 E bleen. 238 [E (dák) used]. 239 E seel. 241 BE reen. 243 [E (leek) used]. 247 E wíán [(spíán) also used]. 248 E míer. 249 E wíár. 250 E swíer. 251 CU miét, E miét [probably (miát) was meant]. 252 E ket'l.

E: 260 E lig. 261 CE see. 262 U wee, E wee. 265 E street. 268 E eldst, aaldst [used indifferently]. 270 E beles. 272 E el'm. 278 E [not used]. 280 E ele_b'n. 281 E lenth. 282 E strenth. 284 E thresh threesh [both common]. 287 E biiz'm.

E'- 290 BE i. 294 CU fid. 299 B griin. 301 E íer. 302 E miit. 303 E swiit. 304 E biit'l. E': 305 C e'i, E éi. 306 E áit. 312 E íer. 314 BN árd ierd, E aad. 315 E fit.

EA- 317 [E used only in the sense of frighten as a (flee₋kraa), a scarecrow]. 319 E g_äp. 320 E kíár. EA: 321 BE saa. 322 BE laf. 323 E fóut. 324 E éit. 326 CNB aad, CB áld, E aald ald. 327 E bóuld. 328 C kaad kaad, E kaald. 329 E faald. 330 E od. 331 E selt. 332 B tóud, E telt. 333 C kóf, E koof. 334 C AAV áf, E oof. 335 CBE oo. 336 E foo. 337 E woo. 342 E aarm. 343 CE wårn. 345 C a dàr see [I dare say], E daar. 346 B gjeet, E jiet.

EA'- 347 CUBE íed. 348 E ái áiz [Miss B. did not recollect hearing (i_{in})]. 349 E fiu. EA': 350 UE diéd. 351 E líed. 352 E red. 353 E briéd. 354 E shíef. 355 E díef. 356 E líef. 357 [E (for oo) for all, used]. 359 E neber. 360 E t_{iem}. 361 E bíen. 365 C nar' níerdher [nearer]. 366 CB gart, E g_ärt. 367 E thret. 368 E díeth. — C d_äu [dew]. 369 E slaa. 370 E raa. 371 E stríe.

EI- 372 C ái ái, E ee. EI: 377 E stíák. 378 E week. EO- 383 E seb'n. 386 E jóu. 387 CBE nú. EO: 388 E málk. 393 E wjont, bi_jont. 396 E waark. 397 E súerd. 399 E brit. 402 CUBE lårn. 405 E aarth. 406 E æarth [probably]. 411 CBE thrii. 413 E dívil. 414 E flii. 415 E lii. 417 E tjéu. 420 BE fóuer. EO': 423 E thii. 424 E ru_f. 425 E lit. 426 C fe'it, E íet [no (i) heard, but Mr. E. wrote *feight*]. 428 CE sii. 430 E frind. 432 E fóart. 433 E brest. 434 E bíut [also (breet) brayed used]. 435 B jù. 436 B t_rú, E trú. EY- 438 CUBE dii [Miss B. inclined to (d_éi), but in other words I did not hear (i_i), and hence leave (i_i)].

I- 440 E wík. 442 E áivi. 444 E stií [Miss B, Mr. E. added (-l)]. 446 E náin. 449 E gít. 451 E soo. I: 452 E ái a. 455 E lig. 458 CB nít', E nit. 459 B réit', E rít [so Miss B., written *reet*]. 460 E wéit. 462 E sít. 464 E wítj. 465 CE sík [Mr. E. (sek)]. 466 [E (bårn) used]. 471 E tímer. 472 E shriqk. 475 CE wind [Miss B. added (-d), Mr. E. omitted it]. 477 E fínd [as 675]. 478 E gr_än. 481 E tíqer. 485 E this'l. 486 E j_{est}. 487 B j_{ist}er_de, E j_{est}er_de. 488 C jít, E jet.

I'- 491 E sái. 492 C sáid. 493 E dráiv. 494 E táim. 496 E áirn. 499 E biit'l. I': 500 E lák. 501 E wáid. 502 C fáiv. 503 E láif. 504 E náif. 505 E wáif [but (wáivz) nearly, and so for five, knives]. 508 E máil. 509 B wáil, E wáil. 511 E wáin. 513 E wáir. 514 E áis. 515 E wáiz. 517 E júu.

O- 519 CE úer. 520 E bóu. 521 E fúel. 522 C op'n, E op'n. 523 E úap.

O: 526 E kóuf. 527 CUBE bóut. 528 CE thóut. 529 E bróut. 530 U ra'nt, E róut. 531 CUB dóut't'v, E dóuter. 532 CUE kúel. 533 E du₁l. 534 E úel. 536 E góuld. 537 E móuld. 539 E bóul. 540 E olín. 542 E bóut. 544 C dhen. 547 E búerd. 548 E fáurd. 549 E úed. 552 E korn [(kuurn) old-fashioned].

O'- 555 CBE shuu. 556 E díu. 557 C tíu [Miss B. said *too* was replaced by [en oo] and all]. 558 E líek. 559 C mudher, B mu₁d'v, E mu₁der. 561 E bluun. 562 C máun, BE muun, E mien. 563 C mōnde. 564 CUE síen. 565 BE núez. 566 C enu₁d'v, B enu₁d'v, E u₁der. 567 C tu₁dher.

O': 569 E bu₁k. 570 E tiák. 571 BE gu₁d. 572 E blád. 577 E buu. 578 C pláu, E plu. 579 E enu₁f [pl. (enu₁) known]. 580 E tóuf. 581 E sóut. 583 E tiel. 584 E stiel. 585 E briem. 586 CB dí₁u. 587 BE dùn. 588 BE nién. 589 E spien [but (te spían) to spoon-feed or wean]. 590 E flúer. 592 [E (swiâr) is for sware]. 593 [E (mu₁n) used]. 594 E buut. 595 E fu₁t. 596 E riát. 597 E siet.

U- 599 E ebúun ebuun. 600 E lu₁v. 601 E fól. 602 E suu. 603 B kòm kum, E ku₁m. 605 C sun, B sù₁n sùn, E su₁n [the same as 629, no difference felt]. 606 C dúuer, BE dúv. 607 C bú₁te₁r.

U: 609 E fu₁l. 610 E wuu. 612 C sù₁m, B sùm, E su₁m. 614 E óund. 615 C póund, B pu₁nd, E pu₁nd. 616 E gr₁nd. 617 E sóund. 618 E wóund. 620 E gr₁nd. 622 E u₁nder. 625 E tu₁q. 626 B uqer [': u qer], E u₁qer. 629 E su₁n [the same as 605, Miss B. felt no difference]. 631 CU tha'rzde, E thorzde. 632 B u₁p, up. 634 E thruu.

U'- 640 CBE kóu [B (kón)es'] cowhouse]. 641 CE óu. 642 E dhóu. 643 C ná'v, BE nóu. 646 E bóu. 647 E u₁let. 648 E óu. 649 B thóuzen. 652 E ku₁d. 653 E bu₁t.

U': 654 BE shróud. 655 E fól. 656 E róum [old-fashioned]. 657 E bróun. 658 E dóun. 659 E tóun. 661 E shóur. 662 E u₁z. 663 C óus óus, UB óus, E óus. 666 [E (man) used]. 667 CE óut.

Y- 673 E mu₁ti [but in asking the price, (óu mít) how much?]. 674 E did'. 677 E drái. 679 E t₁p₁rt₁ [kirk not used]. 681 [E (thraq) used]. 682 CB láil, E láil. Y: 684 E bríg. 685 [E (rigin) roofing used]. 687 E flit. 689 E bíld. 690 E káind. 691 E máind. 694 CBE wàrk. 697 E berí. 699 E riit. 700 E waars. 701 C fast, E f₁rst. Y'- 705 E skái. 706 E wái [=well, but in asking a question always (wat for)]. Y': 712 E máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 733 E skaar. 736 CB las. 740 E weev. E. 743 E skríem. 744 E mez'lz. 745 E t₁íat. I. and Y. 753 [E (kít'l) used]. 754 C pig. 756 B shrímp. O. 761 E liád. 766 E móiderd [occasionally used]. 767 E nóiz. 769 E móudiwaarp. 772 E bíentáir. 774 E póuni. 778 E efuurd. 790 E góun. U. 804 E dru₁k'n. 805 E kru₁dz.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 E jab'l jeb'l. 810 E fías. 811 E plías. 813 E bekín. 818 [Mr. E. wrote *yeye* (jiidi) apparently, but Miss B. did not know it]. 822 E mee. 824 E tjeer. 830 E treen. 832 E meer. 833 CBE pàr. 835 E ríez'n. 836 E síez'n. — C skiáls [scarce]. 845 E eenshent. 847 E deendjer. 849 E streendjer. 852 E eepren. 857 E kíás. — C shiát [slate]. 860 E p₁ást. 861 E t₁ást. 862 E síáf. 864 E kos. 865 E faat. 866 E p₁uer.

E.. 867 CE tii. 869 E víel. 874 E réen. 875 E fent. 879 E fimeel. 885 CUB vare. 887 E klaardi. 888 E saartín. 890 C bias [pl.]. 892 E nefi. 894 E disiiv. 895 E risiiv.

I.. and Y.. 901 C fáin. 903 E dáin. 904 E váivlet. 910 E d₁áist. 911 E sistern.

O.. 913 E k₁etj. 914 E brootj. 918 E feeb'l. 919 E óintment. 920 E póint. 924 E t₁óis. 925 E vóis. 926 E spóil. 928 E óuns. 929 E kóukemer. 939 E kl₁es. 940 E k₁et. 941 E fuul. 947 E bóil. 948 E bóul. 952 E kúers. 957 E emplóí.

U.. 960 E kee. 963 E kwáivt. 965 E óil. 968 E óister. 970 E d₁u₁st.

VAR. iii, DENT AND HOWGILL cwl.

- D Dent, Yo., Var. iii, form *b*, see 22 interlinear cs. No. 7, p. 558, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Messrs. Parrington and Metcalf, respectively 35 and 22 years acquainted with the dialect. This form has $U' = (\acute{a}u)$.
- H Howgill (:hóugil) (3 nnw.Sedberg), Yo., Var. iii, form *c*, p. 559, No. 8, pal. by JGG. from the dictation of Mr. Best, then of Kirkby Thore (:kərbɪl :fɪʊə,r) (4 nw.Appleby, We.), who had previously lived 50 years in Howgill. Mr. Best, in January, 1878, read some of the principal words of this list to AJE., who was thus able to verify JGG.'s appreciation. The (r) was trilled slightly, it was more than (r°). This form has $U' = (\acute{u}u)$.

No initial prefixed indicates that the pron. is the same in both cases. The vowel (*i*¹) is not distinguished from (*i*). The fractures (*éi*, *i*¹*i*) are usually written (*éî*, *i*¹*î*), the second element being taken medial instead of long, and so in other cases.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *bí*₁*a*₁*k*. 4 *ta*₁*k*. 5 *ma*₁*k*. 6 *mí*₁*a*₁*d*. 7 *sí*₁*a*₁*k*. 8 D *hev*, H *híev*. 9 D *bí*₁*hí*₁*áv*, H *bí*₁*héev*. 10 *haa*. 12 *saa*. 13 H *naa*. 14 H *d*₁*raa*. 15 D *íaa*, H *aa*. 16 H *daa*. 17 *laa*. 18 *kí*₁*á*₁*k*. 19 *tí*₁*a*₁*l*. 20 *lí*₁*a*₁*m*. 21 *ní*₁*á*₁*m*. 22 *tí*₁*á*₁*m*. 23 H *sí*₁*á*₁*m*. 24 *sha*₁*m*. 25 *mí*₁*án*. 26 H [(les'n) used]. 27 D *nhí*₁*a*₁*v*, H *ní*₁*á*₁*v*. 28 D *híia*₁*r*, H *híier*. 30 D *kí*₁*á*₁*r*, H *kíier*. 31 *lí*₁*a*₁*t*. 32 H *beedh*. 33 D *ree*₁*d*₁*r*, H *reedher*. 34 *last*. 35 D *Aal*, H *ú*₁*el*. 36 D *thaa*, H *thóu*. 37 *klaa*.

A: 40 D *kí*₁*ám*, H *kú*₁*am*. 41 *theqk*. 43 *han*'d. 44 *lan*'d. 46 *ka*₁*n*'l'. 48 *saq*'. 50 *taq*'z. 51 *ma*₁*n*. 53 *kan*'. 54 *want*. 55 *as*. 57 *as*.

A: or O: 58 *free*. 59 *la*₁*m*. 60 *la*₁*q*'. 61 H *ema*₁*q*. 62 *st*₁*ra*₁*q*. 63 *thraq*. 64 *raq* *era*'q, D *w*'*raq*. 65 *saq*. 66 D *waq*, H *whaq*.

A'- 67 [(gaq) used]. 69 *ní*₁*á*₁. 70 *tí*₁*á*₁. 71 *wí*₁*á*₁. 72 D *wí*₁*á*₁, H *whí*₁*á*₁ *whaa*. 73 *sí*₁*á*₁. 74 D *tuu*, H *twí*₁*á*₁ *thú*₁*u*. 75 D *st*₁*rook*, H *st*₁*rú*₁*ek*. 76 *tí*₁*á*₁*d*. 77 D *lord*, H *lórd*. 79 *aan*. 80 *halidv*. 81 D *lwú*₁*en*, H *lú*₁*en*. 83 D *mí*₁*á*₁*n*, H *mí*₁*en*. 84 D *mí*₁*á*₁*r*, H *meer*. 85 D *síu*₁*r*, H *síá*₁*r*. 86 *ú*₁*ets*. 87 *klí*₁*á*₁*z*. 88 *klí*₁*a*₁*dh*. 89 *bí*₁*á*₁*th*. 90 *blaa*. 91 *maa*. 92 D *nhaa*, H *naa*. 93 *snaa*. 94 *kraa*. 95 *thraa*. 96 *saa*. 97 *sól*. 98 D *nhaan*, H *naan*. 100 *sóm*.

A': 101 *í*₁*a*₁*k*. 102 *eks*. 104 D *rwú*₁*ed*, H *rú*₁*ed*. 106 *brí*₁*ád*. 107 *lí*₁*áf*. 108 [(pí₁á₁st) used]. 109 *laa*. 111 *ót*. 113 *hí*₁*á*₁*l*'. 115 *hí*₁*á*₁*m*. 118 H *bí*₁*á*₁*n*. 122 D *ní*₁*á*₁*n*, H *nu*₁*n*. 123 [(nóut) used]. 124 *stí*₁*á*₁*n*. 127 H *hòrs*. 128 [(dhem) used]. 129 D *gí*₁*á*₁*st*, H *gú*₁*est*. 130 *bú*₁*et*. 133 D *wrí*₁*á*₁*t*, H *rí*₁*á*₁*t*. 134 *í*₁*á*₁*th* [also H (óoth)]. 135 *klí*₁*á*₁*th*.

Æ- 138 D *faddh*₁*r*. 140 D *hèl*, H *héeel*. 142 D *snéil*, H *snéel*. 144 D *vegen*, H *egí*₁*án*. 146 *meen*. 147 *breen*. 148 *feer*. 149 D *bliiez*, H *bleez*. 150 *líest*. 152 *wa*₁*t*₁*r*. 153 *se*₁*t*₁*rdv*.

Æ: 155 *tha*₁*k*. 157 *rí*₁*á*₁*v*'n. 158 *ef*₁*t*₁*r*. 160 *eg*. 161 *dee*. 164 *mee*. 165 *sed*. 167 *dí*₁*á*₁*l*. 168 *ta*₁*lv*. 169 D *wen*, H when [almost (wen)]. 170 *hàrvist* [(harist) about Kirkby Thore]. 171 *baarli*. 172 *gæ*₁*rs*. 173 *waz* [emph.]. 174 *esh*. 175 *fast*. 179 D *wat*, H *what*. 181 [(trod) used].

Æ'- 183 *tíet*₁. 184 *líed*. 185 D *reíd*, H *rí*₁*id*. 186 *breedth*. 187 *líev*. 188 [D *wíni*], H (nini) used]. 189 H *wée*₁*i*. 190 D *kee*₁*i*. 191 *híiél*. 192 D *méin*, H *míen*. 193 D *kléin*, H *klíen*. 194 *eni*. 195 D *mani*, H *meni*. 196 *waar*. 197 D *tjéiz*. 199 D *bleet*, H *bleet*. 200 D *wíiet*, H *whíiet*. 202 *hí*₁*á*₁*t*.

Æ': 203 D *speit*₁, H *í*₁*i*. 204 D *déid*, H *dí*₁*id*. 205 D *thréid*, H *í*₁*i*. 207 D *néid*'l', H *í*₁*i*. 210 *klée*. 211 *gree*. 212 D *wée*, H *whee*. 213 D *ee*₁*d*₁*r*, H *eedher*. 215 H *tí*₁*et*. 216 *diel*. 217 [not used]. 218 D *shéip*, H *í*₁*i*. 219 D *sléip*, H *í*₁*i*. 221 *fú*₁*r*. 222 D *hí*₁*á*₁*r*, H *híer*. 223 D *dhí*₁*á*₁*r*, H -er. 224 D *waar*, H *whaar*. 226 *mí*₁*á*₁*st*. 227 *wet*. 228 *swíiet*. 229 D *breth*, H *brýth*. 230 *fa*₁*t*.

E- 232 D bry₁k, H (briik) occ.]. 233 spíiek. 234 níied. 235 wíiev. 236 feev₁r. 237 bleen. 238 [hed₁. 241 reen. 243 plee [on a fiddle, but (leek) at cards]. 246 ii. whíien [quean, female]. 248 míi₁r. 249 wíi₁r. 250 swíi₁r. 251 míiet. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 D leddh₁r, H le'd₁r. 255 D weddh₁r, H we'd₁r.

E: 257 ed₁ [pl. (ed'djiz)]. 259 wed₁ [pl. wed'djiz]. 261 see. 262 D wee¹, H wee. 264 eel'. 265 st₁ree₁it. 268 [á'l'dist) used]. 270 bele₁ beli. 272 el'm. 273 men. 274 D bíik. H bent₁. 276 thíik. 281 D leqth, H lenth. 282 D st₁reqth, H -nth. 283 my₁ri. 284 thresh. 285 kresh. 286 [hare. 287 D béiz'm, H í₁i. 288 let.

E'- 289 D íeí, H jíí. 290 D [héí, H híí. 291 D dhéí, H dhíí. 292 D méí, H míí. 293 D wéí, H wíí. 300 D kéíp, H íí. 301 D híi₁r, H híi₁r. 302 D méit, H míit. 303 D swéit, H íí. E': 305 héi, 306 D háit, H híit. 308 D néid, H íí. 309 D spéid, H íí. 310 D héil, H íí. 311 ten. 312 D héi₁r, H íí. 314 D haard, H híierd. 315 ííit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gíáp. 320 H kíi₁r. EA: 321 saa. 322 D láf, H laf. 323 fót. 324 ée₁it. 325 waak. 326 aal'd. 327 bóul'd. 328 kál'd. 329 D fól'd, H fál'd. 330 [hod. 331 [sel't) used]. 332 [tel't) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 [haaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 340 íæ₁rd. 342 ár'm. 343 wår'm. 345 D dá₁r, H daar. 346 D geet, H íet.

EA'- 347 [hiied. 348 D éí, H í, ii. 349 fíú.

EA: 350 díied. 351 líied. 352 D red, H riied. 353 briied. 354 shíief. 355 díief. 356 líief. 357 D dhoo [H replaced by far aa)]. 359 neeb₁r. 360 tíiem. 361 bíien. 363 tñiep. 365 níi₁r. 366 D g₁ært, H gríiet. 367 thriiet. 368 díieith. 369 slaa. 370 raa. 371 D st₁ri₁i, H st₁riië [this final (ë) is very short, and seems suddenly checked].

EI- 372 áíí. 373 dhee. 374 nee. 376 beet.

EI: 377 sté₁ák. 378 week. 382 D dhí₁á₁r, H dheer. EO- 383 sev'n. 384 [hev'n. 386 íou. EO: 388 míllhk [I did not hear the (lh) from Mr. Best myself]. 389 D íook, H íúek. 390 sud. 393 bíiont. 396 waark. 397 swæ₁rd. 398 staarv. 402 D líiern, H laar'n. 403 baar. 404 staar. 405 D [haa]sten, H [ha]sten [hearthstone, without which suffix hearth is never used]. 407 D faard'n, H fad'n. 408 D níû. EO'- 409 D béí, H bíí. 411 D thréí, H íí. 412 D shéí, H íí. 413 D dív'l, H di₁v'l. 414 D fléí, H íí. 315 D léí, H líí. 416 díi₁r. 417 D tñig, H tñóu. 418 bríû. 420 fóuer. 421 forti. EO': 423 D théí, H thíí. 424 ruí. 425 D léit, H íí. 426 fe'it. 427 D béí, H bíí. 428 D séí, H síí. 429 H ííind. 430 frynd. 431 bíi₁r. 432 fóurt. 433 D bry₁st, H bríiest. 434 bet. 435 íú₁u. 436 t₁riú. 437 t₁riúth. EY- 438 D déí, H díí. EY: 439 t₁ru₁st.

I- 440 D wéik, H wíik. 441 D siiv, H sív. 442 D áivín, H áivi. 444 D stéil, H stáil. 446 náin. 448 [H (dhu₁r) used]. 449 gít. 450 tíúzdí. 451 D soo, H síú.

I: 452 ái [emphatic], -i [enclitic], a- [proclitic]. 454 wíty. 455 lig. 457 máit. 458 D néit, H níit. 459 D réit, H íí. 460 D wééit, H wéit. 462 D séit, H íí. 464 whít. 465 D sáik, H sík. 466 [(baarn) used]. 467 wáild. 471 tím₁r. 473 blín'd. 475 D wáind, H wínd. 476 bínd. 477 fínd. 478 grynd [Nos. 475-8 make past tense in (-an'd), and past participle in (-u₁n)]. 479 H wínd. 481 fíq₁r. 485 thís'l. 486 iest. 487 D íy₁s₁t₁r₁rd, H íe-. 488 D íyt, H íet.

I'- 490 báí bí. 491 H sái. 493 dráiv. 494 táim. 496 áiren. 498 ráit. 499 H bíí'd'l.

I': 500 láik. 501 wáid. 502 fáiv. 503 láif. 504 D nháif, H n-. 505 H wáif. 506 wumun. 507 wímin. 508 máil. 509 D wáil, H wh-. 511 wáin. 513 wáiar. 514 áis. 515 wáiz. 516 wízdem. 517 D íú, H jíí.

O- 520 bóu. 521 D fú₁u₁el, H fú₁el. 522 D op'n, H op'n. 523 D [hoop, H [hú₁ep. 524 wor'l'd.

O: 526 D kaf, H kof. 527 bónt. 528 thónt. 529 brónt. 530 H rónt. 531 dóu₁t₁r. 532 D kú₁ut, H kú₁ut. 533 du₁. 534 D whú₁el, H [hú₁el. 536 góul'd. 537 mónd. 538 wad [emphatic]. 539 bóul'd. 540 D holín. 542 bónt. 545 [hop. 547 bú₁rd. 548 fú₁rd. 550 wu₁rd. 551 D stor'm, H stárm. 552 D kor'n, H kárm. 553 D [hor'n, H [hàrn. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shúu. 556 tē. 557 D túu, H tíu. 558 líuu. 559 D mu₁ddhur, H mu₁dur. 561 bláum. 562 máun. 563 mu₁ndu. 564 D síuu. 565 D nwóez, H núuez. 566 D u ddhur, H u₁dur.

O': 569 búuk. 570 tíuu. 571 gúud, H gíuud. 572 bluud, H bliuud. 573 flíuud, H flúud. 574 briuud. 575 D stíuáud, H stíuud. 576 wed'nudzu. 577 búu. 578 pláu. 579 D enuuf, H inuuf [sg. (inúu) pl.]. 580 D tóuf, H tuuf. 581 H sóut. 583 D túul, H tíuu. 584 D stúul, H stiúu. 585 D bráum. 586 díuu, H dúu. 587 diuu. 588 níuu. 589 D spáun, H spíuu. 590 flíuur. 591 D máuur. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 búut. 595 D íuut, H íuu. 596 H ríuu. 597 H síuu.

U- 599 D ebuuv. 600 luuv. 601 H fúul. 602 súu [approaching (sóu)]. 600 kuum. 605 suun. 606 diúur. 607 buut' tur.

U: 608 uugli. 609 fúul'. 610 D wuun, H wé'uu [this after flatus was nearly (wh) as I heard Mr. Best; but possibly this, as also (é'u), was an individuality]. 611 buulek. 612 suum. 613 duruqk. 614 H húun'd [I heard almost (hóuud), and pronunciation varied as (huun'd)]. 615 H puun'd. 616 gruun'd. 619 fúun'd. 622 D uundur. 625 tuuq. 626 huuqur. 629 suun. 631 thuurzde. 632 uup. 633 kuup. 634 D thrúu, H thré'u [perhaps an individuality]. 637 tuusk. 639 duust.

U'- [D has (áu), H (úu)]. 640 D káu, H kúu. 641 D háu, H húu. 642 D dháu, H dhúu. 643 D náu, H núu. 645 duuv. 646 D báu, H bóu. 647 D uulet, H úu. 648 D áuur, H úur. 649 D tháuzend, H thúu-. 652 kuud. 653 buut.

U': [D áu, H úu]. 654 D shéráud, H shérúud [(shr) becomes (sher-) in this word only]. 655 D fáuu. 656 DH rúum. 657 D bráun, H brúun. 658 D dáuu, H dúun. 661 D sháuur, H shúur. 662 huuz [emphatic form]. 663 D háus, H húus [approaching (hóus)]. 664 D kus, H lúus. 665 D máus, H múus. 666 huuzbud. 667 D áut, H úut. 668 D práud, H prúud. 669 H uunkáutut [probably an individuality]. 671 D máuth, H múuth. 672 D sáuth, H súuth.

Y- 673 mítu. 676 D léi, H líi. 677 drái. 678 din. 679 D kəurk, H turtu. 680 bizi. 682 láil'. Y: 683 midu. 684 bríg. 685 H rig. 686 báu. 687 H flíit. 688 bíd [(bállht), p.p.]. 690 káind. 691 máind. 693 sín. 694 wuurk. 696 D bəurth, H byurth. 697 byuri. 699 D réit, H ríit. 700 waars. 701 fəurst. 703 pit. 704 viks'n. Y'- 705 skái. 706 [what for, used]. 708 háuur. Y': 709 fáuur. 711 láis. 712 máis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 baud. 714 laud. 715 D paud. 716 D aud'l. 722 dureen. 723 deeru. 724 D bauald, H bau. 725 suáu. 728 shaum. 729 D tríuáum, H freem. 730 kantur. 734 daar'n. 735 mash. 737 meet. 740 weev. 742 lezi. E. 744 mez'l'zs. 746 H bríuedh. 748 D flígd, H flígd. I. and Y. 753 [(kit'l) used]. 754 H pig. 759 fit. O. 761 líuáud. 767 D nóis. 769 móudiwaarp. 771 fon'd. 772 bíuáuntáur. 774 D pooni, H pouni. 777 D shop. 778 D efúurd, H efúu-. 783 D páuutrí, H puul'tri. 789 D róu. 790 D gáum, H gúun. U. 793 D huug. 794 duuig. 799 skuul'. 801 ruum. 803 D dump [also (lóu)p]. 805 kruudz. 808 puut.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 iab'l. 810 fíuás. 811 plíuás. 812 líuás. 813 H beek'n. 814 míuás'n. 818 eedu. 819 reedu. 822 mee. 824 tueer. 825 D weef, H wíuáuf. 827 D íegur, H íagur. 828 H eegv. 830 tureen. 833 paar. 835 rúez'n. 836 súdez'n. 840 D tuambur. 841 tuans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantu. 844 D turensh. 845 H eenshent. 847 deendur. 848 tuendu. 849 sutreendur. 850 dans. 851 ant. 852 aupuren. 853 D bàrg'n, H bàrgin. 854 barel'. 855 karet. 856 part. 857 kíuás. 858 H bríuás. 859 tuas. 860 píuáust. 861 tíuáust. 862 síuáuf. 864 biko's. 865 íaat. 866 páuuur. E.. 867 D téi, H tíi. 871 D gréi, H gréi. 874 ríen. 875 fènt. 877 eer. 880 D egzamp'l. 883 dandiláuen. 884 H epyuntis. 886 H tríuur.

888 sàrt'n. 890 bíest. 891 fiést. 892 nefi. 893 D fláw₁r, H flá₁u. 894 D dísc₁iv, H í₁í. 895 D rísc₁iv, H í₁í.

I.. and Y.. 897 díl₁át. 899 D néis. 900 pree. 901 fâin. 902 m₁ain. 904 D vái₁et. 908 edváis. 909 D br₁íz, H br₁íz. 910 djáist. 911 D síiest₁rn. 912 ráis.

O.. 913 D kw₁et₁, H k₁í-. 914 D broot₁, H brú₁et₁. 915 st₁af. 916 u₁nien. 917 roog. 918 D f₁ib'1, H í₁í. 919 D ointment, H ó₁n-. 920 D p₁ont, H ói. 922 bu₁sh'1. 924 t₁óis. 925 D vóis, H ói. 926 D spód, H ói. 927 t₁ra₁qk. 928 D áuns, H a₁uns. 929 H k₁uk₁m₁r. 930 D lóin, H ói. 931 D d₁u gl₁r. 933 tr₁ant. 935 k₁u₁n₁tri. 938 korn₁r. 939 klá₁es. 940 kw₁et. 941 fú₁ul'. 942 D bu₁tt₁r, H bu₁tt₁r. 943 tu₁t₁. 944 D eláu. 945 D váu. 947 D bóil, H ói. 948 D bú₁ul, H bóil. 950 su₁p₁r. 951 ku₁p'1. 952 D káu₁rs, H k₁u₁rs [course]. 953 ku₁zin. 954 D wíshen, H whi-. 955 D dát, H d₁ut. 956 k₁v₁r.

U.. 961 gríu₁l. 963 D wáit, H kw-. 964 síu₁t. 965 D oil, H ói. 966 fríut. 967 síut. 968 D óist₁r. 969 síu₁r. 970 d₁ust. 971 flíut.

VAR. iv, EDENSIDE cwl.

Some of the most important words from the 22 es. Nos. 12 to 17, p. 563, as a help to the student.

S from Kirkby Stephen, No. 12.

M from Milburn, No. 15.

C from Crosby Ravensworth, No. 13.

L from Langwathby, No. 16.

T from Temple Sowerby, No. 14.

E from Ellonby, No. 17.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 SCME mak, L mak, T mek. 21 SMLE ní₁ám, CT ní₁ém. A: or O: 64 SE w₁aq, C r₁aq, T r₁aq, M w₁aq. A'- 84 S m₁ee₁r°, C mee₁r°, MLE mee₁r°, T maar°. 87 SMLE kl₁áz, CT kl₁éz. 89 SMLE bí₁th, CT bí₁th. 92 SCE noo M nhoo, L tuhoo, T naa. 93 T nhaa, M nhoo, L tuhoo, SE noo, C nò. A': 102 SCTM äs, LE a₁ks. 110 ii. CTL na₁t, S n₁t. 113 SML hí₁á, CT hí₁é, E hí₁el. 115 SML hí₁ám, TE h₁am, C hí₁ém. 122 ii. S ní₁ie, ML ní₁ie, T ní₁e₁, CE ní. 137 CTMLE n₁u₁d₁r°.

Æ- 138 SCT fäd₁r°, M fäd₁r°, L fäd₁r°, E fäd₁r°. Æ: 161 S dee₁, CTMLE dee. Æ'- 194 S an₁, CL on₁, TM en₁, E en₁. Æ': 214 S nee₁d₁r°. 223 SCTMLE dhí₁r°. 224 SM whoor°, TL whaar°, CE wheer°.

E- 233 SCTL sp₁ik. E: 261 SC see₁, ML see, T sí₁é. 265 CE str₁ek, S str₁ak, M str₁éit. E'- 292 SCTMLE mí₁i. E': 312 SCTMLE hí₁r°. 314 SCTL haar°d, M hí₁r°d.

EA- 320 C kee₁r°, S k₁ee₁r°, TMLE kee₁r°. EA: 326 C ool'd, E oold, T Aald Aad, M Aal'd. 330 SCTMLE hod. 338 STML kaa, CE koo. EA': 359 T nee₁r°, S nee-, C ne-, MLE nee-. 366 SC gr₁í₁it, TE gr₁r t, ML gj₁r₁t. EO'- 412 SCMLE shu [before w], T sh₁. EO': 430 S fr₁nd. 437 S tr₁ú₁uth, CTMLE tr₁ú₁uth. EY- 438 SCTMLE d₁i.

I: 452 STL wad₁i, [but E aa wa₁d, the pron. differing according to position]. I'- 494 STL táa₁m, CME táa₁m. I': STL láa₁k, C lá₁k, M láa₁k. 510 TL máa₁n, SE máa₁n, C má₁n.

O- 519 SCTMLE óu₁r°. 524 SCM w₁ar₁el'd, TL waar₁el'd, E w₁ar₁el'd. O: 531 SCLE dóu₁r°. 535 SCT f₁u₁ek, M f₁u₁ek, L f₁u₁ek, E f₁u₁ak. O'- 557 SCTML t₁u. 567 SCTMLE tu₁d₁r°. O': 579 SCTMLE en₁uf. 587 SCTMLE d₁in. 592 SM swí₁á₁r°, S swee₁r°, T swy₁r t, L swy₁r°.

U: 612 SCTMLE su₁m. 616 S gru₁nd, TL gru₁n'd, E gr₁u₁n, CT gr₁un'd. 631 S th₁r₁zde, CL th₁r₁zde, TE th₁r₁zde. 634 SCTMLE thr₁u, SCTML thr₁u. U'- 641 SC hú₁u, H hu₁. 643 SCTMLE nú₁u. 651 SC wí₁d₁ut, LE wí₁d₁ut, TM wed₁ut. U': 663 SCTMLE hú₁s.

Y: 701 SCTMLE f₁ar₁st.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 T *sí₁e₁f*, MLE *sí₁a₁f*. E.. 885 SCTL *va₁r^oe*. 888 SCTMLE *saar^ot'n*. O.. 940 T *kwoot*, CM *kwú₁et*, L *kwú₁á₁t*, E *kú₁á₁t*. 941 SCTMLE *fiul*. 955 SCTMLE *dú₁uts*. U.. 969 STML *síúu₁r^o*, E *syy₁e₁r^o*, C *shú₁u₁r^o*. 970 STM *dju₁st*.

VAR v, WEST CUMBERLAND cwl.

The same words as in Var. iv. collected from Nos. 18 to 20 in the 22 cs. p. 563.

K from Keswick, No. 18.

C from Clifton, No. 19.

H from Holme Cultram, No. 20.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 CH *mak*, K *ma₁k*. 21 K *ní₁a₁m*, C *níám*, H *ní₁em*. A: or O: 64 K *r^oa₁q*, CH *raq*. A'- 84 K *meer^o*, C *meer*, H *mée₁er*. 87 K *klí₁a₁z*, C *klí₁á₁z*, H *klí₁ez*. 89 KC *bí₁a₁th*, H *bí₁eth*. 92 KCH *noo*. A': 102 K *ás*, H *as*, C *aks*. 113 K *hí₁a₁l*, C *híál*. 115 K *hí₁a₁m*, C *jam*, H *j₁em*. 122 ii. K *ní₁a*, H *ní₁e*, C *ní₁e*. 137 KH *nóu₁d₁r^o*, C *náu₁d₁r^o*. Æ- 138 K *fa₁d₁r^o*, CH *fa₁d₁r*. Æ: 161 KC *dē₁e*, H *dee*. Æ'- 194 KC *en₁i*, H *an₁i*. Æ': 223 KC *dhí₁i₁r^o*, H *dhí₁er^o*. 224 KC *whoor^o*, H *whó₁oor^o*. E- 233 K *spí₁ik*, C *spí₁i₁k*. E: 261 KC *see*, H *see*. 265 K *st₁récit*, C *st₁rú₁it*. E'- 292 K *mí₁i*, C *mí₁i*, H *mí₁i*. E': 312 KC *hí₁i₁r^o*, H *hí₁er^o*. 314 K *hår^od*, CH *haard*. EA: 320 K *keer^o*, C *keer*, H *kée₁er^o*. EA: 326 H *ool*, K *oold*, C *áud*. 330 KCH *hod*. 338 KCH *koo*. EA': 359 KH *nēb₁r^o*, H *nēber^o*, C *nēber^o*. 367 K *gr^oí₁it*, C *g₁rt*, H *grí₁it*. EO'- 412 [emphatic] KC *shí₁i*, H *shí₁i*. EO': 430 K *fr^oe₁nd*. 437 K *t₁rí₁uth*, C *t₁ru₁uth*, H *t₁ru₁th*. EY- 438 KC *dí₁i*, H *dí₁i*. I: 452 KC *a wad*, H *wad₁i* [I would, would I]. I'- 494 K *táaim*, C *táim*, H *téim*. I': 500 K *lák*, C *lák*, *lék₁li*. 510 K *máa₁in*, C *má₁in*, H *méin*. O- 519 K *óur^o*, C *áuer*, H *óuer*. 524 K *waar^oeld*, C *warld*, H *waar^old*. O: 531 K *dóu₁t₁r^o*, C *dáu₁t₁r*. 535 K *fwú₁uk*, C *fwook*, H *fóuk*. O'- 557 K *tíu*. 567 K *tu₁d₁r^o*, C *tu₁d₁r*. O': 579 K *enú₁f*, C *enu₁f*. 587 KC *du₁n*, C *dú₁en*, H *dí₁en*. 592 K *swyy₁a^ort*, C *swoort*, H *swí₁er*. U: 612 KCH *su₁m*. 616 K *grú₁nd*, C *grú₁nd*, H *gr^ou₁n*. 634 K *thr^oe₁ut*, C *thrú₁ut*, H *thr^ouu*. U'- 641 KC *hú₁u*. 643 KC *nú₁u*, H *nuu*. 651 K *wí₁dú₁ut*, C *é₁dú₁ut*, H *é₁duut*. U': 663 KC *hú₁us*, H *huuz*. Y: 701 K *tú₁r^ost*, C *tú₁rst*, H *fú₁erst*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 862 K *sí₁a₁f*, C *síaf*. E.. 885 K *va₁r^oe*, CH *vare*. 888 K *saar^ot'n*, CH *saart'n*. O.. 940 *kwú₁et*, C *kwot*, H *kúóoot*. 941 K *fiú₁l*, C *fiú₁l*, H *fiú₁l*. 955 K *dú₁uts*, C *duuts*, H *dúts*. U.. 969 K *sheú₁r^o*, C *shuu₁r*, H *sí₁uer*. 970 KC *dju₁st*.

(9) VAR. vi, WEARDALE AND TEESDALE cwl.

St. John's, Weardale (:waard'l), Du., head of the dale, about 12 e-by-n. Cross Fell, Cu., and 24 w-by-s. Durham, wl. pal. in 1878 by JGG. from dict. of Mr. and Miss Harrison, natives, who had lived there 40 years from birth. All words unmarked refer to this.

M Middleton-in-Teesdale (22½ sw. Durham), wl. io. by Rev. John Milner, Rector, in 1878, who had then been there only 2½ years. Only such words in this list as are re-spelled are here given, pal. conjecturally by AJE. M after an unmarked word shews that this agrees with the former, and in

estimating this agreement, as M is very imperfectly known, I disregard any apparent differences where the M may possibly represent the finer analysis given by JGG, for St. John's.

The (r) is (r^o), but is left unmarked.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 b_iek M. 4 ta_ik. 5 ma_ik. 6 m_ied M. 7 s_iek M. 8 hev. 9 bihev. 12 saa. 17 laa. 19 t_iel M. 20 l_iem M. 21 n_iem M. 22 teem M. t_iem. 23 s_iem M. 24 sha_im. 25 m_iem M. 27 M n_iev. 28 heer. 31 l_iet M. 32 M b_ieth. 33 reedher M. 34 last. 35 Aal'. 36 th_ou M.

A: 39 kom. 40 keem. 41 theqk. 43 ha_ind. 44 la_ind. 46 ka_in'l M. 48 saq. 50 teqz M. 51 ma_in. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh M. 57 a_is.

A: or O: 58 free M. 59 l_am. 60 la_iq. 61 ema_iq. 62 s_tra_iq M. 63 thra_iq M. 64 ra_iq M. 65 M sa_iq. 66 wha_iq.

A'- 67 ga_in, M ga gang. 69 n_ii, M n_iv, 70 t_ii, M t_iv. 71 w_ii, M w_iv. 72 wh_ii, M wh_iv. 73 s_ii. 74 tw_ii, M tw_iv. 75 s_trook, M s_tr_iek. 76 t_ied M. 78 oo, M ou. 80 helidi, M ha_ilidi. 81 lonen. 84 meer M. 85 seer^o M. 86 JETS [(haver) gen.]. 87 kl_iez M. 88 kl_iedh M. 89 b_ieth M. 91 moo. 92 M naa. 93 snoo, M snaa. 94 kroo, M kraa. 95 throo. 96 soo. 97 s_oul. 98 noon, M naan. 99 throon. 100 soon.

A': 101 ja_ik M. 102 a_is. 104 r_oed. 105 r_ied M. 106 br_ied M. 107 l_iet M. 108 du_it, M [(p_iest) more usual]. 109 loo. 110 not, M n_out. 111 out M. 112 h_iel M. 115 h_iem M. 118 b_ien M. 121 g_ien M. 122 n_ien M. 123 [(n_out) used, M]. 124 st_ien M. 125 [(nobet) used]. 127 M h_ies. 128 dhem. 129 g_ost. 130 M h_out. 131 g_iet. 132 het M. 133 r_iet M. 134 o_ith. 135 [(k_lo'ut) used M]. 136 ou d_ar, M [spelt *oudther*].

Æ- 138 fa d_ar M. 140 heel M. 141 neel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 eg_ien. 146 m_ien. 147 breen. 148 f_ee_ar. 152 wat t_ar M. 153 se t_ar d_i M.

Æ: 155 M tha_ik. 158 eft_er M. 160 eg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sed M. 166 meed. 167 d_iel M. 168 ta_ile. 169 when. 170 haarv_ist. 171 baarli. 172 g_ærs M. 173 wa_iz. 174 esh M. 175 fast. 179 wha_it. 181 [(t_irod) used].

Æ'- 182 s_ii. 183 t_iit_i. 184 l_iid. 185 r_iid. 186 br_iith [used]. 187 l_iiv. 188 ne'i [(n_ik_ar) more used]. 189 we'i. 190 ke'i M. 191 h_iil. 192 m_iin. 193 kl_iin. 194 oni M. 195 moni M. 197 t_ii_iz. 199 blee. 200 wh_iit. 201 h_iidh'n. 202 h_iit.

Æ': 203 sp_iit_i. 204 d_iid. 205 thr_iid, M thriid. 206 red. 207 n_iid'l. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 whee. 215 t_out M. 216 d_iil. 217 i_iit_i. 218 sh_iip. 219 sl_iip. 221 f_i_ar. 222 h_ee_ar. 223 dh_i_ar. 225 flesh. 226 m_iest M. 227 wet. 228 sw_iit. 229 br_iith. 230 fat.

E- 232 br_iik, M briik [bra_ik brok'n]. 233 sp_iik [spek spok'n]. 235 w_iiv. 236 f_iiv_or. 237 M t_ielbl_ien. 238 hed_i. 241 reen. 243 p_lee [leek) used]. 246 kw_iin [queen and quean]. 247 [(sp_ien) used, M]. 248 m_i_ar, M miir. 249 w_i_ar M, wiir. 250 sw_i_ar, M swiir. 251 m_iit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 led d_ar, M -dh-. 255 wed d_ar, M -dh-.

E: 257 ed_i. 259 wed_i. 260 lai [evidently a confusion with *lie*] 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 268 [(oodist) used M]. 270 beli, belisz, M belus. 272 el'm, M aam. 273 men. 274 b_eqk b_esh. 275 [st_iqk) used]. 276 th_iqk. 277 d_irensh. 278 w_esh. 280 el_iib'n. 281 lenth. 282 st_irenth. 283 meri. 284 thre'sh M. 285 kresh. 286 ha_ire. 287 buz'm [this is right for a besom]. 288 let.

E'- 289 j_ii j_e j_i. 290 h_ii, v, i. 292 m_ii m_e m_i. 293 w_ii w_u w_e. 294 f_iid. 295 br_ied. 296 bl_iiv. 298 t_iid. 299 gr_iin. 300 k_iip. 301 h_i_ar. 302 m_iit. 303 sw_iit.

E': 305 he_i, M h_ei. 306 he_it. 307 n_ii. 308 n_iid. 309 sp_iid. 310 h_iiel. 311 ten. 312 h_i_ar. 314 h_i_ard. 315 f_iit. 316 nekst, M [occ.] néist.

EA- 319 g_iep M. 320 kee_r, M k_i_ar. EA: 321 [s_iid) used]. 322 l_af. 323 f_iut, M f_out. 324 ee_it. 325 waak. 326 od M [and aad]. 327 M b_ould. 328 k_od M. 329 M f_od faad. 330 hod M. 331 [(sel'd sel_iht)

used] M. 332 [tel'd, tel'lt] used] M. 333 kaa'f M. 334 haaf M. 335 aa M. 336 faa M. 337 waa M. 340 jerd M. 342 er'm. 343 waar'm. 345 daar M. 346 ja't, M gí'et.

EA'- 347 h'í'd, M hiid. 348 é'i, M ii. 349 fiú. EA': 350 d'í'd, M diid. 351 l'í'd, M liid. 352 r'í'd, M riid. 353 br'í'd, M briid. 354 sh'í'v, M shiif. 355 d'í'if, M diif. 356 l'í'if, 357 dhoo M. 359 ne'ib'ar M. 361 b'í'in. 365 n'í'ar. 366 g'ar't. M griit. 367 thr'í't, M thriit. 368 d'í'ith, M diith. 369 sloo, M slaa. 370 roo. 371 st'reí, M str'í'e.

EI- 372 á'í'í, M éi. 373 dhee. 374 né'í, M n'í'e. 376 beet. EI: 377 st'í'ek M. 378 weck M. 382 dheer. EO- 383 s'í'ib'n. 384 hev'n. 385 b'm'í'ith. 386 ja'u M. 387 niuu.

EO: 388 mil'lhk. 390 sa'd. 393 bi'ont M. 396 wark. 397 swa'd, M swa'rd. 399 br'í't, M briit. 401 ja'ru'ist M. 402 liu'rn. 403 faar. 404 staar. 405 haarth. 406 j'arth. 407 fard'n, M -in.

EO'- 409 béi bi. 411 thr'éi. 412 shéi shé shu. 413 d'í'í'l, M diiv'l. 414 fléi, M flii. 415 l'í'í, M lii. 416 d'í'í'ar. 417 tjə'u M. 418 bríu. 420 fə'u'ar. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théi, M thii. 424 ru'f. l'í'í't, M liit. 426 fe'it M. 427 béi bi. 428 séi. 429 M f'í'nd. 431 b'í'í'ar. 432 fó'rt M. 433 br'í'ist, M briist. 434 b'í'it. 435 j'í'í'í. 436 t'í'ru M. 437 t'í'riuth M. EY- 438 d'í'ii, M dii. EY: 439 t'ra'st.

I- 440 w'í'ik. 441 s'í'iv, M siiv. 443 frá'di, M fré'di. 444 st'e'íl M. 445 M héi. 446 ne'ín. 448 dh'ar. 449 g'it M. 450 tiú'zdí. 451 siuu. M s'ou.

I: 452 ái, M a. 454 w'í't. 455 lái, M lig. 457 má'it, M mé'it. 458 n'í't, M niit. 459 r'í'it, M riit. 460 we'it. 462 s'í't, M siit. 464 wh'í'lhk, M whik. 465 sek, M s'auk. 466 [beern, used]. 467 we'í'd. 471 t'ím'ar M. 472 [tə r'ín u p] used]. 473 bl'í'nd M. 474 [swa'd used]. 475 wá'nd wind. 476 b'í'nd M. 477 f'í'nd M. 478 gr'ú'und, M gru'nd. 479 w'í'nd. 481 f'í'q'ar M. 484 dh'is. 485 th'í's'l. 486 j'est, M j'ist. 487 j'ist'rdí. 488 j'í't.

I'- 420 b'í'í bi. 491 sái. 493 d'raiv. 494 te'ím. 496 áir'n. 498 re'it M.

I': 500 le'ík. 501 we'id M. 502 faiv. 503 le'if M. 504 ne'if M. 505 we'if M. 506 wu'men. 507 wu'min M. 508 me'íl. 509 whe'íl. 511 we'in M. 513 wá'í'ar. 514 e'is M. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem.

O- 520 ba'uu, M b'ou. 521 fá'el, M f'wá'el. 522 op'n M. 523 ha'uur. 524 wa'r'l'd. O: 525 kof. 527 bó'ut M. 528 thó'ut M. 529 bró'ut M. 530 ró'ut. 531 dó'u'tar, M dó'uther. 532 ku'el, M kuá'el. 533 d'á'l, 534 h'á'el M [apparently, written *whoal*]. 536 g'a'u'l'd. 537 ma'und, M muuld. 538 wa'd wad. 540 h'olén M. 542 bó'ut M. 545 hop. 548 f'ord. 549 herd. 550 wa'rd. 551 storm. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn.

O'- 555 she'uu [see 640]. 556 t'í'e. 558 liek M. 559 mu'dar, M -dh- 561 ble'uum, M bl'iem. 562 m'í'en M. 563 mu'ndé. 564 s'í'en M. 565 n'á'ez, M n'wá'ez [written *nwas*]. 567 t'í'd'ar.

O': 569 b'í'ek M. 570 t'í'ek M. 571 gu'd. 572 blu'd, M bl'í'ed. 573 flí'ed. 574 bré'und. 575 stí'ed M. 576 wed'nzde. 577 ba'uu. 578 plí'u M. 579 en'í'ef. 580 t'í'ef. 581 só'ut. 582 kí'el M. 583 té'úul, M t'í'el. 584 stí'el M. 585 w brí'em. 586 d'í'e. 587 d'í'en M. 588 n'í'en M. 589 spí'en M. 590 fle'uar, M fl'í'ar. 591 me'uer. 592 [swé'erd, swear'd, used], M swí'ar. 593 [mu'n used] M. 594 b'í'et M. 595 f'í'et M. 596 r'í't M. 597 s'í'et M. 598 se'uth.

U- 599 ebí'en M. 600 lu'v. 601 fe'ául, M fiul. 602 se'uu, M suu. 603 ku'm. 605 sa'n. 606 d's'uar' [t'vuu], M duar' [see 640]. 607 bu'tt'ar, M [says 'h sounded,' ? meaning that *ter* = -*ther*, or simply that the *t* is dentalised]. U: 608 u gli. 609 fu'l. 610 wə'uu. 612 sa'm. 613 d'ruqk. 614 hu'nd M. 615 pu'nd M. 616 gru'nd M. 617 s'a'un'd, M suund. 618 wə'n'd. 619 fu'nd M. 620 gru'nd M. 622 u'ndar M [with a slight (h) that is slightly dentalised (d'ar)]. 625 tu'q. 626 hu'qar. 629 su'n. 631 thur'ste. 634 thr'uu. 635 wa'arth. 636 [faardhar] used, M]. 639 du'st [stəoor] also used].

U'- 640 ke'uu, M kuu [JGG. is not quite satisfied with this symbol, which, however, is different from the (ə'uu) of 520, 606, 610, 617, 618, which has more of an (ə'u) effect. Neither of them is supposed to be (æ'u). The present sounds

in 640, 641, 642, 643, etc., are (uu) sounds, as shewn by the M appreciation, but begin with some undefined sound which JGG. could not appreciate after some days of observation. The result is like 'á'u, á'u', transitional from uu to (a'u)]. 641 hæuu, M huu. 642 dheúu, M dhuu. 643 neúu, M nuu. 646 beúu, M buu [compare 577 (bæuu)]. 647 e'uul. 648 e'uur, M uur. 649 thaúuzend. 652 kud. 653 but.

U': 654 sh'reúud, M shruud. 655 feúul. 656 ræúm. 657 breúun, M bruun. 658 deúun, M duun. 659 teúun, M tuun. 660 beúur. 661 sheúur, M shuur. 662 hu,z. 663 heúus, M huus. 664 leúus, M luus. 665 meúus, M muus. 666 hu,zbend. 667 eúut, M uut. 668 preúud, M pruid. 671 meúuth, M muuth. 672 seúuth, M suuth.

Y- 673 mik'l, M mitɥ. 674 dud. 676 léi, M lii. 677 dɥrâi. 678 dɥn. 679 tɥurɥ. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midɥ. 684 brig M. 685 rig M. 686 bá*i*. 687 he'it. 689 bil'd. 690 ke'in'd M. 691 me'in'd M. 693 sín. 694 wɔrk, v gud wɔrkɔr. v iz waark [a good worker of his work]. 696 bɔrth. 697 beri. 698 mɔrth. 699 re'it, M riit. 700 wars M. 701 furst M. 703 p*it*. Y- 705 ská*i*. 706 whe'i. 707 thɔrtɥi*n*. 708 há*ɔr. Y': 709 fá*ɔr. 711 M le'is. 712 me'is M.**

II. ENGLISH.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A. 725 síɥl. 730 kanɥr [or (-th-) as it is stated that *h* is sounded]. 733 skíɥr. E. 743 skríɥm. 744 mez'lz. 745 tɥíɥt. O. 761 líɥd. 764 kud'l. 766 móidhɔrd. 769 móudɔwarp. 774 pó*u*ni. 780 dɥs'l. 784 buuns. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 805 kudz. 808 put.

III. ROMANCE.

[Such words as are entered here all came from M.]

A.. 809 jab'l. 810 fíɥs. 811 plíɥs. 812 líɥs. 817 redish. 852 apr'n. 857 kíɥs. 859 tɥas. 860 píɥest. 861 tɥest. 862 síɥf. 865 faat. E.. 874 riin. 875 fent. 884 prentis. 887 klarj*i*. 892 nevi. I.. and Y.. 910 dɥist. O.. 913 kwɔetɥ. 921 ekwent. 927 trɔqk [said to be "as in We."]. 928 uuns. 929 kuukembɔr. 930 luundɥ. 940 kwɔet. 941 fíɥl. 952 kuurs. 955 duut. U.. 961 gríɥuel. 963 wáɥet. 966 fríɥt. 969 síɥr. 971 flíɥt.

D 32 = NN. = north Northern.

Boundaries. On the n. the L. line 10. On the s. the n. *tee* line 7. On the e. and w. the sea.

Area. A small portion of n.Cu., about Carlisle and Brampton, avoiding the northernmost parts about Longtown and Bewcastle. The n. of Du. The whole of Nb. except the n. slopes of the Cheviot Hills.

Varieties. This area is again divided into six Varieties: Var. i, n.Cu.; Var. ii, n.Du.; Var. iii, Hexham or sw.Nb.; Var. iv, 'the Pitmen' or se.Nb.; Var. v, m.Nb.; Var. vi, n.Nb.

Authorities. See Alphabetical County Lists under the following names, where * means vv. per AJE., ‡ per JGG., || so., and ° io.

Cu. ‡ Brampton, ‡ Carlisle, * Dalston.

Du. * Bishop Middleham, * Clickemunn, near Lanchester, ° Collierly, ° Dalton-le-Dale, ° Edmundbyers, * Kelloe, ° Lanchester, ° Shincliffe, * South Shields, *° Sunderland, ° Tyneside.

Nb. ° Acklington, ° Alnwick, ° Ancroft, * Berwick-upon-Tweed, ° Birtley, ° Doddington, ° Embleton, ° Haltwhistle, ° Harbottle, * Hexham, ‡ Knaresdale,

*Morpeth, *Newcastle-on-Tyne, *North Shields, *Rothbury, °Stamfordham,
°Tyne to Wansbeck, *°Warkworth, °Whalton, °Whittingham, °Woodhorn,
°Wooler.

See also the notice of the Burr on p 641.

General Character. The essential character of D 32 at present is that of a transition from D 30 and 31 to D 33, from E. and WN. to L. Historically, of course, this must be an incorrect conception. But with historical derivation we have here nothing to do. The L. like the S. has entirely abandoned the (*u*) sound of U and replaced it by (æ), while the (*u*, *u*₁) are retained in D 30 and 31, and the great peculiarity of D 32 is the gradual dying out of this (*u*) into (æ). In D 32, Var. i, the (*u*) sound remains, in D 32, Var. vi, it has been quite replaced by (æ). Between varieties i and vi the (*u*) very frequently occurs, but is also very frequently replaced by a bad imitation of (æ), which I represent by (œ₁). I was altogether unprepared for this sound when I reached Newcastle in 1879, and was much puzzled by it. I had considered that the *ũ* used by my correspondents represented (*u*, *u*₁) alone as throughout Yo. and (except about Longtown and Bewcastle) Cu. The first dt. I attempted to write at Newcastle in February, 1879, disillusioned me. I noted that the new sound was not (œ, æ, *u*), but lay among them. When in February, 1883, I wrote to Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw.Hexham, Nb.), to point out in his wl. which of his *ũ* words had (*u*), and which (æ), he observed: "in all these *ũ* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *beuf*, *fleur*, etc. Also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the rec. pron. It is slightly prolonged in the folk-speech of Hexham and w.Nb. district." This quite agrees with my own observations. The sound is of medial length in general, which it is needless to notice, and adumbrates (œ). To indicate all this I annex an inferior (₁) to (œ), thus (œ₁), but I was unable strictly to analyse the sound when I heard it, and I cannot venture to do so from memory. There is no labialisation as for (œ), and it will be quite sufficient to use (æ) in speech. No doubt in a generation or two (œ₁) will have quite given place to (æ). In the mean time it is characteristic of the mixed region in n.Du. and Nb, just as (som) is characteristic of the region between lines 1 and 2, and as (*u*_o) is transitional from (æ) to (*u*) throughout the M. counties. See the obs. on (*u*_o) on p. 291, and note especially the relation of (*u*_o) to (œ₁). The two transitions are obviously closely allied. This (œ₁) is not found in Cu., but it is very prevalent in Hexham, Var. iii, and is said to have become general in Alnwick, but it is not till about Wooler, as far as I have been able to ascertain, that (æ) becomes permanently installed for the whole of L. The use of (æ) in Sunderland is probably due to Scotch influence. See 22 dt., No. 6, *Introd.*

The fractures (i₁i, ú₁u), the former from E' sinking to (éi), and the latter from U' rising to (óu), or nearly so, probably occur through D 32. But where I possess written accounts only, these sounds are not distinguished from (ii, uu), in fact the natives

consider them as such. In (\acute{u}_1u) the (\acute{u}_1) approaches at times very close to (o), and hence the resemblance which induced me to write ($\acute{o}u$) from dictation in several cases, where I think (\acute{u}_1u) was meant. See *now* in par. 1 of 22 dt., Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 15. In Nos. 12, 14 and 17 I have (\acute{u}_1u). No. 17 was indeed very carefully dictated to me by Mr. Ridley to bring out the sound. I have thought it best, however, to retain the signs in each case which I first wrote from dictation. The case where the vowel U' was open, as at the end of a word, *e.g.* in *now* just considered, is different from that in which U' occurs before a consonant, as we shall see especially in D 33. Hence *about*, *down*, *house*, in the 22 dt. have more frequently (uu) than (\acute{u}_1u) or ($\acute{o}u$). But still there is the same tendency, which completely disappears in L., where (uu) or (\grave{u}) is universal before a consonant.

The I' generates a diphthong, generally taken as ($\acute{e}i$, $\acute{e}'i$), but which I heard as ($\acute{o}'i$, $\acute{a}'i$), practically the same as in my own speech. But I think that when it occurs in open syllables it may be ($\acute{ái}$). The two sounds of this representative of I' are discriminated in L., and in the Brampton wl. below ($\hat{a}i$) occurs in *drive*, *wide*, *fire*, and ($\acute{a}'i$) otherwise, but there is no consistent usage. In the English pron. of Greek it is customary to speak the diphthong *ei* as ($\acute{o}'i$) or ($\acute{a}'i$) and *ai* as ($\acute{ái}$), and hence among the clergymen whom I have had to consult so much, *ei ai* have been considered the proper signs to represent the difference. This is of course rather embarrassing to a Londoner, who has only one long \bar{i} , intentionally, though it varies individually, as ($\acute{ái}$, $\acute{o}'i$, $\acute{a}'i$, $\acute{a}'i$). But the difference, as we shall see, is highly developed in L, and we already found it in D 31, Var. v.

The treatment of O' varies as (\acute{iu} , $\acute{ív}$, \acute{io}_1). Compare *school*, *soon*, *look*, in the 22 dt. It is curiously enough written *ui* in the *Pitman's Pay*, as *suin* for ($\acute{s}iun$, $\acute{s}i\acute{o}_1u$).

The treatment of A-, A' forms a difference between Var. iii and iv, as will be seen presently.

The guttural (kh, kjh) has practically disappeared even on the very verge of L., but Rev. G. Rome Hall, of Birtley (9 nnw. Hexham, and 8 e. L. border), admits it faintly in Var. iii in *night*, *right*, *sight*, *bought*, *thought*, *brought*, *wrought*, *daughter*, *sought*, etc., see the s.Nb. cwl. No other authority gives it, so it is probably very local. But in the greater part of D 32 the *r* is pronounced gutturally. This pron. does not even determine varieties, and being very peculiar and local, will be considered separately.

The definite article is always (dhv). *I am* (a_m) is quite as often *I is* (a)z).

The classical work in the se.Nb. or Pitman's dialect is Thomas Wilson's *Pitman's Pay*, a cheap edition of which, with other poems, was published in 1872 by Routledge, London. It has set the norm for spelling, which, however, is rather confusing to a Southerner. Thus *aw*=(aa^1) or (aa) of JGG., p. 539, the very fine (aa) which prevails over the n. of England, and *not* (AA) as it suggests. Again *ou*=(\acute{u}_1u) or (uu), not ($\acute{o}u$), which is written *ow*,

and *ui* is generally (iu, iœ₁), as (s'œ₁n, k'œ₁l) *suin*, *cuil*=soon, cool; and *never* (yy₁) or any approach to French *u*, as the orthography suggests. Also no distinction is made between (*u*₁, œ₁), but *u* is used for both indifferently. On this point some detailed information will be seen in the s.Nb. cwl. which contrasts sw. and se.Nb.

Characters of Varieties. These are not particularly well marked, but I have endeavoured to make them clear by interlinear illustrations.

Var. i, in n.Cu., is so like D 31, except in the use of (dhv), that I have thought it best to put the two es., one for Carlisle, Cu., and one for Knaresdale, Nb., among the 22 es. illustrating D 31, pp. 562, No. 21, and 563, No. 22. This Var. is distinguished by an absence of (œ₁), so that the (*u*₁) of Cu. suddenly becomes the (æ) of D 33 without passing through any intermediate form. *Í* becomes (E') as appreciated by JGG. In Carlisle (n'íem, h'íem) *name*, *home*, occur, but in Knaresdale (nii¹em, hii¹em), with a distinct (E). At Brampton there was the intermediate (nii¹em, hii¹em) with an indistinct (e), which was not yet 'e', as shewn by (e), the symbol of indistinctness. See the Brampton cwl., p. 669. There is no Nb. *burr*.

Var. ii, in n.Du., see 22 dt., Nos. 1 to 6. The (œ₁) begins to assert itself, but (*u*) is more general, the (ú₁u) greatly resembles (óu₁), both (néem) and (n₁em)=(n₁em) are employed. The resemblance is rather to Var. iv, the Pitmen's, than to Var. iii the Hexham form. There is not much burr even near Newcastle. Sunderland can hardly be said to be a dialect on account of the mixed population and influence of Scotch and Irish. South Shields has the great peculiarity of losing its *r* altogether except before a vowel, and even then it is much debased.

Var. iii, the sw.Nb., extends e. to about 1 w.Stamfordham, and includes Bellingham (:bæ'lindjəm) on the nw., and Ovingham (:o'vindjəm) on the se. This is recognised by the Newcastle people as a distinct variety. Their favourite example is the speech of a woman to her daughter as she gives her a penny to buy "a halfpennyworth of salt, and bring a halfpenny back, taking a saucer to put it in." This becomes (v hoo'porth o sóet, en v hoo'pni bæk, en hii¹or/z dhe soo'sor tɛ pu:t it in), which in Var. iv is (v haa'porth o saa't, en v haa'pni bæk, en hii¹or/z dhe saa'sor tɛ pu:t it in). A similar sentence was concocted about the beginning of the century at a school a little n. of Birtley, as related to the Vicar, Rev. G. Rome Hall, by the old churchwarden, Mr. Percy Robson. The sentence was "I went to snove [=feed] the calves, and it snowed and it blowed, and my feet balled [with snow sticking to the soles of the boots], and ah! it *was* cold." At Woodburn, 4 ne.Bellingham, and in the Redesdale district varieties, and the same would be the case in Var. iv, they said

(a¹ went tɛ sa'ra¹ dhv kaa'z, en it suaa'd en it blaa'd, en ma¹ fiit baa'd, en ee'i! it 'wa'z kaa'd).

But at Birtley and s. of the Rede in the valley of the North Tyne, they said

(a¹ went tɛ sa'ra¹ dhv kooz, en it snood en it blood, en ma¹ fiit bood, en, ee'i, it 'wa'z kood).

Another point of difference which is not brought out in these sentences is well shewn in the s.Nb. cwl. All words having (iie₁) in Var. iii have (iE or (iœ₁)) in Var. iv, thus *name*, *home*, *soon* are in Var. iii (niem, hiem, sien), and in Var. v (n₁em, hiem, siœ₁n).

Var. iii also has a great predilection for (œ₁). This is remarkable at Halt-whistle (14 w.Hexham), because it is close to Var. i, from which (œ₁) is absent.

To this var. belong two entertaining but unfinished little stories by Thomas Bewick, the celebrated Newcastle wood engraver (born at Ovingham), called "The Howdy" and "The Upgetting," of which 60 copies were printed in 1850 for Mr. John Gray Bell. I had hoped to give them in a phonetic form, but while I was at Newcastle I could find no one who was able to read them to me, and there are so many curious words in them, that I was unable to pal. them conjecturally. The original MSS. were said to be in possession of Mr. John

Bell, of Gateshead, but I failed to discover him, or the printer or publisher. I owe my transcript to the kindness of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, who possesses a copy.

Var. iv, se.Nb. The distinctions between this and Var. iii have just been pointed out. This variety contains the speech of the Pitmen, and is most characteristic of Nb. But the mere writing of this speech conveys very little notion of its peculiarities of intonation, which are different for pitmen, keelmen [=boatmen], and ploughmen. The singsong and musical drawl of the pitmen must be heard to be understood. It is this variety to which the numerous dialectal books, annuals, comic stories, and songs usually refer. But their spelling was intended only for those familiar with the speech, and is scientifically valueless.

Var. v, mid Nb., occupies the county from the Wansbeck to line 9, and is scarcely different in pron. from Var. iv, see 22 dt., Nos. 14 to 21, p. 656. The town of Alnwick seems to have adopted (æ), or perhaps (æ₁) exclusively, but that is not yet the habit of the peasantry.

Just before reaching line 9 are the towns of Chillingham and Chatton, which are credited with pronouncing *ch* as (sh). Mr. Allen, of Snitter, dictated the following sentence dhi shiiz v :shet'n is nee meer lă'ik dhi shiiz v :shil'iqem, nor shaak's lă'ik shiiz) = the cheese of Chatton is no more like the cheese of Chillingham, nor than chalk's like cheese. Chillingham is famous for its wild white cattle, but is also noteworthy phonetically as being the only Nb. name in -ingham, which is pron. with (-iqem), all the others having (-indrem). Mr. Ridley dictated the same sentence the other way over, thus (dhe shiiz v :shil'iqem iz nii meer lă'ik dhe shiiz v :shat'n nor shaak's lă'ik shiiz). This sentence reminds us naturally of Dr. Murray's for Chirside (9 nw. Berwick-on-Tweed), (dheer z ez ged shiiz i :shirset ez wuz ever shoud wi shafts there's as good cheese in Chirside as was ever chewed with chafts, i.e. jaws, Chirside (:shirset) being celebrated for the same change of (tj) into (sh), as has taken place regularly in French (Dialect of S. Scotl. p. 85).

Var. vi, taking the extreme n. of Nb. and Berwick-upon-Tweed, has adopted (æ) throughout, and in other respects much resembles D 33, but differs from it, as will be seen among other things in the absence of (kh) and inability to produce a trilled (r), see the Berwick cs., p. 645, and notes, p. 652.

THE BURR.

In describing and distinguishing the above six varieties I have barely alluded to the Burr, which is commonly looked upon as the characteristic of Nb. speech. This is because I consider it a modern accidental growth very conspicuous to a Lowlander or a Southerner, though quite inessential to the dialect. But it requires special consideration, and hence has been placed last.

The Nb. Burr or (kr_up) is a peculiar pronunciation of the letter *r* in which the interruptions of voice sound, that in my opinion form the essence of the *r*, are made by the flapping of the uvula (instead of the tip of the tongue), as set in motion by the voiced or flated stream of air itself, and not by a voluntary muscular effort. It is really a defect of articulation which tends to become epidemic. As such it exists vigorously in the n. of Germany and n. of France, and especially at Paris. But it is also a peculiarity of individuals that reside in other districts. The Nb. burr is complicated by some labialisation, and by being influenced by some vowels more than others, especially the labial series (a, o, u). It varies much in different parts of Nb. according to accounts which I have received, but I am not able to state what the differences are, as it would require residence for some time in different parts of the

county, and intercourse in each place with a considerable number of natives, to obtain anything like satisfactory results. The burr is said to be "rougher" in se.Nb. than at Alnwick, where it is credited with perfection. Mr. Robson (in the notices to his translations of the *Song of Solomon* for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte) attempts to write the Newcastle burr as "urroond the urrugged urrocks," and the n.Nb. burr as "erroeend th' erruggeed errocks" for *round the rugged rocks*. The Vicar of Embleton for the peasantry there wrote "oowit, thwoo, oowēd," his curate for the fishing population used "'rite, thr'oo, rred," both for *right, through, red*, and these symbols represented to them distinct differences, but certainly neither these nor Mr. Robson's avail for an outsider.

It is easy to produce great varieties of burr, by varying the form of the tongue on which the uvula seems to lie, to agree with the position for different vowels, and by increasing or diminishing the closure of the lips, as well as the degree of force in the emission of breath. The sharpness of the rattle heard from a young Parisian lad calling "L'Entracte! Programme des spectacles, prix trois sous," is something remarkable, and this *r* well replaces the Italian tip-tongue trilled *r*. The German uvular *r* is often indistinguishable from a guttural (gh) initial and medial, and (kh) final. Both are combined, at least occasionally, in the Dutch *ch, g*, and Arabic ع ġ. The modern Greek γ is very mild. The extent of excursion of the flapping uvula makes a great difference in the effect produced. But there is much difficulty in ascertaining what practice actually prevails in any given place. And, after all, the practice may really vary from speaker to speaker at the same place. As a general rule I shall represent the burr by (*r*) simply, by (*rw*) when the labial element is conspicuous, by (*r*_o, *rw*_o) when in either case the uvula is so stiffened that it serves only to impede the passage of air without definite interruptions. Thus the words *to marry a very merry lass* sounded to me, as pronounced by a Nb. pitman, as (tə ma'r_oi v va'r_oi ma'r_oi la's), *merry* and *marry* being pronounced identically and rhyming with each other and with *very*, while the (*r*_o) was so inconspicuous that much attention was required to discover the differences of (ma'r_oi, va'r_oi) from the Italian *mai, vai* (mâ'i, vâ'i), with which indeed Mr. Swinburne, the poet, a native, identifies them. But the habit is so local, and probably in Europe so modern, that it does not affect general relations of dialect, as the reverted (R) of the S. div. certainly seems to do. The actual usage and its variety in different places is therefore comparatively unimportant, although striking to a stranger.

It is much more important to determine the limits of country over which the Burr extends. I was recommended for information to Mr. Peter Mouatt, 8, Shield Field, Newcastle, as having travelled much about the border, but he could not tell me himself, and when he tried his commercial travellers he found that they all had the burr without knowing it, and were hence unable to detect its presence or absence. At last he found one, Mr. J. R. Dickson, who was a Scotchman, and hence fully aware of the defective uvular

trill. From his notes, assisted by Mr. Gunn of Berwick-on-Tweed, Mr. Lees of Edinburgh, Mr. J. G. Goodchild, who has had experience on the n. slopes of the Cheviots, Mr. Laurence Goodchild, a blind traveller (no relation to the last-named), Mr. Proctor of the *North of England Review*, Mr. Jas. Mearns, son of the minister of Coldstream, some notes and correspondence on the subject by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, Dr. J. A. H. Murray's notes, etc., I obtained sufficient information to draw up the following table.

The places in () have not been identified, those marked * are on the Maps of the Dialect Districts, the others are referred to them.

BURR STRONG.	BURR WEAK.	NO BURR.
*Berwick-upon-Tweed Spittal (1 se.Berwick) Horncliffe (4 sw.Berwick) Norham (7 sw.Berwick) Cornhill (1 e.Coldstream) (Donaldson's Lodge)	 Wark, Nb. (1 sw.Coldstream) Carham,Nb.(3 wsw.Coldstream) Haltwhistle, Nb. (14 w. Hex.) Allendale, Nb. (9 sw.Hex.) Edmundbyers, Du. (10 sse.Hexham) Minster Acres, Nb. (8 se. Hexham) Castleside, Du. (13 se. Hexham) Benfieldside, Du.(13 wnw. Durham) Shotley, Nb. (13 nw. Durham) Ebchester, Du. (11 se. Hexham)	 Horndean, Bw. (8 ne.Coldstream) Ladykirk, Bw.(6 ne.Coldstream) (Newtown) *Coldstream, Bw. Birgham, Bw. (3 w.Coldstream) *The Cheviots (n.slope), Nb. Yetholm, Rx. (10 w. Wooler) (Riccarton) Greenhead, Nb. (17 w. Hex.) Brampton (8 ne.Carlisle) (Allenhead, Cu.) Blanchland,Nb.(8s.Hex.) Alston, Cu. (17 sw.Hex.) Iveston, Du. (10 nw. Durham) North Shields, Nb. South Shields, Du.
*Wooler Keilder (26 nw.Hexham) Falstone (19 nw.Hexham) Whittonstall, Nb. (9 ese. Hexham) Prudhoe, Nb. (9 w-by-s. Newcastle), and thence strong to S. Shields		

This covers the whole inland border of Nb. beginning at the n. Beyond the Tweed, to the n., except in Berwick and its Liberties, there is no burr. Mr. Lees had observed it from some men at Burnmouth and Eyemouth (6 and 9 n.Berwick), but is inclined to think it due to intercourse with Berwick as a market town. Mr.

Gunn and others suppose that the burr dies out suddenly at the b. of the Berwick Liberties, Mr. Lees thinks it only dies rapidly. In the "New Statistical Account of Scotland by the Ministers of the respective parishes, etc.," 1845, vol. ii. p. 154, as Prince L.-L. Bonaparte pointed out to me, the then Minister of Hutton-on-the-Tweed, adjoining the Liberties of Berwick, says: "The language spoken is the Berwickshire dialect of the Scots, intermixed with the Nb. *burr*." In January, 1876, the then Minister of Hutton, Dr. R. Kirke, wrote to the Prince: "The Nb. *burr* is *not natural* to the natives of this parish, and is *never known* except in the speech of persons who have been born and brought up in Nb. and in the Liberties of Berwick," and that this applies also to the adjoining parish of Mordlington. But as a defect of speech I myself in 1854 heard it very strong indeed from the young son of a Scotch gentleman in Edinburgh. Again the n. slopes of the Cheviots are decidedly Scotch, but a strong burr has been heard at Kielder (Mr. Dickson) and Falstone (JGG.). On the south, Mr. Laurence Goodchild considers that the burr stops at Gateshead. But I myself heard it from a native of Kelloe (18 s-by-e. Gateshead). From Bishopton (5 nw. Stockton, Du.) the Vicar in 1879, Rev. C. H. Ford, who I was told had a strong burr himself, reported its existence there. Finally, at North Shields, Nb., and South Shields, Du., in the midst of a burr country, the entire burr has vanished. But the pitmen just beyond the town burr vigorously.

Hence the burr, like the change of (u) into (ə), or of (uu) into (a'u), cannot be regarded as disrupting a phonetic dialect district. D 32 is therefore held to extend to parts of Cu. and Du. which have no burr. The burr cannot even be regarded as the mark of a variety. The same thing occurs in France and Germany.

Illustrations. For Carlisle and Knaresdale I give cs. pal. from dict. by JGG. as Nos. 21 and 22 among the 22 interlinear cs. of D 31, pp. 562, 563.

For South Shields, Newcastle, and Berwick I give also interlinear cs. all pal. from dict. by myself. They are in themselves a good epitome of the whole of Nb. pron.

But I have been enabled to give 22 dt., interlinearly arranged for Var. ii to vi, eleven of which were pal. by me from dict. These serve very well to shew the slight differences and general resemblances and the transition to L.

Finally, there are four cwl. For Var. i a valuable one from Brampton, written from dict. by JGG. For Var. ii a cwl. for South Shields, by Rev. C. Y. Potts, which I had to pal. from an original glossic, by the help of the *vivá voce* rendering of the cs. for the same place. For Var. iii and iv, contrasting the Hexham and Pitmen usages, two important lists are here thrown together for ease of comparison by Rev. G. R. Hall and Rev. Hugh Taylor, which I have had to pal. from their spellings and indications, and from personal knowledge of these varieties obtained at Newcastle in 1879. For Var. v I give a valuable cwl. settled from the dictation of Mr. Ridley of Warksworth.

THREE INTERLINEAR CS.

1. *South Shields*, Var. ii, n.Du., at the mouth of the Tyne. The original was written in glossic by Rev. C. Y. Potts, then of Ledbury, but born and bred at South Shields. Mr. Potts, who gave himself much trouble to inform me, also sent a lw. given hereafter as a cwl. I transliterated the cs. into pal., and then corrected it in Jan. 1879, from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Pyke, Ocean Terrace, South Shields, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Lyell, cousin of the Sec. of the Lit. and Phil. Soc. of Newcastle. The following is from that corrected version, Mr. Potts's principal variants are given in the notes, p. 649. There are, as both Mr. Potts and Mr. Pyke stated, three pron. prevalent at South Shields, viz. those of the Pilots, Middle Town Folk, and Pitmen. The version gives the second, as Mr. Pyke was only partially acquainted with the others, and Mr. Potts considered them "vulgar," but they will be occasionally referred to in the notes.

2. *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, Nb., Var. iv. Great pains have been taken to make this cs. as correct as possible. It was originally written in Dec. 1873 by Mr. William Henderson Dawson, 50 years acquainted with the dialect, then writer of the "Lokil Letter" [local letter] in the *North of England Advertiser*, under the signature of "a Retiort Keelmin" [a retired boatman]. It was afterwards read to me by Mr. T. Mitcheson, a native of Rothbury, who had lived long at Cramlington (8 n-by-e. Newcastle, and 5 sw. Blyth), where he had become acquainted with pitmen at Blyth (bléidh) and Bebside (2 w. Blyth). As he had been in London 10 years, during which he had tried to forget his dialectal habits, and had conquered the burr, he was afraid that he might not correctly recollect the pron., and in Jan. 1876, he procured me an interview with two pitmen, John Bryson, of Bebside Colliery, and Ralph Young, of Newcastle, native of Bebside. With them I went over the cs. as written phonetically from Mr. Mitcheson's dict. In Feb. 1876, I had an opportunity of going over the same with Mrs. Ferschel, a native of Newcastle, who had married a German and lived in London. I was very desirous to hear Mr. Dawson read it, and, having to go to Newcastle in 1879, I had arranged to see him, but unfortunately he was taken ill a few weeks previously, and died the day that I arrived, 27th Jan. Under these circumstances I went over the phonetic transcript I had made for Mr. Dawson, after correcting as above, with Mr. T. P. Barkas, of Newcastle, and the following is written from the copy thus corrected. But I have thought it best to give in the notes such variations and information as I received from the sources above named. Probably my (a', a) would have been heard by JGG. as (a, a₁) respectively, and this makes the usage agree with that of D 31, see (a₁), p. 539. Observe that natives say *Newcas'tle*, not *Newcas'tle*.

3. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, Var. vi, is now quite included in Nb., giving its name to one of the parliamentary divisions which extends to s. of Alnwick, the old borough having been abolished in 1886. But the town and liberties, which extend into Bw., have their own peculiar character, quite distinct from L., though on L. soil on the n. side of the Tweed. The cs. was pal. by AJE. in Feb. 1876, from the dict. of Mr. G. M. Gunn, a native, who lived there the first 20 years of his life, and has since visited it annually. The roughest part for the dialect and for social position is in the place called Greenses (:grins/z), where the fishermen live outside the walls. The next are Shaw's Lane and Walkergate Lane.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 0. S | <i>South Shields</i> , Du. | whē'i :djak hez nīi duuts. |
| N | <i>Newcastle</i> , Nb. | hū ₁ u :djon hez ni dūts. |
| B | <i>Berwick-upon-Tweed</i> . | whái :djoon hez noo dūts. |

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|------|-----------|--|
| 1. S | wiil nā'ibē, | j'el | biēth laf | at mæ'i nīuuz. |
| N | wiil nīēbo ₁ rw, | jii | en hīm me | bīēth la'f et dho ₁ r nīuuz |
| B | weel nèbē, | juu | en hii | me booth laaf et dhis nīuuz |

S wii ke'z? it)s nīi mate—it)s nódhve
 N v mǝ'in. whi keerz? dha't)s nódhvor
 B v máin. whee kéevz? dhat)s nédhve

S hīiv na dhEE'v.
 N hīir nor dhéeo'r.
 B hīiv nv dhéev.

2. S nīi bodi dīiz bikaaz dh)a làft vt, wi naa div'nt wi?
 N fīu men dīi kà'z dho)r làft vt, wi naa' div'nt wv?
 B fīuw men dái bīkəz dhé)v laaft at, wi ken div'nt wv?

S what wud mīek dhim? it iz)int vɛl ri lə'ikli is)t?
 N wha't shu'd mīek dhem? it)s not va'rɔi lə'ikli is)t?
 B whət shəd meek dhem? it iz'nt vɛri láikli iz)it?

3. S onihóu aal tel vɛ dhi faks ɔn't, so dʒi'st haad
 N huusi'vor dhor)z dhv fa'ks vɛ dhv kees, si dʒu'st ha'd
 B hue'vɛ dhiiz iz dhv faks v dhv kees, soo dʒi'st háuld

S vɛ dʒaa ɛn see nóut til aa)v dʒœin. dʒi'st hīi:v.
 N jor whist, ɛn bi kwáiet tiv a'l)z dīœin. liz'n.
 B vɛ nôiz, frënd, ɛn bi kwáiet til a)m dan. liz'in.

4. S aa'm saat'n a haad dhem see—su)m ɔ dhem fooks
 N aa'l)z saa'rt'n a' hīord dhem see—su)m ov dhor fooks
 B a)m saat'n a hīied dhem sè—səm v dhèm fook

S dhat went thlruu dhi hool thiɔ fɹɔ)dhi fóoest dhe'vɛslz,
 N dhet went thruu dhi hīel thiɔ frɛ dhv foɹst dhovɛslz,
 B at went thrù dhv hool thiɔ frè dhv fórest dha'vɛslz,

S dhat a dīd, sīef ɛnœif.
 N dhat a did, sīef ɛnœif.
 B dhat did a, seef ɛnæf.

5. S dhat dhi ju)qest su)n hizsel, a g)riit lad nǝ'in jīi'vz
 N dhet dhv ju)qist su)n izsel, v g)riit lad v nǝ'in
 B dhet dv jəqest san issel, v big ladi v náij'in

S aad nīuu hiz feedhv va'is at jens fɛl aal it wiz sii
 N nīuu hiz fedhorz vóis vt wons, thoo it 'wa'z si
 B kend iz fèdhv)z vóois vt wons, althoo it 'wəz sv

S kwíivl an skwiiki, an aa wad tɹu)st 'him tɛ tel dhi
 N kwíior ɛn skwiiki, ɛn ad tru)st him tɛ sp'ík dhv
 B kwíiv ɛn skwiikin, ɛn a wəd trəst im tɛ spiuk dhv

S tɹuuth ɔni dee, ái, dhat a wad.
 N truuth ɔni dee, ee, a' wa'd'.
 B trùth ɔni dee, ææ'i, a wəd.

6. S an dhi aad wu₁man h_usel i_l tel on_i oo je dhat lafs
 N en dhe a'd wə'if horsel' el tel on_i o je dhet la'f
 B en dhe áuld wamen esel el tel on_i on je at laaf

S nuu, an tel j_i st_rə'it of, tii, widhuut on_i bədh_e,
 N n_u₁u, en tel je st_rə'it of, tii, widhuut m_u₁tj bodhor,
 B náu, en tel je et wons en AA, vdhut m_u₁tj bədh_e,

S if j_iel on_i ask v, oo! winit shi?
 N if j_iel on_i a'ks or, oo! winit sh_e?
 B if j_iel on_i aks v, oo! w_ul shi noo?

7. S on_ihóu shi teld 'mii on_it when 'aa akst v, tuuth_iri
 N et lí₁ist shi teld 'mii wen a' a'kst or, t_u₁u or
 B et on_i reet shi táuld 'mii when ar akst v, tuu v

S t_ə'imz óue, æ'i, did shi, an 'shii óut'nt te bi l_raq
 N thr_i₁i t_ə'imz óuer, did shi, en shii óut'nt ti bi r_u'q
 B thrii t_ə'imz áue, did sh_e, en 'shii áut'nt te bi rooq

S ebuut sítj v mate_r az dh_is, what d_i jii th_iqk?
 N on sek v póint ez dh_is, wha't d_i jii th_iqk?
 B on sítj v póint ez dh_is, whot d_ije th_iqk?

8. S w_ul, ez aa w_uz seej_in, 'shii wud tel je hóu whee'v en
 N wiil, ez a' w_uz seen, 'shii wud tel je h_u₁u wh_eor en
 B w_u'l, ez ái w_uz seej_in, shii wud tel je huu wh_eev en

S when shi f_u₁nd dhi d_rœ₁k'n biist shi kaalz he
 N when shi f_u₁nd dhe d_ru₁qk'n biist dhet shi kaa'lz or
 B when shi fand dhe dr_æk'n biist et shi kAAZ v

S h_u₁zbend.
 N g_u₁d ma'n.
 B hæzbend.

9. S shi swóov shi saa' em widh er aan áiz lá_i'in aal iz
 N shi swor shi siid im widh or aa'n áiz l_ə'i₁n stritjt et
 B shi swúuv shi s_id im w_i or áun áiz lá_i'in stritjt at

S laq lenth on dhi g_rœ₁nd in hiiz s_u₁nde kleez, kloos
 N f_u₁l lenth on dhi g_ru₁nd in iz sœ₁nde kuut, kloos
 B f_ul lenth on dhe gr_ænd in iz g_æd sændiz koot, kloos

S bi dhi dAA_r i dhe huus duun at dhi kAA'vne_r v
 N bi dhe dor iv dhe h_u₁us, du₁un et dhe kornor ev
 B bá_i dhe door v dhe háus, duun et dhe kóovner v

S dhon leen.
 N jon lien.
 B jon leen.

10. S hii wez whə'inin on, sez shii, fɛl̥r aal dhi waa'eld
 N hii wez whindʒen vwee, sez shii, fɛr aa' dɦe woorld
 B hi wez kráin vwee, seshii, fɛr a dhi world

S lə'ik a púue bɛɛ'en, v̥l̥r a lit'l las fl̥reten.
 N lə'ik a s̥ik bɛorn, or v̥ bit la'si in v̥ pet.
 B láik v̥ bɛorn ut woz'nt wel', or v̥ lit'l lasi ut v̥ tempɛ.

11. S an dhat hap'nd az shii an v̥ dóute_l̥r in laa kom
 N en dha't ha'p'nt iz sh̥i en or dóutor in laa' kom
 B en dhat hap'nt, az shii en v̥ gad dáuter keem

S th_l̥ruu dhi bak JEE'ed fl̥re hiqen uut dhi wet kleez
 N thr̥u dhi ba'k jaa_l̥rd fr̥e hiqin úut dɦe wet kleez
 B thruu dɦe bak Jéed fr̥e hiqin ut dɦe wet kleez

S tɛ d_l̥rə'i on v̥ wɛshin dee,
 N ti d_rə'i on v̥ wɛshɛn dɛɛ,
 B tɛ dr̥ai on v̥ wɛshin dee,

12. S wə'il dɦe ket'l wez bóilen fɛ tii, won boni
 N whə'il dɦe ket'l wez bóilen for t̥i, won fə'in brə'it
 B when dɦe ket'l wez bóilin fɛ tii, woon fáin bráit

S su_mɛ_l̥r æftɛn̥u_n, ooni v̥ wik sɪns k_u_m nɛkst
 N su_mor æftorn̥u_n, ooni v̥ wiik ɛg̥ɛn n̥kst
 B sɛmɛz eftɛnuun, oonli v̥ wiik ɛgoo kɛm n̥kst

S thaa'ɛzɛ.
 N thorzɛ k_u_mz.
 B thærɛzɛ.

13. S en d̥jɛ naa? a nivɛ léend oni méev na dɦis ɛbuut
 N en di ji naa? a' nivor léornd oni méor nor dɦis iv
 B en d̥jɛ kɛn? a never leornd òni môv nɛ dɦis ɛbut

S dhat matɛ_l̥r u_p tɛ dɦis dɛɛ, ɛz shúue)z ma n̥ɛm)z
 N dha't bizn̥is æ_p tɛ dɦe dɛɛ, ɛz shuur ɛz ma' n̥ɛm)z
 B dhat bizn̥is til dɦe dɛɛ ɛz shúue)z mɛ neem)z

S :d̥jak :shɛpɛd, en a d̥ɪnɛt want iidɦɛ. dhéev
 N :d̥ja'k :sh̥ɪpɔrd, en a' d̥ɪnɛ wa'nt óudɦor, dhéor
 B :d̥jak :sh̥ɪpɛd, en a dɛv'nt wɔnt tɛ kɛn nɛdɦɛ. dhéev

S nuu!
 N n̥u!
 B náu.

14. S en nuu aa)m gaan JEM tɛ hee mi su_pɛ. g_u_d niit,
 N en soo a')z ga'n h̥ɛm tɛ hee mi su_por. g_u_d niit,
 B en soo a)m goon hoom tɛ ma sapɛ. gad náit,

S en dɪnɪt bi si kwik tɛ k[raa óu)ɐr ɐ bodi ɛgɪɛn when
 N en dɪnɛ bi si kwik tɛ kraa' óur ɐ bodi ɛgɪɛn, when
 B en dev'nt bi sɛ kwik tɛ kroo áuɐr ɐ bodi ɛgeen, when

S hi taaks ɐbuut dhis A dhi tu,ɪdhɛ.
 N hi taa'ks ɪv dhis dha't or dhɛ tu,ɪdhor.
 B hi taaks ɐbut dhis dhat ɐ dhɛ ædhɛ thiɔ.

15. S hii)z ɐ púuɐ fɪœl dhat bladhez wɪdhuut ɹiiz'ɪn.
 N hii)z nobet ɐ wiik fiul dhet ba'b'lz wɪdhuut rɪiz'ɪn.
 B it)s ɐ wiik fɪl' ɛt gab'lz ɛdhut riiz'n.

S en dhat)s mi last wæd. gu,ɪd báɪ.
 N en dha't ɪz ma' la'st word. gu,ɪd bə'i.
 B en dhat)s ma last wored. gæd báɪ.

Notes to the South Shields cs., p. 645.

In giving the variants, the name of Rev. C. Y. Potts will be contracted into Po., of Mr. Pyke into Py.

0. *why*, Po. (wái).—*Jack*, Po. (:dʒan).—*no*, Po. (ni).

1. *neighbour*, Po. (éi), but I heard (ə'i), and possibly this sound was meant by Po., no final *r*, but Py. said that he "felt it," that is, he felt his equivalent for (r), just as Londoners do. Po. says "it is lost in mere vocal breath" (') or (ɐ), when not preceding a vowel. When it does precede a vowel, it is apparently a very mild (r, r_o), written ɹ; it is not burred, except by the pitmen, who burr strongly.—*my*, Po. (maa), Py. also gave (mə'i).—*cares*, Po. (kéɛz).—*matter*, Po. (mi,ɪtɐ), which Py. says is Pilot talk; this variant will not be given again.—*it's neither here nor there* was a variant by Po., not corrected by Py.

2. *nobody*, Po. (niibadi), the (a) was I think a mistake for (ɐ), which I shall use without further notice.—*dies*, Po. (diiz).—*we*, Po. (u,ɪs).

3. *anyhow*, Po. (huuzi,ɐ), this (óu) pron. of U' final seemed peculiar to a few words, they also say (dhóu) thou, though they retain (huus). This resembles Rx. usage, D 33. It will not be noticed hereafter.—*just*, Po. (dʒu st).—*hold*, the pitmen say (had), the pilots (hóuld ɔn).—*done*, Po. (diun). All the (œi) are due to Py.'s dictation, Po. allowed only (u,ɪ).

4. *whole*, town (hool), pit (ɟɛl), which Po. gave.—*I did safe enough*, Po. (aa did sɹɛf ɛnu,ɪf).

5. *himself*, Po. (hiissɛl).—*years*, Po.

(iɪɐz).—*knew*, Po. (naad).—*father*, town (feedhɛ), pit. and Po. fɪɛdhɛ.—*any day*, Po. (Ani dee) and often.—*aye*, Po. (éi).

6. *without*, Po. (wɪvuut) and afterwards. Py. was strongly against this.—*ask*, Po. (aks).

7. *anyhow*, Po. (Ani huu).—*two or three times over*, Po. (twii ɐ thɹii téimz óu ɐ) or (óu ɐ ɹ en óu ɐ ɹ ɛgɪɛn) over and over again.—*aye*, Po. (éi).—*such*, Po. (su,ɪɟ).

8. *well*, Po. (wiil).—*would*, Po. (wad).—*how*, Po. (huu).—*drunken*, Po. (dɹu,ɪk'n), Py. 'the women say this.'—*beast*, makes the pl. (biists).—*husband*, Po. (hu,zbɛnt).

9. *lying all his long length*, Po. (láɪ ɪn stɹɪɟt at fu,l lɛnth) lying stretched at full length; to this Py. objected that when a man is dead he is said to be (stɹɪɟt uut) stretched out. Po. also gave as an alternative (láɪ ɪn aal hiz fu,l lɛnth) lying all his full length.—*ground*, Po. (gru,nd).—*he's* Po. (iz), which seems more usual.—*Sunday*, Po. (su,ɪndɛ), and so at the termination of all the weekday names.—*the*, Po. (dhi).—*yon*, Po. (dhan), Py. admitted both (dhon, dhondɛ) yon, yonder; it is a Scotticism I think.—*lane*, town (leen), country (lonɪn), pilot (liɛn).

10. *whining*, Po. (wéɪnɪn), Py. preferred (whɪndʒɪn).—*poor*, Po. (púuɛli).—*fretting*, Po. (ɪn a fɹɛt).

11. *she*, Po. (haa'ɐ), meaning (hóɐ)

I think, *hor* for her.—*daughter-in-law*, the phrase (*su₁n wə'i*) son wife is not used.—*hanging*, Po. (*haqin*).—*dry*, Po. (*drii*).

12. *bonny*, Po. (*sun-shéini*) sunshiny.

13. *Shepherd*, town (:shepəd), pilots (:shipped).—*don't*, Po. (*divint*).—*either*, Po. (*óudhe*).

14. *home*, I think (*hĭem*) is more correct.—*have*, Po. (*ha*).—*quick*, Po. (*fast*).

15. *fool*, Po. (*fĭu₁l*).—*blethers*, Po. (*taaks on*).—*my*, Po. (*maa*).—*word*, Po. (*wAA'ed*).—*goodbye*, Po. (*gu₁d ba'i*), Py. said that (*sə laq'*) so long was also used.

Notes to Newcastle cs., p. 645.

The following was general information gleaned from my informants, whose names will be abbreviated thus, M. = Mitcheson, P. = the two pitmen, Bryson and Young, F. = Ferschell, B. = Barkas.

M. Initial (*h*, *wh*) are distinct. Master (*meestor*), the (*r*) scarcely audible and probably (*rw*), at any rate the labialisation attacked the preceding vowel, and converted it into (*o*) or (*ə*). The agriculturists are broader in speech, but not so vulgar as the pitmen. There is a countrified speech about them. There is a rising inflexion in speech, higher for questions than for simple affirmation. The (*r*) in (*rat*) had very few beats, but had a suspicion of (*g*) about it. The fracture (*i₁i*) is distinct, but there are words in which (*ii*) occurs as (*tĭik*) cheek, Ws. *céáce*. In the same way (*ú₁u*) was distinct, as in (*nú₁u*, *sú₁u*) now, a sow, (*sú₁um*) swim, that is, float, but (*swim*) is used for men swimming. Found, ground, had (*u₁*), but round, about, house, had (*uu*), which did not to me appear to be (*ú₁u*). The long *i* is (*é'i*) or (*á'i*), not (*ái*). Short *a* is rather (*a'*) than anything else. There was a tendency in M. to run into (*æ*), possibly, I thought, from London habits. The long vowel is (*aa*). Conjugation of verb substantive (*a'*¹*m*, *dhá₁u*^z, *hĭi*^z, *wĭi*^r, *jo*^r, *dhéo*^r), here (*ii*) should probably be (*i₁i*). M. pronounced the words for 8, 18, 80 with (*é'it*), and called *alehouse* (*jel₁hús*).

P. The French (*r*) is general, but is lost when no vowel follows. Thus they told me that in county (:dóovm) Durham, they say (:dæm). About (:báaik) Berwick, they would say (*hĭen*). Through (*thrú₁u*) was almost (*thróu*). (*hú₁u d₁jə dii*) how do you do, is not much used in the district, the phrase is (*hú₁u aa jĭ*) how are you, or at full (*hú₁u aa jĭ gitin on dhə déi?*) how are you getting on to-day. *I am* (*a'*¹*m*) is pretty frequent, but *I iz* (*a'*¹*z*) is the regular expression. They never use *I be*, *I beant*, *we'm*. In (*u₁*) the

lips are very open, almost as much as for (*a*) [yet the sound was not at all (*u_o*) or (*æ*)]. The (*oo*) is sometimes spoken with lips as close as for (*u*) [but remains distinctly (*oo*)]. *Thou* in addresses is used in anger, it is disrespectful, but may be used from a mother to a child or a father to a baby, he would not use it when the child was ten or twelve years old. *Goodbye* is not used, they say (*gu₁d dee*) good day, when parting, and (*gu₁d móunen*) good morning in meeting. To children principally (*ta'¹ ta'*) is said in parting, but it is also used by men, who are beginning to say (*sa'¹ la'q*) so long [a salutation which I have heard of in the colonies]. There is a slight difference between the farming and mining people. The former have a more sluggish way of speaking with a drawl. [As these men spoke very well, with the exception of (*aa*) for *er* in *certain*, etc., I asked if they spoke so in the pit. They said] “Oh no! in the pit you must speak as they speak or you will be laughed at. We are allowed to speak properly at the weekly meetings of the Trades Union.” [They had come to London in connection with that Union.]

F. If you say (*div'nt wi*) don't we, the *we* refers only to the speaker and person addressed, if you say (*dĭnit wi*), the *we* is the speaker and any others. (*a'*¹*z*) is more frequent than (*a'*¹*m*). (*wéif*) is a woman, *wench* not used, (*la's*) not (*la'si*) even for a little girl. (*bodhor*) is much used. (*didn't óut ti ev díum*) didn't ought to have done = ought not to have done. (*ma'n*) is generally employed for husband, which, however, is used. In (*ma'¹ su₁uz wáif*, *mĭ dóutorz ma'n*), my son's wife, my daughter's husband, observe the (*ma'*) masculine (*mi*) feminine. Mrs. Fer-

schell's father, William Carr, then at Glass House Hill Works, Southwick, Sunderland, in 1876 sent me this analysis of the *burr*: "If you let your tongue lie in your mouth quite still, with the tip just touching your teeth, and make a noise from the throat (not by the nose at all), and your mouth moderately open, you will produce the burr just as we Newcastle folk have." He was sixty, a native, and natural dialect speaker. (*gud báí*) is not general, (*ta¹ ta¹*) is much used both among men

and women; they also say (*sə ləq*), which F. had chiefly heard in Sunderland. (*ju*) is weak, (*jii*) is strong. *quarrel* = (*kaa¹ l¹*). They say (*l¹ it ní it brá¹ it fá¹ it*) light night bright fight.

B. To Mr. Barkas I owe almost all the (*œ₁*) [the others, except M. at times, gave (*u*) only], and also nearly all the final (-or). He also confirmed the very common use of (*ta¹ ta¹*) among grown-up people.

The following are the special notes to the cs. distinguishing the variants of my different informants by the same initials as before.

0. *no*, P. (*nee*), F. (*nì*).—*doubts*, F. (*duuts*), ? (*dú¹ uts*).

1. *neighbour*, P. (*nə¹ i- nee-*), F. (*nái-*).—*this*, P. (*dhis*), F. (*dhor*).—*mine*, P. almost (*mæ¹ in*).—*who*, F. (*wi¹ i*).—*cares*, P. (*keez*).—*neither*, P. (*nóudhor*, *nə¹ idhor*).

2. *they are*, M. F. (*dhor*), P. (*dhéi, e*).—*don't*, B. (*div¹ nt*) or (*dín¹ t*) both used, see F.'s preliminary observations.—*very*, P. F. (*va¹ ri*).

3. *of the*, F. (*i dhæ*).—*till*, P. (*tiv*), B. (*til*) is better.—*done*, M. F. (*dín*), P. B. (*dīœ₁ n*).

4. *I am*, B. (*a¹ m*, *a¹ z*) equally often, P. (*a¹ z*).—*certain*, M. and P. no (*r*), B. (*r*).—*heard*, B. (*hiord*), and most of the (-or) are due to B.—*folks*, P. (*fook*).—*that did I*, B. put *I did*.—*safe*, P. (*seef*), saying (*síef*) was used further north.—*enough*, P. (*enúf*).

5. *that*, F. (*dhit*).—*nine*, F. (*ná¹ in*).—*though*, P. F. (*thoo*), B. says (*dhoo*) is equally usual.—*was*, F. (*wez*) unemphatic.—*trust*, F. inclined to (*tru¹ st*).—*aye*, P. (*ee*), F. (*éei*), B. or (*á¹ i*).—*I would*, P. (*a¹ waa¹ d¹*, *wá¹ d¹*), mere emphasis.

6. *straight*, F. (*strá¹ it*).—*without*, M. (*wiv-*), F. B. (*widh-*).

7. *oughtn't*, B. seemed to say (*áut¹ nt*), but (*óu-*) was heard from the others and is most likely.—*such*, M. (*sík*), F. B. (*sek*).

8. *how*, *where*, and *when*, F. (*ú¹ u weer en wen*), *h* inserted by B.—

drunken, P. (*dru¹ k¹ n*), B. (*drœ¹ k¹ n*) sometimes, but more often (*dru¹ qk¹ n*).—*good man*, that is, husband, so in original.

9. *stretched*, P. with (*ii*) or (*i*), F. B. with (*i*).—*Sunday*, B. with (*œ₁*).—*coat*, M. (*koot*), F. (*káut*) with a very faint indication of a fracture like (*ká¹ ut*).—*lane*, P. (*leen*), objecting to (*l¹ en*), B. (*lonen*); F. (*lonen*) is used in Durham, Gateshead, etc.

10. *whindging*, this was the P.'s word, F. says it's the cry of a sick fretful child, B. says (*whé¹ inen*) whining is quite as common, F. says it is used for children crying and differs from *whindging*; (*bleeren*) is also crying as a child.—*world*, B. with (*oo*), the rest with (*o*).—*bit* inserted by B.

11. *day*, B. (*dée*), the rest (*dee*).

12. *afternoon*, B. (*-nìœ₁ n*), the rest (*-niun*).—*only a week against next Thursday comes*, P. put *a week since* (*sins*) *next Thursday*.

13. *more than this*, I seemed to hear only (*meo no dhis*) from P.—*do not want*, M. had (*wa¹ nt tē*), but this *to* was not in the original and was struck out by B.—*there now*, F. says the phrase is very common at Newcastle.

14. *so*, M. (*sii*), original and P. (*soo*).—*going*, P. (*ga¹ n*), original and F. (*ga¹ nen*).—*to have my supper*, so P. F., original (*ti su¹ p*).—*quick*, P. (*shaa¹ p*).

Notes to Berwick-upon-Tweed cs., p. 645.

0. *no*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond they say (nee).—*doubts*, the (u) quite short; when (uu) is said, Berwickers think the speaker comes from Yo. or Cu., of which (uu) is a mark to them.

1. *neighbour*, there was no (r), but it seemed as if the speaker opened his mouth at the end; this loss of (r) is a marked feature.—*he*, the (ii) very sharp, not at all the (ii) or (i.i).—*both*, the (oo) inclined towards (u).—*laugh*, Berwickers never use (kh) at all, they have the greatest difficulty in pronouncing it, notwithstanding their uvular (r).

2. *few*, the mouth seemed to close up to a (w), but I am not certain that it was intentional.—*die*, I have generally written (ái), which is, I believe, the regular form of the diphthong. In a few cases, which I shall note, I wrote (ó'i), but I have given (ái) in the text uniformly.—*we ken*, in B. they use *ken* for *savoir*, and *know*, which is rather refined, for *connaître*.—*them*, they never drop the (dh), or rather never use the form *hem* with omitted aspirate.—*what should*, even emphatically, a boy would say (shad, v noo) should I not?—*very*, this (r) was light, but still marked, and the trill of the uvula had much the effect of a tongue trill.

3. *these* is, they never think of saying (aa) are, but this is a peculiar case.—*friend*, (mái man) is more common.—*I am*, they never use *I* is (a)z in B., they will say (wi wi) with us, and never use (haz) for *us*.

4. *certain*, this is refined, (shûv) is the common word.—*say*, no inclining to (i) at the end.—*that*, (at) is the regular form.—*first*, this inserted (v) is regular, as (woreld, tharevzdee).—*enough*, the form *enow* is not known.

5. *nine*, pron. as a dissyllable.—*squeaking*, the distinction between the participle and gerund is not known at B., nor apparently in Nb. generally.—*aye*, this one word (ææ i) is the mark of a Berwickier.

6. *now*, they say (nuu) at B. The final U' and its congeners are only partially treated as in D 33, L. *now*, *thou*, *to bow*, a barley mow, the prow of a ship, a row (noise), a vow, have (áu), but how however cow brow shower sow s. coward cower power have

(uu, ù).—*at once*, the usual phrase, *straight* is (stráit).—*and all*, regularly used for *too*, a word unknown to the lower classes.—*bother*, the word is much used.

7. *I asked* (ar akst), observe the euphonic (r) after (a)=I.—*two or three*, so at Spittal (1 se. Berwick), on s. of the Tweed, but in the Liberties of B., they say (táu v thrái); a few miles n. of the Liberties they used a strongly trilled (.r), and cannot pronounce (r).—*wrong*, the (r) was good and strong with no trace of (w). Observe the (oo), which I seemed to hear, not (oo). Mr. G. said that (oo), or, as he conceived it, (oo), long, is heard in broad, God, cod, on, among, along, strong; but road has (o), so that a broad road becomes (v brood rod), or, as Mr. G. conceived it, (v brood ród), while a fishing rod is (rood).

8. *husband*, this is a polite usage, (v' man) her man is the regular expression.

9. *eyes*, *lying*, *by*, were noted as (ó'i) in place of (ái), which I think was intended.—*full*, so also (pæl) pull.—*coat*, rather between (koot, kuut).—*by* (bái), meaning near, (bi) applied to the instrument.—*yon*, much used, never becomes (dhon).

10. *crying*, this is the word almost invariably used for making a noise of weeping, (whimperin) is also used for a fretting child.—*says she*, contracted into *sayshe*.

11. *dry*, this was noted *drai* (dró'i).

12. *when*, the word *while* is absolutely never used.—*tea*, at Spittal and Tweedmouth, s. of the Tweed, but within the Liberties they use (tái) for *tea*, and (mái) for *me*, and (jáu) for *you*. In both B. and Spittal, especially the latter, (híni) honey is a common term of endearment.—*fine*, dissyllable, as *nine* (nái'in), par. 5.—*bright*, similarly *night*, *sight*, *light*, *fight*, have (ái) with a sharp glide on to the *t*.

13. *business*, (meetv) matter is the common word.—*theday*, that is, *to-day*, and so the morn, the night, as in L.

15. *without*, (widhut) with a short vowel, could also be used.—*good-bye*, here also (bo'i) was noted, the phrase is common; (ta taa') is used among men, but not much, *so long* unknown.

TWENTY-TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

Var. i, n.Cu., is illustrated in Nos. 21 and 22, pp. 562, 563, 602. We begin therefore here with

Var. ii, n.Du., Nos. 1 to 6.

1. *Edmundbyers* (17 ww.Durham). In io. but with full explanations by the Rector, Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh (-haf), who came there in 1856, and was still there in 1886. He states that this district is bounded by three watersheds, and includes the villages of Cold Dowley, Castleside, Muggleswick, Daskerby, Edmundbyers, Ruffside, and Hunstanworth in Du. and Blanchland in Nb., and that communication tended rather towards Upper Weardale and Allendale than eastwards. The boundaries of his district are Allansford on the e., Upper Allendale w., and Weardale s., and not further than Minster Acres n., beyond that the influence of Tyneside begins to be felt.

2. *Lanchester* (7 nw.Durham). The place was really a farm house, called (:klik'emin'), or something like it, 10 nw.Durham. The informant, Mr. Robson, was a bailiff or overseer, whose assistance was obtained for me in Feb. 1879, by Rev. Canon Greenwell of Durham (who befriended me dialectally in many ways), but as he did not arrive till late in the evening, and as I had to return to Newcastle that night, I was much hurried. Particularly the diphthong here and at the time written as (óu) was not clear to me, and may have been (ú,u) or (éúu) as in St. John's Weardale. Also (lern, meer) were not approved of either by Canon Greenwell or Robson, and I inclined to (lær_ɹ, mæər_ɹ) at the time. Perhaps indistinct (le^hrn, mee^hr_ɹ) might be better. Pal. from dict. by AJE.

3. *Annfield Plain*, near Linz Green (12 nw.Durham), Vic. of Collierly-under-Lanchester, St. Thomas's Vicarage. It is an extensive parish, chiefly of colliers, and the vicarage was so difficult of access (when I was at Newcastle in January, 1879, snow was on the ground, and the vicarage lay four miles from a station, road uphill, with no conveyance), that I was obliged to renounce seeing the old learned vicar, Dr. Blythe Hurst, since deceased, to whom I am indebted for two dt. practically identical (one by H. Leslie, teacher at the National School), and a wl. with a glossary of Tyneside. He had spoken the dialect himself for the first 36 years of his life.

4. *Bishop Middleham* (8 sse.Durham). Through the kindness of the vicar, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, I was taken to see two natives, George Lazenby and William Greenwell, from whose dictation I pal. this dt. They told me that the talk used to be much broader than it is now, and that the school had knocked up the dialect.

5. *Kelloe* (7 se.Durham), pal. by AJE. from the dict. of R. Heightley, a tailor, then living at Bishop Middleham, the vicar of which, Rev. C. A. Cartledge, introduced me to him. Heightley had a decided burr (r), but it was very faint.

6. *Sunderland*, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Taylor Potts, 17, Derwent Street, Bishop Wearmouth. Sunderland contains Bishop and Monk Wearmouth. Mr. Potts informed me that I need not pay any attention to Sunderland as furnishing dialectal information, for it was a Scotch colony about the time of the Commonwealth, when it became a port, and most of the people are descended from the Scotch. Most of the queer pronunciations are not native. The Irish are also numerous and mixed up with the 120,000 people that live within the bounds of the union. Hence we have the Scotch element, the Irish element, and the sailor element. But Bishop Wearmouth is ancient, and there are descendants of the old families there. Mr. Brockie (22, Olive Street, an antiquary, to whom I had an introduction) said that Mr. Taylor Potts was a representative of these old settlers. Mr. Taylor Potts rather unceremoniously rejected a wl. given me by the late Mr. Tom Taylor (editor of *Punch*), who told me he "was born there, and lived and was educated there till he went to Glasgow University," saying that Mr. T. Taylor had left young, and that his memory had deceived him, thus Mr. T. T. gave *nā-ām* = (nēem), and Mr. T. P. (niām) for name. As a specimen of genuine Sunderland Mr. T. P. gave me as the cry of a woman watching two other women fighting: (deg_ɹer in)dhe mel_ɹer_ɹin, :bet), dig=hit her in the mid of her eyes, Bet.

Var. iii, sw.Nb., Nos. 7 to 9.

7. *Hexham* 1, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. Joseph Wright, Keeper of the Natural History Museum at Newcastle, a native.

8. *Hexham* 2, pal. Jan. 1879, by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Dobson, native of Hexham, but Master of the Marine School at North Shields. Although the burr is strong at Hexham, Mr. D. could not pronounce it; hence I have supplied the (*r*) from No. 7.

9. *Haltwhistle*, the town, 14 w.Hexham, and hence near to the Cu. b., written in io. with explanations by Rev. W. Howchin, conjecturally pal. by AJE. from these explanations and Nos. 7 and 8. It is apparently a town speech, and hence, perhaps, the predominance of (α_1). Mr. H. says communication, education, etc., have caused great diversity in the pron.

Var. iv, se.Nb., Nos. 10 to 13.

10. *Stamfordham*, formerly called and still known to the peasantry as Stannerton (12 nw.Newcastle), pal. conj. by AJE. from the writing in io. by Rev. John F. Bigge, vicar, and said to apply to a few miles n., 2 miles e., and only 1 mile w. and s. At one mile w. begins the Hexham Var. iii, the limits of which are thus fixed.

11. *Whalton*, with Belsay and Bolam (5, 8, and 7 sw. and wsw.Morpeth), pal. conj. by AJE. from the io. by Rev. J. Walker, rector, made from notes by Mr. Robert Bewick, of Whalton, with long explanations.

12. *Newcastle*, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. William Lyell, secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society.

13. *North Shields* (8 ne.Newcastle), at the mouth of the Tyne, on the n or Nb. side the river, pal. in Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. J. Edington, secretary to the Free Library there.

Var. v, mid Nb., Nos. 14 to 21.

14. *Rothbury* (13 nw.Morpeth), pal. by AJE. Feb. 1879 from the dict. of Mr. Andrew Scott of Debdon farm, 2 m. off, a natural dialect speaker, procured for me by the late Rev. Dr. G. H. Ainger, then rector.

15. *Snitter* (3 w-by-n.Rothbury), serving also for Whittingham (8 w.Alnwick), pal. Feb. 1879 by AJE. from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Allen of Whittingham, a remarkably intelligent man.

16. *Harbottle* (17 wsw.Alnwick), on the w. b. of Nb., written in io. by Dr. F. Richardson there resident, and conj. pal. by AJE. Dr. R. says: "This village is situated at the base of the Cheviots. The inhabitants of those hills to the w. are L. Scotch, and of course from their proximity for a lengthened period it is difficult to distinguish in many words whether or not the pron. has been modified by the intercourse. I have endeavoured to eliminate this element, and hope I have succeeded."

17. *Warkworth* (5 se.Alnwick), representing e.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick, pal. in Apr. 1879, and corrected in May, 1887, by AJE. from dict. of Mr. T. Dawson Ridley, engineer, native, but resident generally at Coatham (21 nw.Whitby, Yo., on the coast), accompanied by a wl.

18. *Alnwick*; written, March, 1879, in io. by Mr. Robert Middlemas, solicitor, Alnwick, and by him taken to represent not only Alnwick, but Felton (8 s. Alnwick), Rothbury (10 sw.A.), Wooler (15 nw.A.), Belford (13 nnw.A.), Ellingham (7 n.A.), and Bamborough (14 n-by-e.A.). This seems rather too wide a range. Certainly all these places do not use (α) for U. Wooler and Belford do, Rothbury uses (α_1 , α_1). But probably the town of Alnwick uses (α), for Mr. M., president of a Young Men's Society at Alnwick, sent me a paper read by Mr. George Thompson before it, on the "Northumbrian Vowel Sounds (applicable solely to Alnwick)," of which I give the substance in the notes, p. 608. It must be recollected that Alnwick is a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and hence speaks "fine." Rev. James Blythe, Greenville, Alnwick, also gave me a cs. in io., said to represent n.Nb. The variants are very slight, and are given in the notes. Both conj. pal. by AJE.

19. *Whittingham* (:whitindjəm) (6 w.Alnwick), conj. pal. by AJE. from the version written in io. by Mr. William Dixon, draper, of Whittingham, whom I heard read out a dialect story at an entertainment at Rothbury.

20. *Embleton* 1 (6 ne Alnwick), representing the peasant as distinct from the fishing population, written, 1879, in io. by Rev. M. Creighton, then vicar, and conj. pal. by AJE. Mr. C. had the greatest difficulty with the (r), which he describes as "a guttural oo prolonged; during the prolongation the tip of the tongue is turned up towards the palate, and is drawn along from the front of the mouth to the uvula." Hence he writes *oowit*, *rwoōd*, *thwōo*, *oowēd*, right, road, through, red. As (rw) is the regular sign for the labialised uvular r, I indicate this variety, which I have not heard, by (rw₁). If the description is correct, it is complicated with (rw). *Embleton* is the head of a scattered district, where many families have lived for generations. The agricultural population of Nb. is shifting and constantly reinforced by Scotch. My pal. is merely the best I could do from the indications given.

21. *Embleton* 2, the fishing population, see No. 20, written in io. by Rev. C. E. Green, in 1879, then curate, conj. pal. by AJE. This place has had a steady population, subject to very little change. The vicar considered that the r was ordinary (r), and not the (rw₁) quasi (rw) of the land peasantry. Mr. Green has also a difficulty with this sound, writing 'rrite, *gurr*l, *yond*'rr, 'rrade, *th'roo*, *rred*, 'rrong, *der'ucken*, *sh'rrivull'd*, *vah'ē*, *poo'or*, *tr'oo*, right, girl, yonder, road, through, red, wrong, drunken, shrivelled, very, poor, true.

Var. vi, n.Nb., No. 22.

22. *Wooler* (:u₁lur) (15 nw.Alnwick), written 1879 in io. with many explanations, by Matthew T. Culley, Esq., of Coupland Castle, Wooler, and pal. conj. therefrom by AJE. Mr. C. says, "The u is pronounced as in *cut* or *butter*, the other pron. ending somewhat n. of Newcastle. The dialect bears a strong resemblance to the Scotch of Bw. and Rx., but with a strong guttural accent entirely different to the thrilling sound of the Scotch, and the R is pron. with a guttural difficult or impossible to describe on paper—*barrel* would become *barl* (baarl), *baron barn* (baarn), but the sound of the letter it is impossible to give. H strongly pron. A very broad like *aw* (a). I as the personal pronoun, *aw* (a), and elided [ʔ] before a vowel or before *will*, as *aw'll* (aa,l). *Do* pron. *dee* (dii). *I say* beginning a sentence would be *awsa* (ai sē)—accent on the penultim. U has the sound of French u in syllables like *soon*, but not in *moon* [ʔ mian]. Scotch [i.e. L.] is spoken as soon as the border is crossed, and there is a slight admixture of it here." On this I found my n. *sōm* line 9. Mr. Culley was mistaken as to the use of (u₁). We find it at *Embleton*, and hence I draw the line between *Embleton* and *Wooler*. In another letter Mr. C. adds: "The guttural gh is very mildly pron. compared to what it is on the Scotch side of the border. The sharp u in *soon*, etc. [ʔ his French u] is more Scotch than Northumbrian, but the two dialects are somewhat mixed. U is pron. as in *but*, *cut*, in *bull*, *pull*, *full* (bæl, pæl, fæl)." In May, 1883, Mr. Kirkup, who had been pupil teacher at Yetholm, Rx., only 1 m. from the Nb. border, read me this dt., but seemingly had mixed up Nb. and Rx. I give his variants in the notes.

As, unfortunately, interviews with all my *vivâ voce* informants were short and hurried, and as I had no opportunities for revision, while the speech was entirely strange to me, and therefore liable to be misheard at first, and as I had in the majority of cases to puzzle out the pronunciation from a great variety of orthographies by the aid of what I had been really able to hear, I must ask indulgence if my palaeotypic rendering is not quite so perfect as could be desired, and contrasts unfavourably with the minute accuracy of JGG.'s and TH.'s contributions.

* *vivá voce* pal. by AJE.

1.	1	<i>Edmondbyers</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	SEE,	MEETS,
	*2	<i>Lanchester</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	aa	see,	meets,
	3	<i>Annfield Plain</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	sii	a	see,	maréz,
	*4	<i>Bishop Middleham</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	séev,	méevts,
	*5	<i>Kelloe</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.	soo	a	see,	méevts,
	*6	<i>Sunderland</i> , Var. ii, p. 653.		a	see,	
	*7	<i>Hexham 1</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	
	*8	<i>Hexham 2</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	soo	a	sii,	maroz,
	9	<i>Haltwhistle</i> , Var. iii, p. 654.	see	a	see,	la ¹ dz,
	10	<i>Stamfordham</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	11	<i>Whalton</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	sóov	a ¹	see,	ma ¹ rez,
	*12	<i>Newcastle</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	meets,
	*13	<i>North Shields</i> , Var. iv, p. 654.	soo	aa	séev,	meets,
	*14	<i>Rothbury</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	*15	<i>Snitter</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	séei,	meets,
	16	<i>Harbottle</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a ¹	see,	ladz,
	*17	<i>Warkworth</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	sii	a ¹	see,	la ¹ dz,
	18	<i>Alnwick</i> , Var. v, p. 654.	soo	a	see,	meets,
	19	<i>Whittingham</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	sii	a	see,	nə ¹ iborz,
	20	<i>Embleton 1</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	see,	míeets,
	21	<i>Embleton 2</i> , Var. v, p. 655.	so	a	séev,	méevts,
	22	<i>Wooler</i> , Var. vi, p. 655.	SEE	a ¹	se,	kalents,

1	je	séi	nuu	dhet	a)z	r _o iit	ebuut	dhat	bít
2	je	séi	nóu	dhat	à)m	r _i iit	ebóut	dhat	lít'l
3	je	sii	nuu	dhet	aa)z	riit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
4	je	see	nóu	dhet	aa)z	réit	ebóut	dhat	lít'l
5	je	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	réit	ebóut	dhat	lít'l
6	je	sii	na'u	dhet	à)m	rit	ebóut	dhat	lít'l
7	je	s _i i	nuu	dha't	à ¹)m	réit	ebuut	dha't	lít'l
8	je	sii	nóu	dhet	a)m	riit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
9	je	s _i i	noe ₁ 'u	dha't	a)z	réit	ebùt	dha't	lít'l
10	ji	sii	nuu	it	a ¹)m	riit	a ¹ buut	dha't	bit
11	jo	sii	nu	it	a ¹)z	riit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
12	je	sii	nú ₁ u	dhat	a ¹)m	riit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
13	je	séi	nóu	dhet	à)m	riit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
14	ju ₁ u	séei	nú ₁ u	dhat	a)m	réit	ebú ₁ ut	dhat	lít'l
15	ju	see	nóu	dhat	a)m	ráit	ebuut	dhe	l't'l
16	ji	séei	nuu	dhat	a ¹)m	réit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
17	je	s _i i	nú ₁ u	dhet	a ¹)z	riit	ebú ₁ t	dha't	lít'l
18	ji	sii	nóu	dhat	a)m	réit	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
19	je	séi	nóu	dhat	a)m	rə ¹ it	ebuut	dhet	lít'l
20	je	sii	nú ₁ u		a)m	ru ₁ ə ¹ it	ebuut	dhat	lít'l
21	je	sii	nuu	dhat	a)m	rə ¹ it	ebuut	dhet	lít'l
22	ji	sii	nuu		a)m	re ¹ ikht	ebuut	dhat	bit

1	lās	kām'in	fr _o v	dhe	skíul	jondher _o .
2	lasi	kāmen	from	dhe	skíel	dhonder _o .
3	las	kām'in	fro	dhe	skíul	dhonder _o .
4	las	kāmen	free	dhe	skíel	jonder.
5	las	kāmen	free	dhe	skíel	dhonder.
6	thiq	kāmen	fro	dhe	skíæ ₁ l.	
7	las	kām'in	fro	dhe	skíul	dhonder.
8	las	kæ ₁ mēn	fre	dhe	skíæ ₁ l	jonder.
9	las	kæ ₁ mēn	fre	dhe	skíel	jonder _o .
10	geerl	kæ ₁ m'in	free	dhe	skíuel.	
11	lasi	kæ ₁ m'in	free	dhe	skul	joner.
12	las	kū ₁ mēn	fo)dhe		skíæ ₁ l	dhonder.
13	las	kū ₁ mēn	fwe	dhe	skíæ ₁ l	dhonde.
14	las	ko'm'in	from	dhe	skuul	jondor.
15	lasi	kū ₁ m'in	frem	dhe	skuul	jondor.
16	lasi	kæ ₁ m'in	free	dhe	skíul	jondor.
17	las	kæ ₁ mēn	fre	dhe	skíul	jonder.
18	garl	kæ ₁ m'in	free	dhe	skuul	dhondor.
19	lasi	kām'in	free	dhe	skuul	jonder.
20	giorl	kæ ₁ m'in	fr _o om	dhe	skúuel	jondor.
21	garl	kæ ₁ m'in	free	dhe	skíul	jondor.
22	lasi	kām'in	free	dhe	skyy ₁ l	uutbe'i.

2.	1	sh'i)z	ganen	duun	dhe	róoed	dhiier _o	thru	dhe
	2	sh'i ₁ i)z	ganen	dóun	dhe	rood	dheer	throu	dhe
	3	sh'e)z	ganen	doon	dhe	róoed	dhéer	thruu	dhe
	4	shii)z	ganen	dóun	dhe	róoed	dheer	thruu	dhe
	5	shii)z	ganen	dóun	dhe	róoed	dhéer	throo	dhe
	6	sh'i)z	gan	dóun	dhe	rood	dhéer	thruu	dhe
	7	sh'i ₁ i)z	gan'in	duun	dhe	rood	dhéer	thruu	dhe
	8	shii)z	ganen	duun	dhe	rood	dhær	thru	dhi
	9	shii)z	ganen	duun	dhe	r _o úued	dhéer _o	thr _o æ' ₁ u	dhe
	10	shii)z	ga'n'in	duun	dhe	rood	dheer	thruu	dhe
	11	shii)z	ga'n	duun	dhe	róoed	dher	thriu	dhe
	12	sh'i ₁ i)z	ga'n'en	duun	dhe	rood	dheer	thruu	dhe
	13	shii)z	gaan	duun	dhe	wood	dhéer	thruu	dhe
	14	shii)z	goo'in	dú ₁ un	dhe	rwood	dhéer	thrú ₁ u	dhe
	15	shii)z	gaan	elaq	dhe	rwood	dheer	thrú ₁ u	dhe
	16	shii)z	ganen	duun	dhe	rod	dheer	throu	dhe
	17	sh'e)z	ga'n'en	dú ₁ un	dhe	rood	dheer	thrú ₁ u	dhe
	18	shii)z	gan	duun	dhe	rood	dheer	throu	dhe
	19	shii)z	gan	duun	dhe	rood	dheer	throu	dhe
	20	shii)z	goon	duun	dhe	r _o úued	dhéer	thr _o u ₁ u	dhe
	21	sh'i)z	ga'in	duun	dhe	rood	dhéer	thruu	dhe
	22	shii)z	ga'en	duun	jon	raad		thruu	dhe

- 1 riid géet e dhe left han sáid e dhe wee.
 2 ríid géet e dhe left an sáid ev dhe rood.
 3 riid gjet e dhe left hand séid e dhe wee.
 4 reed [ʔ riid] géet e dhe left an sáid
 5 reed [ʔ riid] géet e dhe left an sáid e dhe lonen.
 6 riid gíat on dhe left hand sáid e dhe lonin.
 7 riid gíet e dhe left hand sáid e dhe wee.
 8 riid Jet, e dhe left hand sáid e dhe wee.
 9 ríid Jet, on dhe left han séid e dhe wee.
 10 riid Jet i)dh left hand séid iv dhe wee.
 11 riid Jet i)dh left han séid iv dhe wee.
 12 riid geet o)dh left ha'nd sáid e dhe wee.
 13 riid géet on dhe left han sáid e dhe wee.
 14 riid geet on dhe left hand sáid ev dhe wee.
 15 riid geet on dhe left hand sáid e dhe rwood.
 16 riid geet on dhe left hand séid ev dhe weei.
 17 riid JET on dhe left ha'nd se'id i dhe wee.
 18 riid geet on dhe left han sáid ev dhe wee.
 19 riid geet on dhe left hand sáid e dhe wee.
 20 rweid gieet e dhe left hand sáid e dhe wíee.
 21 red géet e dhe left hond sáid e dhe wéee.
 22 riid Jet i)dh left hand se'id.

3. 1 shuuer enœ₁f dhe béern hœz géen stráit u₁p ti
 2 shú₁uer eníuf dhe bæ'ern)z giæn u₁p te
 3 shuur inœ₁f dhe béern hœz gjen stréit up te
 4 shuuer eníuf dhe béern)z gôn strá'it up te
 5 shoor eníuf dhe béern)z gôn strá'it up te
 6 wə'i dhe béern)z giæn strá'it ho'p te
 7 shuur eníuf dhe béern)z giæn strá'it up te
 8 shuur enœ₁f dhe beern)z giæn strá'it œ₁p te
 9 shíuuer eníuf dhe béern)z giæn sthrœet œ₁p te
 10 shuur eníuf dhe beern)z giæn stréit œ₁p tiv
 11 siir eníuf dhe beern)z géin stréit œ₁p te
 12 shuur eníœ₁f dhe béern)z giæn strá'it up te
 13 shúue eníuf dhe béernz giæn strá'it u₁p te
 14 suur enú₁u dhe béorn)z gaæn stréit te
 15 shuur ení₁uf dhe bóorn)z giæn strá'it æp ti
 16 shuur eníuf dhe beern)z giæn stréit œ₁p te
 17 shúuuer eníuf dhe beern)z giæn stré'it u₁p ti
 18 shuur enœ₁f dhe beern)z giæn strá'it œ₁p te
 19 shuur eníuf dhe beern)z geen strá'it æp te
 20 shœ₁erw₁ enœ₁f dhe tʃə'ild)z gon strw₁á'it u₁p te
 21 shuuoer eníuf t' tʃə'ild)z geen strá'it u₁p te
 22 shyy₁r enuu dhe beern)z gáæn stre'ikht æp til

1	dhv dúer _o	v	dhv raq	huus,
2	dhv dár _o	ev	dhv raq	hóus,
3	dhv door	v	dhv raq	huus,
4	dhv dóua _l r	v	dhv raq	hóus,
5	dhv dóoer	v	dhv raq	hóus,
6			dhv raq	óus,
7	dhv dóoer	v	dhv raq	huus,
8	dhv du ₁ er	v	dhv raq	huus,
9	dhv dúuer	v	dhv r _o aq	huus,
10	dhv duur	iv	dhv ra ¹ q	huus,
11	dhv duur	i)dhv	ra ¹ q	huus,
12	dhv door	o)dhv	ra ¹ q	huus,
13	dhv dóov	v	dhv raq	huus,
14	dhv door	v	dhv raq	huus,
15	dhv duur	v	dhv raq	huus,
16	dhv duur	ev	dhv raq	huus,
17	dhv dór	i	dhv ra ¹ q	hú ₁ s,
18	dhv duuer	ev	dhv raq	huus,
19	dhv duuer	v	dhv raq	huus,
20	dhv duuor	v	dhv r _w ₁ aq	huus,
21	dhv duuer	v)dh	raq	huus,
22	dhv duur	v)dhv	raq	huus,

4.	1	wíer _o	shí)l	hap'n	find	dhat	druk'n	diif
	2	wheer _o	me)bi	shii)l	find	dhat	druk'n	dí ₁ if
	3	wéer	shí)l	ev v tjans	te find	dhat	druk'n	diif
	4	wéev	shii)l	me)bi	find	dhat	druk'n	diif
	5	wéer	shí)l	me)bi	find	dhat	druk'n	diif
	6	wéer	shii)l	me)bi	find	dhat	dró ¹ k'n	diif
	7	whéer	shii)l	me)bi	find	dha't	drú ₁ k'n	diif
	8	wheer	shii)'l	hap'n	te find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	9	whéer _o	shí)l	me)bi	find	dha't	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	10	wheer	shii)l	me)bi	find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	11	wher	shii)l	mev ₁ z	find	dhet	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	12	weer	shii)l	mev ₁ i	find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	13	wéev	shii)l	mebi	find	dhat	drú ₁ k'n	diif
	14	whécor	shii)l	meb ₁ z	find	dha't	drú ₁ k'n	diif
	15	wheer	shii)l	meb ₁ z	find	dhat	dræk'n	diif
	16	wheer	shv wœ ₁ l	meb ₁ z	find	dha't	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	17	wheer	shv)l	mev ₁ z	find	dha't	drú ₁ k'n	diif
	18	wheer	shí·wœ ₁ l	mebi	find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	19	wheer	shii)l	jí'b'lz	find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	20	whécor	shí)l	hap'n	te f'find	dhat	drú ₁ œ ₁ k'n	diif
	21	whécor	shí)l	tjans	te f'find	dhat	drœ ₁ k'n	diif
	22	whaar	shii)l	mebi	find	ron	dræk'n	diif

1	kiz'nd	up	felv,	bi	dhe	néem	v	:tomes.
2	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	neem	vv	:tom.
3	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	njem	v	:tomes.
4	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	néem	v	:tomes.
5	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	néem	v	:kelv.
6	wiz'nd		div'l,	v	dhe	niàm	v	:tomes.
7	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	niem	v	:tom.
8	wiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	niium	v	:tomes.
9	kiz'nd		felv	v	dhe	niium	v	:tom.i.
10	wuz'nd		felv	i)dh	nïem	iv	:tomes.	
11	wos'nd		felv	iv	dhe	néim	iv	:tomis.
12	wiz'nd		tjep	v)dh	nïem	v	:tom.	
13	shkiv'ld		felv	vv	dhe	nïem	vv	:tomes.
14	shriv'ld		fælv	v	dhe	néem	v	:tom.
15	staarvd		fælv	v	dhe	niem	v	:tom.
16			fælv	vv	dhe	niem	vv	:tom.
17	wiz'nd		felv	i	dhe	niem	v	:tomes.
18	shrœ;k'n		felv	v	dhe	nïem	vv	:tomes.
19	wœ;z'nt		felv	v	dhe	neem	v	:tomes.
20	widhord		felv	v	dhe	nïeem	vv	:tomes.
21	shriv'ld		felv	v	dhe	néem	v	:tomes.
22	le'iert		fælv		kaad			:tomes.

5.	1	wi	aal	ken	em	vari	wiil.
	2	wi	AAL	naa)'m		w _i il	enúuf.
	3	wi	aal	ken	en	vari	wiil.
	4	wi	aal	naa	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	5	wi	aal	noo	im	veri	weel [? wiil].
	6	wi	AAL	noo	im	veri	wiil.
	7	wi	ool	ken	im	vari	wiil.
	8	wi	oo	ken	em	varv	wiil.
	9	wi	œ ₁	nœ ₁)em		var _o a	wiil.
	10	wi	aa	ken	him	verv	wiil.
	11	wi	aa	ken	im	verv	wiil.
	12	wi)a ¹		na ¹	im	va ¹ ri	wiil.
	13	wi	aal	naa	im	va _k i	wiil.
	14	wi	aal	naa	im	va _l ri	wiil.
	15	w _i	aal	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	16	wi	aa	naa)m		varv	wiil.
	17	w _i i	aa ¹	ken	em	va ¹ rv	w _i il.
	18	wi	aa	naa	him	verv	wiil.
	19	wi	aa	naa	im	vari	wiil.
	20	wi	aa	nhoo	im	veerv _i	wiil.
	21	wi	aal	nhoo	im	vái	wiil.
	22	wi	aa	ken	im	varv	wiil.

6. 1 winet dhe aad tɔap sún tístɔ er not tɛ dii)t
 2 winet dhe aad tɔap sɛn lɛrn er not tɛ di)d
 3 winet dhe aad tɔɛp sún léern er nat tɛ di)d
 4 winet dhe aad tɔap sɛn teetɔ er not tɛ di)d
 5 winet dhe aad tɔap sɛn lɛrn ɛ not tɛ di)d
 6 winet dhe aad tɔap sún lɛrn er not tɛ trɔ'ɛ it
 7 winit dhe ood tɔa'p sún léorn er not tɛ di)d
 8 wu₁net dhi ood tɔap sɛn léorn er not tɛ di)d
 9 wunet dhe ood tɔap sɛn líer_on her_o nít tɛ dii
 10 wœ₁nít dh)aad tɔɛp sún₁ leern er nat tɛ di)d
 11 wœ₁nít dh)aad tɔap sún leen er no₁ɛ tɛ di)d
 12 wint dhi aad tɔɛp sœ₁n léorn er not tɛ di)d
 13 winit dhe aad tɔɛp sɛn laan ɛ not tɛ di)d
 14 wi₁net dhe aald tɔɛp sɛn léœrn or not tɛ di)d
 15 wad'nt dhi₁ aad man sɛn léorn or nat tɛ di)d
 16 wœ₁l'nt dhi aad tɔɛp sún léorn hor not tɛ di)d
 17 winet dhe aa'd tɔɛp sún leern or not tɛ di)d
 18 wonet dhi aad tɔɛp sœ₁n tístɔ or not tɛ di)d
 19 wœ₁net dhe ad tɔɛp sún tístɔ hor not tɛ di)d
 20 wœ₁nt t' aad tɔɛp sún lɛrn hor nu₁t tɛ duu it
 21 wœ₁nt t' óed tɔɛp suun teetɔ or not tɛ duu)t
 22 wæl dh)aald tɔap noo shyy₁r laarn hor noo tɛ dii)t

- 1 egéén, póuer thiɔ !
 2 egíen, poor thiɔ !
 3 egjén, púuer thiɔ !
 4 egíen, póóer thiɔ !
 5 egéán, póóer thiɔ !
 6 on egíen, púue béeen !
 7 egíen, piir thiɔ !
 8 egíien, pyyr thiɔ !
 9 egíien, péeer thiɔ !
 10 egeén, puur thiɔ !
 11 egéín, puur thiɔ !
 12 egíen, puur thiɔ !
 13 egíien, póóe thiɔ !
 14 egíen, puur thiɔ !
 15 egí₁en, puur thiɔ !
 16 egéín, píur thiɔ !
 17 egíen, pǎ₁r thiɔ !
 18 egíen, puuer thiɔ !
 19 egín, puur thiɔ !
 20 egen, puur thiɔ !
 21 egen, puuor thiɔ !
 22 egín, pyy₁r thiɔ !

- | | | | | | |
|----|----|---------------------|-------|------|----------------------|
| 7. | 1 | líuk | iz'nt | et | tríu? |
| | 2 | lu ₁ k | iz'nt | it | tróu? |
| | 3 | luk | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 4 | luk | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 5 | luk | iz'nt | it | troo [? truu]? |
| | 6 | líuk! | iz'nt | dhat | truu? |
| | 7 | líœ ₁ k! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 8 | líek! | iz'nt | it | sii? |
| | 9 | líek! | iz'nt | it | tríu? |
| | 10 | líukstø! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 11 | líukø! | iz'n | t)it | truu? |
| | 12 | lu ₁ k! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 13 | lak! | iz'nt | it | tkuu? |
| | 14 | luuk! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 15 | lùk! | iz'nt | it | tróu? |
| | 16 | líuk! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 17 | lu ₁ kø! | iz'nt | it | trú ₁ u? |
| | 18 | luuk! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 19 | luuk! | iz'nt | it | tróu? |
| | 20 | lœ ₁ k! | iz'nt | it | trw ₁ uu? |
| | 21 | luuk! | iz'nt | it | truu? |
| | 22 | luuk! | iz)t | no | truu? |

Notes to No. 1, *Edmundbyers* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *see* (séi) “very short.”—*right*, “no burr, no trill,” by that he only means not as in Ireland.—*bit lass*, usual form, but (lit'l gær) might be said.

3. *enough*, stated to have “u in but,” which I interpret as (œ₁).

6. *poor*, written “ $\frac{1}{2}$ power, $\frac{1}{2}$ poor,” see subsequent notes.—*chap*, not a common word.

Notes to No. 2, *Lanchester* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *mates*, as in the phrase (dhem)z AAl meets v mæ'in they are all mates of mine.—*I am*, Robson said he had never heard (a)z) I is.—*right*, almost (r₀éit).—*yonder*, this I think is the southernmost place where I have heard initial (dh) in this word.

2. *of the road*, ‘way’ would not be used in this connection, though they say (dhæ wee tæ :dy₁ræm) the way to Durham; in this word the (y₁) was obscure as in German *würde*; and it seemed at times to get mixed up with (æ). The (v) was extremely short. Robson also said (væri my₁ri) very merry.

4. *wizened*, ‘shrivelled’ is not used, but (shr-) initial is fully pronounced.—*of the name of Tom*, (kAAd :tom) would be more usual.

6. *to do it agen*, see D 31, Stanhope, p. 617, and notes.

7. *true*, the distinction between this (trón) true and (trón) a *trough*, was insisted on, in (a)v bót v trón, trón vniuf) I’ve bought a trough true enough. I think the first was (óu), but I am not clear of the last, though (óu) was the nearest I could reach. See D 31, St. John’s, Weardale, p. 636, under U’.

Notes to No. 3, *Annfield Plain* dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *marrows*, meaning ‘mates,’ both versions have this.—*now*, here, as in No. 1, only pure (ii, uu) are recognised.—*I is*, it is curious that this is given

from Nos. 1 and 3, and that No. 2 professed to know nothing of it.—*yonder*, the other version gave (jonder).

2. *road*, the other version has (lonen) lane.—*gate*, the other version has (*geet*).

3. *enough*, written *inyuff*, the (æ) is conjectural.—*straight*, written *streight* and *stright*, and also (riit) given.—*door*, one version writes *dor*, meaning not clear.

4. *have a chance to find*, or (*mebiz find*) perhaps *find*.—*wizened*, the school-teacher gives (*shivild*) also.—*fellow* or (*tjēp*).—*of the name of*, or (*kaald*) called.

5. *learn*, written *lāurn*, (*tiitj*) also given.

Notes to No. 4, Bishop Middleham dt., pp. 653, 656.

2. *red*, I feel a doubt as to whether this (reed) and (weel), par. 5, are correct, they may have been (*réiid*), (*wéiil*) meaning (*riid*, *wiil*), they may have been wrongly written (reed, weel) from a habit of using glossic. Similarly in par. 5, same words, and par. 7 (*troo*) may be (*truu*). But as 1. *say* (*see*) cannot be a mistake, except for (*séi*), I leave all standing as in my notes.—*gate*, the form (*ge'et*) was written twice, possibly it was only an individuality.—*of the way*, omitted,

because the informant said "way is not used in the sense of *road*, but only of manner."

4. *door* (*dóover*) also used.—*house*, all these (*ou*) are liable to the doubt expressed in No. 2, p. 662, but they sounded thus to me.

4. *deaf* or (*déif*).—*wizened*, (*shr-*) is rightly pron.—*name* or (*né'em*), see *gate*, par. 2.

5. *well*, see *red*, par. 2.

6. *teach*, rather (*larn*).—*not*, etc., or (*not tē déi*)t oni maa₁r).

Notes to No. 5, Kelloe dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *lass*, also (*giæl*).—*yonder*, (*dh-*) most usual, perhaps (*-or*) would be more correct; the late Vicar of Kelloe, Rev. W. L. Kay, wrote "they sound r as au."

2. *gate* or (*gje't*).

3. *gone* or (*giá'n*).—*door* or (*dóover*).

4. *wizened*, initial (*shr-*) pron. correctly.—*name* or (*néám*).—*Kelloe*, the name of the village, or (:koksə) Coxhoe (2 wsw.Kelloe).

5. (*weel*), 7. (*troo*), see notes to No. 4, par. 2.

Notes to No. 6, Sunderland dt., pp. 653, 656.

1. *so*, omitted as not used in this position.—*mates* similarly omitted, but (*men*, *ladz*) might be used.—*now*, in this word I heard (æ'u), but it was certainly the same sound that I wrote (*ou*) elsewhere. See note on No. 2, par. 7. Otherwise this was a s.Scotchism.—*thing* or (*las*), (*wentj*) is seldom used.—*coming*, this (æ) anticipates Var. v, but it may have been (æ₁).—*school*, possibly (*skiæl*) was said.—*yonder*, (*jonder*, *dhonder*) might either be added, but it would not be native; it is, however, heard all over this region.

2. *going* or (*gan*).—*lane*, (*lonin*) is the usual word for road in this neighbourhood; *way* would not be used.

3. *well*, like the Cu. (*wáiv*), not for *why*, and was preferred to (*shíuer enuf*).—*up*, this is merely (*u₁p*) *up*, spoken with much emphasis.—*door of the* (*dóover e dhē*) would not be inserted.

4. *maybe*, chance (*tjans*) would not be used here.—*devil* or (*fēloo*).

6. *learn*, I am not certain that I wrote the sound correctly, see introd. to No. 2, p. 653.—*try it on again* or (*di*)d do it, as in the other versions.

Notes to No. 7, Hexham 1 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *mates*, omitted as not used, and Mr. Wright could not think of the proper substitute.

2. *way*, this word is in Hexham used for road.

4. *wizened*, (*shr-*) correctly pronounced.

5. *ken*, more used than *know*.

Notes to No. 8, Hexham 2 dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *say*, the (*sii*) was probably an error of the speaker for (*see*).—*school* or (*skiæl*).

Notes to No. 9, Haltwhistle dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, Mr. Howchin writes *nōo*, and says German *ö* or French *eu* comes nearest to it; hence I recognise the sound I have previously written (*œ*₁), here and in “coming through drunken all know,” in all of which he uses *ö*, though in the last two (*oo*) was to be expected. The second element of the diphthong *öo* he admits to be (*u*).—*right*, Mr. H. says “the *r* has no trill in its sound, but is given with the tongue raised and the mouth nearly closed.” Hence I write (*r*₀). Mr. H.

adds that “the guttural sound,” that is (*r*), “is often heard among elder people, but is disappearing among the younger.

2. *hand*, (*h*) pretty well pron., (*d*) dropped.

3. *up*, Mr. H. wrote *oup*, but subsequently explained it as *ö* (*œ*₁).—*house*, *home* is (*hiem*).

4. *kizzened*, (*shr*-) initial correct except in *shriek* (*skrik*)

6. *do it*, the *it* would be dropped in this connection.

Notes to No. 10, Stamfordham, dt., pp. 654 656.

1. *so*, at the end of a sentence (*si*), as (*a*¹ see *si*).—*bit*, commoner than *little*.—*girl*, they would say ‘lass’ in speaking to each other.—*school*, Mr. Bigge said, “I think *skuil* better than *skule*; there’s a symptom of *i* in the way [it is] pron. about here.” I have indicated this by (*ə*), but I think the *Pitman’s Pay* orthography deceived the informant,

and that (*skïœ*₁) would best represent the sound. Mr. B. also writes *suin*, *luik*, soon, look.—*yonder* is not used, but *yon* might be put before *school*.

2. *gate* or (*geet*).

3. *gone*, possibly *gyen*, *nyem*, may have been conventional spellings, from the *Pitman’s Pay*, observe No. 11, notes, par. 2.

Notes to No. 11, Whalton dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *now*, written *nōu*, but explained “sound like in *you* short.”—*coming*, with “*u* in *tub*,” as Mr. G. Rome Hall said in giving me a list of such words: “in all these *ũ* sounds there is a slight approach to the German *ö* and the French *eu* in *bœuf*, *fleur*, etc.; also it is not so quickly and crisply uttered as in the received pron.”—*yonder*, often, not always, without *d*; and seldom, but occasionally, (*dhonder*).

2. *gate* (*jet*), “with old people, the younger adopt (*geet*).”—*hand*, *h* always sounded except in the personal pronouns *him*, *her*; *d* lost.—*side*, Newcastle people always write *ey*, which I am bound to render (*éi*), but I heard (*ə’i*, *á’i*), see Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, p. 658. Its use here in (*géin néim vgein*) going

name again, and also (*héim*) home, Hexham (*hiem*), Newcastle (*hiem*), is peculiar.

3. *up*, “*u* as in *dull*,” that is (*œ*₁).—*door*, “*oo* very broad, full *oo* or *ou*,” see *now*, par. 1.

4. *she’ll*, emphatic (*shi wœ*₁l).—*maybe*, occ. (*mebiz*).—*wizened* or (*wœ*₁z’nd) for *shrivelled*, not used.

6. *learn*, “the *r* not definite” (? distinct).—*not*, “by old people the *t* is omitted, but a faint *a* is added.”—*thing*, but (*nœ*₁thin *sœ*₁mthin) with (*n*) not (*q*).

7. *look!*, when used as an exclamation subjoins (*ə*).—*isn’t it true*, words written *isn tit trou*, and the *ou* explained by *you*.

Notes to No. 12, Newcastle dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *gate*, (*giæt*) is gate in the sense of road.

4. *maybe*, both (*mebi*, *mev*) are used, but the latter is commoner.—*drunken*, when taking this down I

noted “this (*œ*₁) puzzles me a good deal; it is not quite (*œ*) nor (*æ*) nor (*u*₁), but lies in among all these,” see p. 638.—*wizened*, (*shr*-) properly used.—*chap*, commoner than fellow.

Notes to No. 13, North Shields dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *right*. Both *n*. and *s*. Shields are celebrated for not pronouncing the letter (*r*). To me it seemed to be

entirely vocalised in *n*. Shields when *not* preceding a vowel, and *when* preceding a vowel, as here, to become that

stiff lip trill which I now write (ɾ), a turned ɾ, in preference to (m) or turned m, at first proposed. It is different from (brh), and naturally confounded with (w) by ordinary ears, but the speaker always feels the difference between (w, ɾ), for the sides of the upper lip are inflated for (w), but not at all

for (ɾ). Here I heard (wiit).—*lass*, sometimes but rarely (wentɿ).

4. *maybe*, the word *chance* is used in such a phrase as (hiiz got nii tjans) he's got no chance.

6. *learn*, or (téitɿ) teach.

7. *look*, I heard (lak) and not (ləɪk); in the pit districts (lék).

Notes to No. 14, Rothbury dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *from*, the (ɾw) shews a decidedly labial form of the burr as observed in the particular words where it is written.

2. *red*, they also call 'read, head' (riid, hiid).

3. *enow*, Mr. Scott did not know the two uses of enough sg., and enow pl., but when asked if he knew enough,

said (ɛniuf! aa)z héord it ofɛn) enough! I has heard it often.

4. *fellow* or (felv).

6. *learn* or (larn), and I noted that Mr. S. called *both* (biɪf), and bullocks heifers (bo!lɛks, ɛfɛrz), and used the phrase (ái, a see it) aye, I say it.

Notes to No. 15, Snitter, and No. 19, Whittingham dt., pp. 654, 655, 656.

1. *now*, the words 'now, through' seem more liable to pass into (óu) than any other.—*I am* and *I is* constantly alternate.—*coming*, observe the forms (o!, u!) in Nos. 14, 15, both written at the time, and the use of (œɪ, ɛ).—*school*, "ten or fifteen miles further nw. towards the Cheviot range, (skiɪl) is used."

2. *road*, 'way' would not be used

here, but it is called (wéei) when used.

3. *up*, and 4. *drunken*, an unmistakable (ɛp), at first however I wrote (op); I had to correct it.

6. *wouldn't*, "we don't use won't."—*man*, (tjap) is common by Wooler.—*learn*, where they use *teach* they call it (tiitɿ) not (teetɿ). Mr. A. also called our, always (wor, ɛlwiɪz).

Notes to No. 16, Harbottle dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *coming*, "the first syllable rhymes to *hum*," when I have not heard the sound myself, I always suppose that in Var. iv (œɪ) was meant, because it was that I generally heard.

4. *she will*, (she wœɪl) emphatic form, otherwise (shi)l).—*fellow*, written *fulla* with note, "both the a's very

broad, probably Scotch," that might be (fala), as however I got (fælv) vv. in No. 15, I have interpreted this to mean the same.

5. *very*, written *varra*, with the note, "the r's very guttural, and, though very difficult of pronunciation, in very common use indeed by the natives."

Notes to No. 17, Warkworth dt., pp. 654, 656.

1. *so*, (sii) rather than (sii), but the latter was intended.—*see now*, the (i!i, ú!u) were carefully explained and read to me slowly.—*right*, the (r) was gentle and never labialised, (ii) intended for (ii) was given here, not (i!i).—*about*, the vowel being shortened only, (ú!) not (ú!u) was heard.—*little*, not (láil).—*lass*, wench is hardly ever used.—*coming* seemed the first time to have (u!), but the second time (œɪ).—*school*, in w.Nb. (skiɪl).—*yonder*, (dhonder) is heard.

2. *red*, also (rid).—*of the way*, the phrase is used.

3. *door*, also (dù!r).—*house*, with medial vowel as in *about*, par. 1.

4. *where*, the (wh) distinct.—*may be's* or (mɛbi), they also say (ma'rvɛlz) for *marbles*, that is, they habitually confused (b, v) in some words.—*wizened*, they pron. (shr-) initially.—*of the name of Thomas*, better (dha!t dhee kà!l:tomɛs) that they call Thomas.

5. *know*, (kɛn, naa!) are used indifferently.

6. *do it*, they also say (ha!d) for *have it*.—*poor*, the vowel very short.

7. *look* or (liuk).—*isn't it true*, (didn't a! see si) would be more used.

* * * See specimen on next page.

NED WHITE, A YARN, IN WARKWORTH SPEECH.

The following specimen, cut from a newspaper, was read to me by Mr. Ridley at the same time as he gave me the above dt. There is a wonderful confusion of the Peninsular War with the Battle of Waterloo, but that is a trifle; the point is the pron., which must here be attributed to Warkworth. I put a translation interlinearly.

ma'n, a¹ fel in wi :ned :whe'it dhi u₁dher dee. Ji naa¹
Man, I fell in with Ned White the other day. You know

:ned en u₁dher twenti fôur ev :haa'ks tjejs, went uut ti dhi
Ned and other twenty four of Hawkes's chaps went out to the

:pininsûler :wor, whor :welint'en wa's, je naa¹. sii, ez wi
Peninsular War, where Wellington was, you know. So, as we

wor hev'in v gîl tegidher, a¹ sez ti him, :ned dje me'ind
were having a gill together, I says to him, Ned d'you mind

when Ji wer in dhe :pininsûler :wor?—a¹ shu₁d theqk a¹ dii,
when you were in the Peninsular War?—I should think I do,

sez h₁i.—did je ivor fâ'll in wi :welint'n? sez a¹.—:welint'n!
says he. — Did you ever fall in with Wellington? says I. — Wellington!

sez h₁i, we'i, ma'n, a¹ nâ'd him. we'i, dju₁st dhi dee vfoor dhe
says he, why, man, I knowed him. Why, just the day afore the

ba't'l v :wâ'terloo, hi sent for mi.—:ned, hi sez, tîek jor
battle of Waterloo, he sent for me.—Ned, he says, take your

twenti fôur men, hi sez, en ga'n œ₁p en shift them :frentjmen
twentyfour men, he says, and go up and dislodge those Frenchmen

òf dhe top v jon hîl.—aa'l riit sez aa¹, bu₁t it winit tîek
off the top of yon hill.—All right, says I, but it will not take

aa'l dhi twenti fôur, a¹ sez.—aa¹! bu₁t itjs :nepoolienz kra'k
all the twenty four, I says.—Ah! but its Napoleon's crack

ridjment, hi sez, Ji)d beter tîek plenti.—aa'l riit, a¹ sez,
regiment, he says, you better take plenty. — All right, I says,

wî)l sîun shift dhem.—sii dû₁un a¹ kœ₁m. ti dhe la'dz, en
we'll soon shift them. — So down I come to the lads, and

a¹ sez—nâ₁u, mi la'dz, :welint'en wa'nts u₁z ti shift jon
I says—Now, my lads, Wellington wants us to dislodge yon

:frentjmen òf dhi top ev jon hîl.—aa'l riit, dhe sez.—hîor,
Frenchmen off the top of yon hill.—All right, they says.—Here,

:bob :skot, a¹ sez, h^u₁u moni :frentjmen ar dh^or æ₁p jondor?
 Bob Scott, I says, how many Frenchmen are there up yonder?

—eb^u₁t f^our hœ₁ndord, i sez.—h^u₁u moni on ^u₁s wil it tⁱek
 —About four hundred, he says.—How many of us will it take

ti shift them? a¹ a¹kses.—oo, ten, sez :bob.—wēⁱ, wⁱ₁i^l tⁱek
 to dislodge them? I axes. —Oh, ten, says Bob. —Well, we'll take

fiftⁱn, dju₁st ti hⁱumor dhⁱ aa'd ma'n.—aa'l rⁱt, dhe sez. si
 fifteen just to humour the old man. — All right, they says. So

ðf wi set a't dhⁱ d^u₁b'l vloq' dh^e lonen; bu^t dju₁st a'z wi torn'd
 off we set at the double along the lane, but just as we turned

dhⁱ korn^er a't dh^e fu^t ev dh^e hⁱl, whⁱi shu^d wi mⁱt bu^t
 the corner at the foot of the hill, who should we meet but

:bon'ipart hⁱzsel on v lili'whe'it hors, wi v kokt ha't on.—
 Bonaparte himself on a lily white horse, with a cocked hat on. —

whor a'r ji ðf ti, :ned? sez hⁱ₁i.—wēⁱ, ti shift jon :frentjmen
 Where are you off to, Ned? says he. — Why, to dislodge yon Frenchmen

ðf jon hⁱl?—whaa't! hⁱ sez, wēⁱ dha't)s mⁱ kra'k ridjment,
 off you hill?—What! he says, why that's my crack regiment,

hⁱ sez.—niver me'ind dha't, a¹ sez, :welinten sez wi hev ti
 he says.—Never mind that, I says, Wellington says we have to

shift them, a'nd shifted dhe^l bⁱ₁i, n^u₁u.—ji'r kodin, sez
 dislodge them, and dislodged they'll be, now. — You are jesting, says

hⁱ₁i.—ni kodin eb^u₁t it, a¹ sez, wⁱ₁i^l siun shift dh^em ðf, a¹
 he. — No jesting about it, I says, we'll soon dislodge them off, I

sez, kœ₁m be'i!—ha'd on, hⁱ sez, en hⁱ gallops rⁱt æ₁p dh^e
 says, come by! — Hold on, he says, and he gallops right up the

hⁱl ti dh^em, on shuuts uut—ga'n ba'k, me la'dz, ga'n ba'k!
 hill to them, and shouts out. — Go back, my lads, go back!

hⁱor'z :ned :whe'it frem :haa'ksiz, a'nd hiz twenti f^our ladz
 here's Ned White from Hawks's, and his twenty four lads

kœ₁mⁱn æ₁p ti shift ji. ji hev'nt v ha'porth ev tja'ns!
 coming up to dislodge you. You haven't a ha'p'orth of chance!

—en ba'k dhe went. did a¹ i'vor sⁱ₁i :welinten? wēⁱ, ma'n,
 —And back they went. Did I ever see Wellington? Why, man,

ji shu^d thi'qk shⁱem!
 you should think shame!

Notes to No. 18, *Alnwick* dt., pp. 654, 656.

Variants in Rev. J. Blythe's version.

1. *so* (sii).—*mates* (marez) marrows.
—*now* (nuu). — *girl* (lasi). — *school* (skiul).—*yonder* (joner).

2. *going* (ganin).

3. *gone* (gém).

4. *she will* (shii)l.—*chance* (shans).
—*shrunk* (wœ₁z'nd) wizened.

5. *all* (aal).

6. *soon* (siun).—*teach* (larn).—not (nu₁t).—*again* (vgéin).

7. *look* (luuk).

Substance of Mr. G. Thompson's paper on the Nb. Vowel Sounds.

a = "a in fat, fən, very general," probably (a¹), used in father, law (fa¹dher, lā¹).

ai = "a in fair fare, unaltered." ? (ee), and often in gate (geet), sometimes pron. as *g* prefixed to yet (gi¹et).

o, "correct" as in *no* (noo). "Some s. country people pronounce it *a-oo*, a in fan and *oo* in root, (ā¹u).

ou, *ow* in through is "adequately represented by *o-oo* pronounced rapidly so as to make one sound,

thus thro-oo. So with *ow* in *now*, brow, which would be no-oo, bro-oo (one syllable in each case)," this must mean (ou) as I frequently appreciated it.

e, ordinary as in *feat* feet, *pet* hen, and also *ei* as in height; but he probably meant (éi).

i. In Alnwick it is made up of *eh* and *ee*, thus fight is *feh-eet* (fē'it), similarly (strē'it) straight.

u. "We sound in the usual way in such words as *uncle*; but we sound it the same way in *pull* *pull*, which is a departure from the classical standard." This should mean (bā, pāl).

ue in true rhymes to through now, see *ou*, that is, they say (trōu). *blue* is (blū) not (bluu).

oo in soot is (iœ₁), explained "as one syllable *sy-eut*, taking *eu* according to the French."

ou in *you* unemphatic is the same as *e* in the (jæ, dhæ), emphatic (ii).

h. The Northumbrians never misplace the aspirate, but omit it in unaccented pronouns, accented *us* is (haz).

Notes to No. 20, *Embleton* 1 dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *now*, written *nuoo* and explained the *u* was that in full.—*right*, on (rw₁), see Introduction, p. 655.—*coming*, spelled *cumin*, and stated to have the vowel in *hum*.

2. *red*, the vowel here, and in No. 21, seems doubtful.

3. *sure*, spelled *sheuwō*, and *eu* said to be French.—*enough*, vowel conjectural, written *u*.—*child*, I question the use of *child* here and in No. 21.—*bairn* is admitted to be also used.—*up*, the *u* in full accepted.

4. *find*, the use of (fa¹ind) here and in No. 21 is quite unexpected.

5. *know*, Mr. C. wrote *hn*, and considered that *h* was decidedly but slightly pronounced.

6. *the old*, the use of (t') here and in No. 21 is remarkable, and I inquired about it particularly. Mr. C. says, "The use of *t'* for *thē* is by no means uncommon. It is not always used, but often, and apparently in an arbitrary way, *t'* or *thē* is used. *T'* is also sometimes used for *that* (conjunction, not pronoun). . . . I am quite clear of its use in this part of Nb." I have not had it given me from any other place in Nb. In the present case it may arise from assimilation to the preceding (t) in (wōnt).

7. *look*, written *leuk*.

For a comparison of the peasant and fishing speech see end of notes to No. 21 on next page.

Notes to No. 21, *Embleton* 2 dt., pp. 655, 656.

3. *the child*, Mr. Green says, "The *t'* in such expressions as *t' child* is of frequent use. In ordinary conversation the word 'the' is generally shortened into *t'*, *th'*, *ti*. I may mention that

the expression *th' day*, *th' night* is often used instead of *to-day*, *to-night*." This is of course L. The *th'* can scarcely differ from (dhæ) except in extreme shortness of the (v).

Differences in the original spelling of Nos. 20 and 21, which were recognised by Mr. Creighton as representing "real differences of pronunciation." The words are arranged in the order of a cwl., and to the original spellings in italics are added my pal. interpretations. 1. refers to the peasants; 2. to the fishing population.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 21 1. *něāym*, 2. *nāūm*; 1. *niem*, 2. *néeem*. A: 43 1. *haand*, 2. *hond* or *haand*; 1. *hand*, 2. *hond*. A: or O: 58 1. *fwom*, 2. *frā' frō'*; 1. *frw₁om*, 2. *free*. 64 1. *ōwong*, 2. *"rong* or *wrang*; 1. *rw₁aq*, 2. *raq*. A'- 67 1. *gōūn*, 2. *ga'in*; 1. *gooun*, 2. *gaa'in*. 92 1. *kno*, 2. *knok'*; 1. 2. *nhoo*. A': 104 1. *rwooūd*, 2. *'rrode*; 1. *rw₁ūued*, 2. *rood*. 110 1. *nūt*, 2. *not*; 1. *nu₁t*, 2. *not*. Æ: 177 1. *thaat*, 2. *thet*; 1. *dhat*, 2. *dhet*. E: 262 1. *weay*, 2. *wāū'*; 1. *wīee*, 2. *wēee*. E'- 297 1. *fello*, 2. *fello'r*, 1. 2. *felv*. EA: 326 1. *t'awd*, 2. *t'o'd*; 1. *t'aad*, 2. *t'ōvd*. 346 1. *geayt*, 2. *gāet*; 1. *gieet*, 2. *gēet*. EO: 394 1. *yondow*, 2. *yondo'rr*; 1. 2. *jondor*. I: 459 1. *oowit*, 2. *'rrit*; 1. *rwō'it*, 2. *rō'it*. 466 1. *thē child*, 2. *t' chill*; 1. *dhv tjō'ild*, 2. *t' tjō'īl*. O'- 558 1. *leuk*, 2. *look*; 1. *lœ₁k*, 2. *luuk*. 560 1. *skooūl*, 2. *skeul*; 1. *skūuel*, 2. *skiul*. 564 1. *seun*, 2. *soon*; 1. *sūun*, 2. *suun*. O': 579 1. *enenff*, 2. *enough*; 1. *enœ₁f*, 2. *eniuf*. U- 606 1. *dowā*, 2. *dōō'r*; 1. *duuor*, 2. *duuer*. U: 632 1. *oop*, 2. *ūp*; 1. 2. *u₁p*. U'- 643 1. *nuoo*, 2. *noo*; 1. *nū₁u*, 2. *nuu*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 1. *meayts*, 2. *māets*; 1. *mīeets*, 2. *méeets*. I. and Y. 758 1. *geawl*, 2. *gurrī*; 1. *gīorl*, 2. *gārī*.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 885 1. *vāwy*, 2. *vāh'ē*; *veerw₁i*, 2. *vái*. U.. 969 1. *sheuwō*, 2. *shūōr*; 1. *shœ₁erw₁*, 2. *shuoor*.

Notes to No. 22, *Wooler* dt., pp. 655, 656.

1. *so I see*, K. [*i.e.* Mr. Kirkup] gave (see a¹ see).—*you see now*, K. (*i séi nā'u*), this is quite Rx.—*right*, K. (*rāt*).—*that*, K. (*dhāt*).—*from*, K. (*thre*), this is also Rx.—*at a distance*, out-by, while (*in-bē'i*) in by, means close at hand. K. pron. (*ūtábái*), and said it meant at a considerable distance, and so preferred (*jon skyy₁l*) *yon school*, which Mr. C. gave as an alternative.

2. *she's going*, K. (*shv*)z *gàn*).—*road*, K. (*rood*).—*through*, K. (*thrā'u*) apparently Rx.—*gate*, K. (*geet*).—*side*, K. (*séid*).

3. *enough*, K. (*eniuf*).—*going*, K. (*gàn*).—*straight*, K. (*strait*).—*til the*, K. (*te dhv*).—*door*, K. (*door*).

4. *liard*, grey-haired, grisled, properly a grey horse, Scotch.—*fellow*, K. (*fale*).—*called*, K. gave (*niem*) for name.

5. *we*, K. (*wéi*), which is Rx.—*all*, K. (*à*).—*very*, K. (*verì*).

6. *soon*, K. (*sívn*).—*learn*, K. (*lern*).

7. *look*, K. (*lu₁k*).—*true*, K. (*trē'u*).

Altogether Mr. Kirkup's pron. is hardly safe.

VAR. i. BRAMPTON, Ct., cwl.

(:bra₁mten) (9 ene. Carlisle), just where the Scotch-Cu. dialect begins. This cwl. was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Spottiswood, Hale Grange, Kirkby Thore, We. (4 w. Appleby), (:heel' :greend₁, :k₁rbe :riar), who had been 40 years acquainted with the dialect.

The (r) is trilled in all positions, medial and final, as well as before a vowel, as in L.

The (a, a₁) are here used as on p. 539, for which I should probably have

written (a¹, a) respectively, as there noted. They certainly correspond with my (a¹, a) in what I wrote from Mr. Ridley, No. 17, pp. 656, 666, 678. The (e²) is an indistinct attempt at (e), which is hardly separable from (e), and seems to represent an individuality. The (e₁) is also scarcely separable from (e) or even (e).

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 biē²k. 4 ta₁k. 5 ma₁k. 6 mīe²d. 7 sīe²k. 8 hev. 9 bihee₁v. 10 haa. 12 saa. 17 laa. 18 kīe²k. 19 tīe²l. 20 līe²m. 21 nīe²m. 22 tīe²m 23 sīe²m. 24 shīe²m. 25 mīe²n. 27 nīe²v. 28 hee₁r. 30 kee₁r. 31 līe²t. 32 bēdh [(dūk) used]. 33 ree₁dher. 34 last. 35 aal [(ēls'n) used]. 36 thōu. 37 klāa.

A: 39 kīe²m. 41 theqk. 43 ha₁n'd. 44 la₁n'd. 46 ka₁n'l. 48 sa₁q [pret.], hi sa₁q e sa₁q [he sang a song]. 53 ka₁n. 55 a₁s. 56 wesh. A: or O: 59 la₁m'. 60 lā₁q'. 61 e²ma₁q'. 62 s₁t₁ra₁q'. 63 thra₁q'. 64 w²ra₁q² era₁q'. 65 sa₁q'. 66 whīe²q'.

A'- 67 te gān, ga₁n. 69 noo. 70 tīe². 71 wee. 72 whīe². 73 sīe². 74 twīe². 76 tīe²d. 77 lwū₁rd. 78 aa. 80 helide². 83 mīe²n. 84 mee₁r. 85 see₁r. 86 [(kwū₁urn) corn, used]. 87 klīe²z. 88 klid. 89 biē²th. 90 bloo [bliu bloon]. 91 moo [miu moon]. 92 noo [niu, noon]. 93 snoo [snūn]. 94 kroo [krūn, kroon]. 95 throo. 96 soo [sūn, soon]. 97 sōul.

A': 101 iek. 102 as. 104 rū₁rd. 105 rūe²d. 106 brūe²d. 107 līe²f. 108 [(pīe²st) paste, used]. 109 loo. 111 ōut. 113 hīe²l. 115 hīe²m. 118 biē²n. 119 gīe²n. 122 nīe²n. 123 [(nōut) used]. 124 stīe²n. 128 dhōz. 129 goost. 132 het. 133 [(rit) used]. 134 ooth. 135 klēeth [klūt]. 136 ōudher.

Æ- 138 fadher. 140 hē₁l'. 142 snē₁l'. 144 vgtīe²n. 146 mee₁n. 147 brēe₁n. 148 feer. 149 blīe²z. 150 liist. 152 wa₁ter. 153 se₁terde².

Æ: 155 tha₁k. 157 ree₁v'n. 158 eft₁r. 160 ē₁g. 161 dee₁. 164 mee₁. 165 sed. 167 dīe²l. 168 ta₁le. 169 when. 170 ha₁r₁vist [(i) distinct]. 171 baarli. 172 ge²rs. 173 waz. 174 e²sh. 175 fast. 179 what. 181 [(tred, fet-rwū₁rd) tread, foot-road, used].

Æ'- 182 sūi. 183 tit₁. 184 lid. 185 riid. 186 bre²n²th [assimilated to length]. 187 liv. 188 [(nī₁ker) used]. 189 w₁i. 190 kē₁i. 191 hil. 192 mīn. 193 klin'. 194 ōni. 195 mōni. 197 t₁pi₁z. 199 blit. 200 whit. 202 hit.

Æ': 203 spīt₁. 204 diid. 205 thrid. 206 red. 207 niid'l'. 210 klee₁. 211 gree₁. 212 whēe². 216 dīl. 218 ship. 219 slip. 221 fiir. 222 hee₁r. 223 dhee₁r. 224 whee₁r. 226 mīe²st. 227 wet. 228 swit. 229 bre²th brī²th. 230 fa₁t.

E- 232 brek. 233 spīk [pure (ii)]. 234 [(wu₁rk u₁p) used]. 235 wīev wīiv. 236 fīver. 238 [(dā₁ik) dyke, used]. 241 reen [(riā₁n), grass left beyond the furrows in ploughed land]. 243 plee [leek]. 246 kwīn. 247 [(spīe²n) used]. 248 mīe²r. 249 wīe²r. 250 swy₁e²r. 251 mīt. 252 ket'l'. 253 net'l'. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edt₁. 259 wedt₁. 261 see₁. 262 wee₁. 264 ee₁l. 265 s₁t₁ree₁it. 270 i. beliz. ii. bel'i. 272 elem. 273 men. 274 bentt₁. 276 thi₁qk. 280 eli₁v'n. 281 lenth. 282 st₁renth. 283 meri. 284 thresh. 285 kres. 286 har₁e. 287 bu₁z'm [bosom is (booz'm), see No. 287 on p. 635]. 288 let.

E'- 289 je². 290 hēii [(e) distinct in this and the three following words]. 291 dhēii. 292 mēii. 293 wēii. 294 fid. 295 bred. 296 beliv. 298 tiil. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 hīe²r. 302 mīt. 303 swit.

E': 305 hēii [the same as 290]. 306 hēiit. 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hiil'. 311 ten. 312 hēe²r. 314 hēe²rd. 315 fit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 giūe²p. 320 keer. EA: 321 saa. 322 lak₁ch. 323 fōuk₁wt [also (fit)]. 324 ēe₁it. 325 wa₁k. 326 ōld. 327 bōul'd. 328 kool'. 329 fōol'd. 330 hod. 331 [(selt) used]. 332 [(telt) used]. 333 kaaf. 334 haaf. 335 aa. 336 faa₁'e. 337 waa₁'e. 340 jee₁rd. 342 erēm. 343 wārem. 345 dār. 346 jet.

EA'- 347 hīd. 348 āi. 349 fiuu. EA': 350 dīd. 351 līd. 352 rīd.

353 brid. 354 shíe'f. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 [(fer AA) for all, used]. 359 ne₁bur. 360 tim. 361 bin. 363 tjp. 365 níe'r. 366 grit. 367 thrit. 368 dith. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 s₁t₁ríe°.

EI- 372 e'í [with a long glide from (e) through (i) to (i)]. 373 dhee. 374 nee₁. 376 béert. EI: 377 stíe°k. 378 week. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 sav'n. 384 hev'n. 385 [(enu₁ndv₁r₁) on under, used]. 386 jóu.

EO: 388 millhk ['(llh) very distinct as a glide from the vowels to the voiceless (k)'].—JGG.]. 389 jók. 390 sud [not (s₁ud)]. 393 bíout. 396 w₁rk. 397 s₁urd. 398 staarv. 399 brá'it. 402 laaren. 403 faar. 405 haarthstíe'n [not used without stone]. 406 è'orth. 407 f₁rdin. 408 núu.

EO'- 409 bíi. 411 thráii. 419 sh'ii [emph.], she she shu [unemph.]. 413 div'l. 414 fléii. 415 léii. 416 díuer. 417 tjóu. 420 fóuer. 421 forti.

EO': 423 théii. 424 rùf. 425 le'íit. 426 fæ'it. 427 báii. 428 séii. 430 frí'n'. 431 bíier. 432 f₁out. 433 briist. 434 bet. 435 juu. 436 triú. 437 triúth. EY- 438 déii. EY: 439 t₁ru₁st [see 701].

I- [There are two (a'i) diphthongs, fine and broad, JGG. wrote the first as (e'í) = (e'í) with a long glide from (e) to (i), and also as (e'í), and as he thinks the latter form preferable, although he is not perfectly satisfied with the analysis, it is here adopted. This n. diphthong is usually taken as (e'í, éi, but in 'Nb. I heard (a'í) or (á'í), I could not determine which. The broad form is always (ái) or (ái), and JGG. prefers the first form, here written.] 440 wik. 441 síiv [not (síiv)]. 442 háivin. 444 stá'it. 446 na'e'n. 448 [(dhooz, dhoor) used]. 449 git. 450 t₁uzde°. 451 sóu [s₁oud].

I: [see note after I-]. 452 a, aa [a z] I is, is used in all the district]. 454 w₁tr. 457 mæ'it. 458 mæ'it. 459 ræ'it. 460 wæ'it. 462 sæ'it. 464 whítr. 465 sek. 466 [(beeren) used]. 467 wæ'ild. 471 t₁imer. 472 [ru₁n u₁p) used]. 473 blin'. 475 wín. 476 bind [ba₁n'd, bu₁n]. 477 f₁nd [fa₁n'd, fu₁nt]. 478 grín' [gra₁n'd, gru₁n]. 479 w₁n' [wa₁n'd, wu₁n]. 481 f₁qer. 485 thís'l. 486 íest. 487 íest,arde°. 488 íit.

I'- [see note after I-]. 491 sæ'íkjh sái. 493 dráiv. 494 tæ'im. 496 áiren. 498 ræ'it.

I': [see note after I-]. 500 læ'ík. 501 wæ'id. 502 fæ'iv. 503 læ'if. 504 næ'if. 505 wæ'id. 506 wamen. 507 wamen [the (u) remaining from the sg.]. 508 mæ'il. 509 whæ'il. 511 wæ'in. 513 wáier. 514 æ'is. 515 wáiz. 516 wizdem. 517 juu.

O- 520 bóu. 521 fu₁é'l. 522 op'n. 523 hoop. 524 wu₁rel'd word'l. O: 526 kok₁h. 527 bóut. 528 thóut. 529 bróut. 530 róut. 531 dóut₁r. 532 ku₁é'l. 533 du₁l. 534 whá'el [JGG. preferred writing 'hu₁é'l', but I did not hear his hu' as different from my (wh)]. 536 guld. 537 móud. 538 wad. 539 bóul. 540 holín. 542 bóut. 545 hop. 547 by₁'erd. 548 fu₁é'rd, íy₁'erd. 549 hored. 550 wu₁rd. 551 storem. 552 ku₁ern. 553 whá'ern [(hw-) see 534]. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shá'u. 557 ty₁'u. 558 lùk. 559 mu₁dher. 561 bly₁'um. 562 mín. 563 monde°. 564 sín. 565 nu₁é'z. 566 u₁dher.

O: 569 by₁'uk. 570 ty₁'uk. 571 gud g₁'d. 572 bly₁'ud. 573 fly₁'ud. 574 bry₁'ud. 575 sty₁'ud. 576 wed'nzde°. 577 buu. 578 plín. 579 eníut [and (eníuu), but doubtful whether sg. or pl.] 580 tók₁h. 581 sóut. 582 ky₁'ul. 583 ty₁'ul. 584 sty₁'ul. 585 bry₁'um. 586 dy₁'u. 587 díum. 588 núu. 589 spíu. 590 fly₁'e'r. 591 my₁'ur. 592 swy₁'er. 593 [(mu₁n) used]. 594 by₁'ut. 595 íy₁'ut. 596 ry₁'ut. 597 sy₁'ut.

U- 599 ehy₁un. 600 lu₁v. 601 fóul. 602 sóu [older form (síuu)]. 603 ku₁m. 605 su₁n. 606 dy₁'ur. 607 bu₁tter.

U: 608 u gli. 609 ful'. 610 wuu. 611 bu₁lek. 612 su₁m. 613 d₁ru₁qk. 614 hu₁n'. 615 pu₁n. 616 gru₁n'. 617 sú₁un'. 618 wu₁n'. 619 íu₁n'. 625 tu₁q. 626 hu₁qer. 629 su₁n. 631 thu₁rzde. 632 u₁p. 633 ku₁p. 634 thruu. 637 tu₁sk. 639 du st.

U'- 640 kú₁uu. 641 hú₁uu. 642 dhú₁uu. 645 du₁v. 646 buu. 647 hu₁let. 648 ú₁uur. 649 thá₁uz'n. 652 kud. 653 bet [unemph.].

U': 654 sheróud. 656 rúm. 657 brún. 658 dùn. 661 shá₁uur. 662 hu₁z [emphatic, also (hi₁t, =it emph.]. 663 hús. 665 mús. 666 hu₁zbend.

667 üt. 668 prūd. 669 u,qkə u,qketh [(u,qkət) at Temple Sowerby, We.].
671 mēth. 672 sūth.

Y- 673 m_utj m_u k'l. 675 d_rai. 676 l_iii. 678 d_in. 679 t_ur_{tj} k^erk.
680 b_izi. 682 l^tl [obs. neither (l^{aa}l) nor (laal)]. Y: 684 brig. 685
r_ig. 686 b_{ai}. 687 fl^eit. 689 b_il'd. 690 k^e'm'. 691 m_{ai}n'. 693 s_in.
696 berth. 697 ber_i. 699 r_iit. 700 w_urs. 701 fu'r^tst [for (u') the
tongue is advanced midway between (i) and (u) positions]. 703 pit. Y'- 705
sk_{ai}. 706 ['what for,' used]. 707 tha_rtiin. 708 h_{ai}er. Y': 709 f_{ai}er.
712 m^e'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 ba'd. 714 la_id. 723 deer_i. 724 be'l'd. 725 s_ie'l. 730 ka_nt_er.
734 d_{ar}n. 735 ma_{sh}. 737 mee_t. 740 w^eev. 742 lee_{zi}. E. 744 mez'l'z.
745 t_it. 746 b_{ri}dh. 750 beg. I. and Y. 753 [(kⁱt'l) used]. 754 p_ig.
759 f_it. 761 lⁱe'd. 767 n^oz. 769 m^ou_di_warp. 771 i^on'd. 772 bⁱe'n_{ai}r.
774 p^ou_ni. — n_iuk [nook]. 777 shop. 778 v^uw_ierd. 783 pu_il_tri. 789
r^on. 790 g_un. U. 793 h_ug. 794 d_ug. 799 sku_il. 801 ru_im. 802
ru_im. 803 d_ump. 805 kr_udz. 808 pu_t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 i^eb'l'. 810 f_ie's. 811 pl_ie's. 812 l_ie's. 813 beek'n. 814
m_ie's'n. 818 i^edj. 819 reedj. 824 t_{ee}r. 825 wⁱe'f. 830 t_{ree}n. 833
p_{ee}r. 835 r_iz'n. 836 siz'n. 838 t_{rit}. 852 e_{ee}p_er'n. 853 b_{ar}gin. 854
ba r'l ba_ril. 855 ka_ret. 8'6 p_{ar}t p_{er}t. 857 k_ie's. 858 b_{ree}s. 859 t_{ji}e's.
860 p_ie'st. 861 t_ie'st. 862 s_ie'f. 865 faat. 866 py_{ur}.

E.. 867 t_{ei}i. 871 gr_{ei}i. 874 r_e'in r_e'in. 875 f_e'ent. 877 e_e r. 881
s_{ens}. 888 s_{ar}t'n. 890 b_ist. 891 f_ist. 892 nevi. 893 fl_uer. 894 d_isiiv.
895 r_isiiv.

I.. and Y.. 897 d_le'it. 898 n_e'is. 899 n_is. 900 p_{ree}. 901 f_e'in.
902 m_e'in. 908 v_dv_e'is. 909 b_{ri}iz. 910 d_{pi}is. 912 r_e'is.

O.. 913 kw_utj. 914 brootj. 915 stu_f. 916 u_ni_{en} [not (u_nen), and
so (r_il_idj_{en}) religion]. 917 roog. 919 o_ntment. 920 p_oint. 921 v_kent.
922 bu_{sh}l. 924 t_{jo}s. 925 v_ois. 926 sp_oil. 933 fru_{ut}. 935 ku_ut_{ri}.
939 kl_uvs. 940 kw_ut. 941 f_iul. 942 b_ut_{er} [not (bu_ut_i-)]. 943 tu_utj.
947 b_oal. 948 b_ul. 950 su_p [the last syllable of *supper* being omitted].
951 ku_pl'. 952 kw_uers. 954 ku_{sh}en. 955 d_ut. 956 ku_ver.

U.. 960 kee. 961 gr_uul'. 963 kw_{ai}t. 964 siu_ut. 965 o_il. 966
f_iuut. 967 siuut. 969 sy_uur. 970 d_ust. 971 f_iuut.

VAR. ii. SOUTH SHIELDS, Du., cwl.,

formed from the lw. given me by Rev. C. Y. Potts, native, and constantly
corrected and augmented from 1868 to 1883, written in glossic and pal. by
AJE., see the cs., pp. 645, 649.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 t_iek'n [taken]. 5 m_iek. 6 m_ied. 7 n_iem s_iek [namesake]. —
kred'l [cradle]. 8 hev. 17 laa. 18 k_iek. 21 n_iem. 23 s_iem. 24 sh_em
sh_iem. 28 h_eev. 30 k_eev. 34 last.

A: 39 kom. 43 [pl.] hanz. 44 land [pl.] lanz. 46 kan'l. 49 hiq. 50
t_ieqz. 51 man. 54 want. 55 as. 56 wesh. A: or O: 58 frem. 59
lam. 60 laq. 61 v_{ma}q. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 raq. 65 saq.

A'- 67 gan. 69 na' [in answer to a question]. 72 w_ii woo. 73 s_ii. 75
strook. 76 t_ied. 77 laa'ed. 79 aan o_um. 81 l_ien. 87 kleez. 89 b_ieth.
90 blaa. 91 m_{aa}u m_ou [p.p. mown]. 92 naa. 93 snaa sn_ou. 94 kraa.
95 thraa. 97 s_oul. 100 saan s_om.

A': 102 aks. 104 rood. 113 hool wool. 115 h_iem. 117 won. 118 b_ien.

121 gïen. 122 nïen [none], nii [no]. 123 noth'n. 124 stïen. 125 onni.
132 het. 134 ooth. 136 óudhe.

E- 138 fadhé [best], fædhé [intermediate], fîdhé [worst]. — ledhé [ladder]. — bledhé [bladder]. 140 heel. 144 egïen. 148 téee. 149 bliiz. 150 liist. 152 wate waate. — whedhé [whether]. Æ: — wek'n [waken]. — stidi [steady]. — tegide [together]. 161 dee. 164 mee. — slét [sleight]. — èmpi [empty]. 169 when. — glas [glass]. — kéert [cart]. 179 what. Æ'- — ritî [to reach]. 184 liid lid. — ridi [ready]. 187 liiv. 189 wéi. 190 kii. 191 hiil. 192 miin. 194 oni. 195 moni. Æ': 205 thriid thrîd. 206 red. 208 ivv. 209 nivv. 210 klee. 215 tóut. 216 diil. — miil [meal]. 222 héeev. 227 wiit. — hîlth [health].

E- 232 brâk. 233 spiik. 234 ned. — triid [to tread]. — stiid stîd [stead]. — wedhé [weather]. 235 wiiv. — hevî [heavy]. 239 seel. 243 plee. 244 wiil. — tiiv [to tear]. — biiv [to bear]. — piiv [a pear]. 248 miiv. 249 wiiv. 250 swiiv. — iit [to eat]. — fedhé [feather]. 254 ledhé.

E: — hiiv [to heave]. 258 seg. 260 lee. 261 see. — biid [a bead]. 262 wee. 266 wiil. — fiid [field]. 267 iild. — wel [a well]. 272 elem. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. 284 thresh. — brust brust'n [burst, pres. and p. part.]. E'- 301 hiiv. E': 305 hái. 306 héit. — bls [bless].

EA- — haak [hawk]. — jel [ale]. EA: 322 laf. 323 fôut fit. 324 éit. 325 waak. 327 bôuld. 328 kóuld. 329 fôuld. 330 had [occ.] hóuld [gen.]. 331 sóuld. 332 tóuld. — helte [halter]. 337 waal. 338 kaal. — emîest [almost]. — biid [beard]. 340 jéed. — haad [hard]. 342 éeem. — haam [harm]. 343 waam. — waan [warn]. 345 daa'e. — jéeen [yarn].

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii [Newcastle]. 349 fiù. EA': 350 diid. 351 liid. 352 riid. 353 briid brîd. 355 diif. 356 liif. — tai [tie]. 359 néihv. — hiip [a heap]. — iiv [year]. — tiiv [a tear]. — lous [loose]. 366 griit. 367 thriit. 368 diith dith. 369 slaa slôu.

EI- 372 éei. 373 dhee. 375 reez. 376 beet. EI: 378 wiik. 382 dhéev.

EO- 384 hiv'n. 386 jóu. 387 nïù. EO: 389 jook. 390 shuud. — daak [dark]. 397 swaa'ed sâued. — kaav [carve]. 398 staa. 399 briit. — éeel [eel]. — faam [farm]. — brunt [burnt]. 402 léeen laan. 404 staa. — smaat [smart]. 406 éeeth [earth]. 407 faaden. EO'- 413 divil. 414 fiil. 416 diiv. 417 tjóu. 420 fôuv. EO': 425 liit. 426 féit. — whiil [wheel]. 430 frind. — dîpnis [Ws. deópnys, for depth]. 432 fôueth. 433 briist brist. 434 bet. 437 truuth. EY- 438 dii.

I- 447 ha'e. — jis [yes]. 449 get'n [gotten]. 451 sóu. I: 452 a aa. 453 wik [alive]. wik [rapid]. — thaa'ed [third]. — baa'ed [bird]. 458 niit [in fortnight often (fa'etnith), see Part II. p. 477a]. 459 riit. 462 siit. 464 whît. 465 sik. 466 tjéild. 473 blind. 476 bind. 477 find. — bihind [behind]. 478 grînd ['very low'], gru'ndsen [grindstone]. 479 wind. 481 fîqe [and generally as in (s)q'l, straqe, laqe), ug is (q) not (qg)]. 485 this'l. 488 jit. — daa'eti [dirty].

I'- [(éi) may be (e'i)]. 490 báî. 492 séid. 498 réit. — thaa'eti. I': 500 lék. 502 fáiv. 504 néif néivz. 505 wéif. 506 wu'men. 508 méil. 510 méin. 511 wéin.

O- — brak'n [broken]. — shuiv'l shuîl [shovel]. — juiv'n [oven]. 519 ouve. 520 bôu. 523 hoop. — faa'e [fore]. 525 waa'eld. O: 527 bôut. 528 thóut. 529 brout. 531 dóutv. 532 kool. 533 duil. 536 góuld, góulsmith. 538 wad. 539 bôul. 542 bôult. — skaa'e [score]. 550 waa'ed. 552 kaa'en. 553 haa'en.

O'- 556 tiv [(t)id, to it]. 558 liuk. — fadhé [fodder]. 559 mu'dhe. 560 skûal. 562 miiv'n. 566 u'dhe. 568 brudhe. O': 569 biuk. 570 tîuk. 572 blu'd. 578 pluu. 579 eniut [pl. and sg.]. 584 stiuk. 586 div, div'nt [don't], éi divv [yes do I], éi v dii [yes I do]. 587 diiv'n di'd [do it]. — buizem [bosom].

U- — wu'd [wood]. 599 ebuiv. 600 luiv. 602 suu. — thuim [thumb].

— *thunv* [thunder]. — *hini* [honey as a term of endearment]. 605 *su₁n*.
— *nu₁t* [nut].

U: — *pu₁l* [pull]. 610 *wu₁l*. 612 *su₁m*. 615 *puund* [refined], *pu₁nd* [vulgar]. 616 *gruund* [ref.], *gru₁nd* [vulgar]. 618 *wuund*. 619 *fuund* [ref.], *fu₁nd* [vulgar]. 620 *gruund* [ref.], *gru₁nd* [vulgar]. 621 *wuund* [ref.], *wu₁nd* [vulgar]. 625 *tu₁q*. — *faa'v* [fir].

U': 640 *kun*. 641 *hun*. 644 *su₁k*. 646 *buu*. 648 *úuv waa'v*. 650 *ebuut*. 652 *kuud*. 653 *bu₁t*. U': 657 *bruun*. 658 *duun*. 659 *tuun*.
— *súuv* [sour]. 662 *hu₁z*. 664 *luus* [but *loose* is *lóus*]. 667 *uut*.

Y- 675 *dwii* [in N. Shields]. 676 *lii*. 679 *tjAAAtj*. Y: 685 *rig*. [occ.]. 689 *biild*. 690 *kéind*. 691 *méind*. 694 *wáaek*. — *waa'v* [worn]. 700 *waa₁vs*. 701 *faa'est*. — *shaa'et sháaet* [shirt]. — *tjíst k'est*. 702 *wiv* [often]. Y': 709 *féiv*. 712 *méis*.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 726 *taak*. 734 *daan*. E. — *welth* [wealth]. 747 *indi'v*. 748 *figd*. O. 774 *póuni*. — *pultis* [poultice]. 783 *pu₁ltri*. — *puur* [to pour]. U. 794 *dju₁g*. 796 *bluu*. — *bu₁lk* [bulk]. — *tíun* [tune]. 808 *pu₁t*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fies*. 813 *bjék'n*. 822 *mee*. — *feel* [fail]. — *éev* [air]. — *tjeen* [chain]. — *pliiz* [please]. — *plizhv* [pleasure]. — *meestv* [master]. 840 *tjemv*. — *léevd₁* [large]. — *tjéevd₁* [charge]. — *meri* [marry]. — *waand* [warrant]. — *keri* [carry]. 854 *barel*. — *éemmi* [army]. — *baa* [bar]. — *skéevs* [scarce]. 856 *péert*. — *géevt* [garter]. — *mas* [mass]. — *pas* [pass]. 860 *pjést*. — *mite* [matter]. 862 *sief*. 865 *falt*. — *fals* [false].

E.. — *kriite* [creature, and so *-ture* gen.]. — *peen* [pain]. — *streen* [strain]. — *trim'l* [tremble]. — *héeel haal*. 886 *friiv*. 887 *kláadi*. — *péevl paal* [pearl]. *treek'l* [treacle]. — *hiivs* [hearse]. *trivhv* [treasure]. — *prizins* [presence]. — *niit* [neat]. — *mezhv* [measure]. 890 *biist*. 893 *flúuv*. — *úuv* [hour]. 894 *disiiv*. 895 *risiiv*. I.. and Y.. 898 *néis*.

O.. 914 *brootj*. — *feeth* [faith]. 922 *bu₁shel*. 928 *iins*. 935 *ku₁ntri*. — *skaa'ed₁* [scourge]. 239 *kloos*. — *roost* [roast]. — *toost* [toast]. 940 *koot*. 941 *fiu₁l*. 942 *bu₁tje*. 943 *tu₁tj*. 947 *ba'al*. — *faa'v* [fur]. — *tAA'en* [turn]. 953 *ku₁zin*. — *pu₁sh* [push]. 954 *ku₁sh'n*.

U.. — *díu* [due]. — *truun* [truant]. — *shu₁ge* [sugar]. — *dju₁dj* [judge]. — *waa* [war]. — *pu₁lpit* [pulpit]. 969 *shúuv*. 970 *dju₁st*.

SOUTH NORTHUMBERLAND, cwl.,

Embracing and contrasting Var. iii and iv.

H. Var. iii, wl. by Rev. George Rome Hall, Birtley Vicarage, Wark-on-Tyne (9 nnw. Hexham). District bounded by the river Rede to n., by Watling St. to e., by North Tyne river to w., and by Barrasford Crags (6 n. Hexham) to s.; applying to most of the district of North Tynedale from Bellingham to Hexham, written in 1877, after 17 years' acquaintance with the dialect, with numerous explanations in io. and conjecturally pal. by AJE.

P. Var. iv, Pitmen's speech in se. Nb., between rivers Tyne and Wansbeck, for about 10 miles from the coast, written in 1877, with numerous explanations in io. by Rev. Hugh Taylor, of Humshaugh (5 nnw. Hexham), who had been acquainted with the dialect 40 years, and revised by Mr. John Taylor, of Earsdon (7 ne. Newcastle, Nb.), and Mr. G. B. Forster of Backworth, in the same parish, both mining engineers, and in constant communication with the pitmen. Pal. conjecturally by AJE.

Where no letter is prefixed, the pron. is common to both H and P.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 H *büek*, P *biek*. 4 H *tüek*, P *tiek*. 5 H *müek*, P *miek*. 6 *müed*, P *mied*. 7 H *süek*, P *siek*. 8 *hev*. 9 H *bihéev*, P *bihēv*. 10 H *hoo*, P *haa*. 11 H *moo*. 12 H *soo*, P *saa*. 13 H *noo*, P *naa*. 14 H *droo*, P *draa*. 16 H [*brik* & *dee*] used, P *daan*. 17 H *loo* *laa*, P *laa*. 18 H *kiiek*, P *kiek*. 19 H *tüel*, P *tüel*. 20 H *liiem*, P *liem*. 21 H *nüiem*, P *nüiem*. 22 H *tüiem*, P *tüiem*. 23 H *süiem*, P *süiem*. 24 H *shüiem*, P *shiem*. 25 H *müien*, P *müien*. 26 H *wéén*. 27 H *nüev*. 28 H *héev*. 31 H *liet*, P *liet*. 32 H *beedh*. 33 H *reedhor*, P *redhor*. 34 H *last*. 35 H [*iilsin*, *elsin*] used, P *aal*. 36 H *thoo*, P *thaa*. 37 H *kloo*, P *klaa*.

A: 39 H *kom*, P *kam*. 40 H *küem* ["as in *real*," but also said to be distinct (*küam*), but I take *real* to be the proper type, see (*nüam*) p. 660, Nos. 7 and 8]. 41 H *thaqk*, P *theqk*. 43 H *han*. 44 H *lan*. 46 *kan'l*. 47 H *wander*, 48 *saq*. 50 H *teqz*, P *tieqz*. 51 H *man*, P *men*. 52 H *waan*. 54 *want*. 55 H *as* [pl. and sg.]. 56 *wesh*. 57 H [*(kœ,di)*] used.

A: or O: 58 *fre*. 59 H *lam*. 60 *laq*. 61 *emaq*. 62 *straq*. 63 *thraq*. 64 *raq*. 65 *saq*. 66 H *thaq*, P *thaq* *theq*.

A'- 67 *gan*, P *gii* [(*gii* for *weez* to *skœl*)] *go* your ways to school. 69 *nii*. 70 H *tii*. 71 H *woo*. 72 *whii*. 73 *sii*. 74 *twii*. 75 H *strook*. 76 H *tüed*, P *tüed*. 78 H *oo*, P *aa*. 79 H *óan*, P *aan*. 80 *halide*. 81 [(*lon'in*)] used. 83 H *müien*. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. 86 *JETS* [H *occ.* (*havor*)]. 87 H *kliiez*, P *kleez*. 88 H *klieth* *kled*, P *kleeedh*. 89 H *büeth*, P *büeth*. 90 H *bloo*, P *blaa*. 91 H *moo*, P *maa*. 92 [H *ken* used], P *naa*. 93 H *snoo*, HP *snaa*. 94 H *kroo*, P *kraa*. 95 H *throo*, P *thraa*. 96 H *soo*, P *saa*. 97 *sóul*. 98 [H (*kend*)] used, P *naan*. 99 H *throon*, P *thraan*. 100 H *soon*, P *saan*.

A': 101 H *jek*. 102 *aks* [H *axe*=(*eeks*)]. 104 H *rood*. 105 *rid*. 106 *brüed*. 107 H *liief*, *liief*. 108 H *doo*, P *duu*. 109 H *loo*, P *laa*. 111 *óut* [H with slight (*kwht*)]. 113 H *büel*, P *büel*. 115 H *hüiem*, P *hüiem*. 116 H *hüiem*. 118 H *büien*, P *büien*. 121 H *güien*, P *güien*. 122 H *nüien*, P *nüien*. 123 [(*nóut*)] used. 124 H *stüien*, P *stüien*. 125 *onli*. 126 H *oor*, P *or*. 127 *hiirs*. 128 H *dhooz*, *dhii*, P *dhör*. 129 H *güest*, P *grest*. 130 H *búuet*. 131 H *goot*. 132 *het*. 133 *rit* [used]. 134 *eth*. 135 H *kliet*, HP *kluut*. 136 *óudhor*.

Æ- 138 H *feedhor*, P *fedhor* [but children say (H *dad*), P *dædi*]. 139 H *dree*. 140 H *héel*. 141 H *néel*, P *nüel*. 142 H *snéel*. 143 H *tüel* [as *real*]. 144 H *egüien*, P *egüien*. 145 H *sleén*. 147 H *breén*. 148 H *feer*. 149 H *bleez*. 150 H *liist*. 152 *wetor*. 153 *setorde*.

Æ: 155 *thak*. 157 H *reev'n*. 158 *eflor*. 160 H *eg*. 161 H *dee*. 164 H *mee*. 165 *seed*. 166 H *meed*. 168 H *tale*. 169 H *when*. 170 H *haarvest*. 172 H *gras* *gars*. 173 H [(*waar*)] used, P *was* [with (*s*)]. 174 *esh*. 175 H *fast*. 178 [(*midj*)] used. 179 *what*. 180 [not used]. 181 H *peth*.

Æ'- 182 H *sii*. 183 H *tiitj*. 184 H *liid*. 185 H *riid*. 186 H *brüidth*, P *bridth*. 187 H *liiv*. 188 H [(*nikor*)] used. 189 H *wéi* [kh], P *wii*. 190 H *kii*. 191 H *hiil*. 192 H *miin*. 193 H *kliin*. 194 *oni*. 195 *moni*. 196 H *oor*, P *wer*. 197 H *tiizj*. 199 H *bliit* [*occ.* (*bleer*), but that gen. applies to cattle]. 200 *whiit* [wh fully heard]. 201 H *hiidh'n*. 202 H *hiit*.

Æ': 203 *spüitj*. 204 *diid*. 205 H *thüid*, P *thüid*. 206 *red*. 207 *niid'l*. 210 H *klee*. 211 H *gree*. 215 H *toot* [and *tiitj*], P *tóut*. 216 *diil*. 217 H *iitj*. 218 H *shüip*. 219 H *shüip*. 222 *hëor*. 223 *dhëor*. 225 H *flesh*. 226 H *meest*, P *müest*. 227 *wiit*. 228 *swiit*. 230 H *fat*.

E- 232 *brik* [brak]. 233 H *spik* [spak]. 235 H *wüiv*. 236 H *fivör*. 237 H *tüblen*. 238 H *hedj*. 239 *seel*. 240 H *leed*, P *lién*. 241 *reen*. 242 H *tween*. 243 *plee*. 246 *kwiin*. 247 H *spüien*. 248 *müir*. 249 *wüir*. 250 *swiir*. 251 H *miit*. 252 H *ket'l*. 253 H *net'l*. 254 *ledhor*. 255 *wedor*.

E: 257 H *edj*. 258 H *segj*. 259 H *wedj*. 260 H *lee*. 261 H *see*. 262 *wæ*. 264 H *el*. 265 *stréet*. 268 [H *odust*, P *aadust*]. 270 *i*. *belusis*. *ii*. *beli*. 272 H *elm*. 273 H *men*. 274 H *bentj*. 276 H *thiqk*. 277 H *drentj*. 278 H *wentj*. 280 *iliv'n*. 281 H *lenth*. 283 *marc*. 284 *thresh*.

[H *to berry* is most usual, see *Brockett's Glossary*]. 285 *kʀes*. 286 *hæv*. 287 *bœz'm* [or possibly (*bu,z'm*)].

E'- 289 *ʒə*. 290 *hi*. 291 *dʰæ*. 292 *mæ*. 293 *wi*. 294 H *fiid*. 295 H *bred*. 296 H *biliiv*. 298 H *fiil*. 299 H *grin*. 300 H *kiip*. 301 *hiór*. 303 H *swiit*. E': 305 H *hii*. 306 H *héi* [kjht]. 307 *néi*. 308 H *niid*. 310 H *hiil*. 311 H *ten*. 314 H *hiíord*, P *hord*. 315 H *fiit*. 316 H *nækst*, P *nækst*.

EA- 317 [*flay* not used except in sense of *frighten*]. 319 H *giiep*. 320 *keer*.

EA: 321 H *soo*, P *saa*. 322 H *laf*. 323 *fóut* [fít'n], [H *slight* (*kœh*)]. 324 *áit* [H *slight* (kjht)]. 325 H *wook*, HP *waak*. 326 H *ood*, P *aad ad*. 327 *bóuld*. 328 H *kood*, P *kaad kad*. 329 H *food*. 330 H *hood*, P *had*. 331 P *sóuld*, H [(seld selt)] used. 332 [(H teld, HP telt) used]. 333 H *koof*. 334 H *hoof* [or (*hoo*) in (*hoopni*) *halfpenny*], P *heef*. 335 H *oo* [and (*aa*)], P *aal*. 336 H *foo* [and (*faal*)], P *faal*. 337 H *woo* [and (*waal*)], P *waal*. 340 *jeerd*. 342 *ceerm*. 343 *waarm*. 345 H *deer*, P *daar*. 346 H *giist*, P *giët*.

EA'- 347 *hiid*. 348 *ii*. 349 H *fiu*. EA': 350 *diid*. 351 *liid*. 352 *riid*. 353 *bríid*. 354 *shef*. 355 *diif*. 356 H *liif*. 357 H *thoo*. 359 H *néibor*, P *niibor*. 360 H *tiim*. 361 H *biin*. 362 H *slee*. 363 H *tríp*. 365 H *niir*, P [(*néi*) used]. 366 H *gríiet*, P *gríit*. 367 H *thriit*. 368 *diith*. 369 H *sloo*, P *slaa*. 370 H *roo*, P *raa*. 371 H *stree*, P *straa*.

EI- 372 *e'i* [P "half a dozen accents and tones according to meaning"]. 373 H *dhee*. 374 H *nee*, P *naa*. 375 H *reez*. 376 H *beet*. EI: 377 H *stiiek*, P. *stiék*. 378 *week*. 382 H *dheeor*.

EO- 383 *siv'n*. 384 *hiv'n*. 385 *enúth*. 386 *jóu*. 387 H *nú*. EO: 381 H *milk*. 389 H *jóuk*. 390 H *shu*, *d su*, *d*. 393 *wout*. 396 *waark*. 397 H *suurd*, P *sword*. 398 B *staary*, P *steery*. 399 H *brëi* [kjht]. 400 *aarnest*. 402 H *laarn*, P *leern*. 403 H *faar*. 404 H *staar*. 405 H *hæth*, P *heerth*. 406 H *jeerth*, P *earth*. 407 *faard'n*.

EO'- 409 H *bii*. 411 H *thrii*. 412 *shii she*. 413 H *divil diil*, P *diivil*. 414 *flii*. 415 *lii*. 416 *diior*. 417 *tjóu*. 418 *bruu*. 420 *fóuer*. EO': 423 *thii*. 424 H *rœi*. 425 H *léi* [kjht], P *liit*. 426 H *féi* [kjht], P *féit* [fít]. 427 H *bii*. 428 H *sii*. 429 *fiind*. 430 *friind*. 431 *biior*. 432 *fóuerth*. 433 *briist*. 434 *bet*. 435 *ʒə*. 436 *truu*. 437 *truuth*. EY- 438 *dii*. EY: 439 H *træst*.

I- 440 H *wiik*. 441 H *siiv*. 442 H *áiiv*. 443 H *fréide*. 444 *stéil*. 445 H *hii*. 446 H *néin*. 448 H *dhii*, P *dhor*. 449 H *git*. 450 H *túзде*. 451 *sú*.

I: 454 H *witj*. 455 [*to lay* used]. 457 P *miit*. 458 H *néi* [kjht], P *niit*. 459 *riit* [H *slight* (-kjht)]. 460 H *wéi* [kjht], P *wéit*. 461 H *elliit* [*slight* (-kjht)]. 462 H *séi* [kjht], P *siit*. 464 H *whitj*. 465 *sik*. 466 [*bairns* used]. 468 [*bairns* used occ.], P *tríldor*. 471 *timor*. 472 H *shriek*. 473 *blind*. 475 *wind*. 476 *bind*. 477 *find*. 478 *grind*. 479 *wœnd*. 481 *fiqor*. 484 H *dhis*. 485 H *thris'l*. 486 H *jest*, P *jist*. 487 *jistorde*. 488 *jit*.

I'- [instead of (*éi*) I heard (*ə'i*) or (*á'i*)] 490 *béi* [H (*uutbéi*) at a distance, (*inbéi*) near]. 491 *séi*. 493 *dréiv*. 494 *téim*. 496 *éiren*. 498 *rét* [H used generally (*a*)m *rēten*] I'm writing]. I': [instead of (*éi*) I heard (*ə'i*) or (*á'i*)] 500 *léik*. 501 *wéid*. 502 *féiv*. 503 *léif*. 504 *néif*. 505 *wéif*. 506 H *wœmen*. 507 H *wœmœn*. 508 *méil*. 509 *whéil*. 511 *wéin*. 513 *wéir*. 514 *éis*. 517 *jú*.

O- 520 *bóu*. 521 *fúuəl*. 522 *op'n*. 523 *hoop*. 524 *world*. O: 526 H *kof*. 527 H *bóu* [kht], P *bóut*. 528 H *thóu* [kht], P *thout*. 529 H *bróu* [kht], P *brout*. 530 H *róu* [kht], P *róut*. 531 H *dóu* [khtor], P *dóutor*. 532 *káuəl*. 533 *dœl*. 534 H *háuəl*. 536 H *góud*, P *góuld*. 537 H *móuld*. 538 H *wu*, *d*, P *wad*. 539 *bóud*. 542 H *boolt*. 545 *hop*. 547 H *buurd*. 549 H *hoord*. 550 *word*. 551 H *storm*. 552 H *korn*. 553 H *horn*. 554 H *kros*. O'- 557 *tii*. 558 H *liiek*, P *liœ k*. 559 P *mídhor* [a child says *mammy*, H P]. 562 H *míien*, P *míœn*. 564 H *síien*, P *síœn*. 565 H *nooz*. 566 H *u*, *dhor*.

O': 569 H *biiek*, P *bíœk*. 570 H *tíiek*, P *tíœk*. 571 H *giíed*, P *giœd*. 572 P *blíœd*. 573 H *flœd*, ? *flu*, *d*. 574 H *braud*. 575 H *stœd*, ? *u*. 576

wedinzde. 577 buu. 578 H plief, P pluu. 579 H enief, P enœf. 580 H tiief, P tiœf. 581 H sóu₁kht, P sóut. 582 H kíel. 583 H tíel. 584 H stiél, P sti_ul. 586 dii, H [also] div. 587 H dién, P dœ₁n. 588 H níen. 589 H spíen, P spíœ n. 590 H fluur. 591 H moor. 592 H swor. 593 [(mœ₁n men men) used]. 594 biét bîœt. 595 H íœt ít. 596 H rœt. 597 H síet, P síœt.

U- 599 H ebúen. 600 H lœ₁v, P liuv. 601 fuul. 602 suu. 603 H kœ₁m. 605 H sœ₁n. 606 duuor. 607 H bæ₁tor bu₁tor. U: 608 H œ gli. 609 H fœ₁l. 610 uu. 611 H bæ₁lek [also stiir, nóut]. 612 H sœ₁m. 613 H drœ₁qk. 614 huund, H hœ₁nd [also especially (grec₁œ₁nd) greyhound]. 615 pœ₁nd. 616 H grœ₁nd, P gru₁nd. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 fœ₁nd. 620 H grœ₁nd, P gru₁nd. 622 enœ ndor. 625 H tœ₁q. 626 hœ₁qor. 628 H nœ₁n. 629 H sœ₁n. 631 thorzde. 632 H œ₁p u₁p. 633 H kœ₁p kœ₁p. 634 H thruu [occ. thrœ₁f]. 636 worth. 636 fordhor. 638 H bæ₁sk. 639 H dœ₁st.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 huu. 642 dhuu. 643 nuu. 645 H dœ₁v. 646 buu. 647 uul [nearly always (d₁ni huulet) Jenny howlet]. 648 wor. 649 thuuzen. 652 H kœ₁d. 653 H bæ₁t bu₁t. U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 ruun. 657 bruun. 658 duun. 659 tuun. 661 shuor. 662 hœ₁z. 663 huus. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut. 668 pruud. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 H mœ₁tj mœ₁k'l. 674 H did. 676 lii. 677 H dréi. 679 tjortj [H (kœ₁kfiild) field next the church]. 680 H bizi. 682 H lî'l. Y: 683 H mœ₁dj. 684 H brîg. 685 H rîg. 686 H béi. 687 H flé₁kht. 689 biild. 690 H kéind. 691 H méind. 693 H sin. 696 borth. 697 H bœ₁ri, P bari. 698 P morth. 699 H réit. 700 H wars, P wors. 701 forst. 703 H pit. 704 H viiks'n. Y'- 705 skéi. 706 whéi. 707 thortin. 708 héir. Y': 709 féir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 724 baald. 725 H síel. 733 H skær, P skiir. 737 H [occ. (mare) marrow]. 740 H weev. E. 744 mez'lz. 746 briidh. 747 indi'vor. 748 H flægd, P flîgd. 751 piit [= bright looking]. I. and Y. 753 H [usually (kî'l)]. 758 geerl. O. 761 H liied, P lied. 762 H móudirat. 774 póuni. 783 H pœ₁ltri, P pu₁ltri. 784 buuns. 785 luundj. 786 duus. 787 suus. 790 guun. U. 799 P skíœ₁l. 803 H [usually (lóup)]. 804 H drœ₁k'n. 805 kœ₁dz. 807 H pœ₁s, P pu₁s. 808 H pœ₁t pu₁t, P pu₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 H fiies, P fies. 811 H plíies. 812 H líies. 815 faks. 816 H fiied, P fiied. 817 redish. 824 P tjíir. 828 H eegi. 832 míior. 838 P trét. 840 H tjambor tjamor, P tjemor. 843 H bréntj. 845 H censhen. 846 H tjanelor. 847 H daandjor [so also (aandjæl) angel]. 853 P beergin. 854 P barl. 856 peert. 857 H kíies. 859 H tjíies. 860 H píiest, P piest. 861 H tíiest, P tiest. 862 H síief, P síef. 863 tjaf. 864 H bikœ₁z, P bika₁z. 865 H fœœt, P falt. 866 H píior.

E.. 874 H reen. 878 salœri. 879 P fem'l. 883 dandilœien. 884 P prentis. 887 klardj. 888 sartín. 892 nevi. 893 flúuor.

I.. and Y.. 897 H dilé₁kjht. 898 H néis. 906 H véipor. 907 H tréis. 908 H advéis. 910 H djíist, P djéist. 912 H réis.

O.. 921 ekwent. 922 H bæ₁sh'l. 928 uuns. 929 kœ₁kemor. 932 emuunt. 934 buunti. 941 H fiél, P fiœ₁l. 942 H bæ₁tjor. 944 eluu. 945 vuu. 948 H buul. 949 H muuld, P móuld [? confusion with 537]. 952 kúuors. 954 H kœ₁sh'n. 955 duut. U.. 969 síior.

VAR. V, WARKWORTH (5 se. Alnwick), NB., cwl.

representing m.Nb. from Morpeth to Alnwick; from a wl. written 1877 in io. by Mr. Th. D. Ridley, of Coutham, Redcar, native of Warkworth, and gone over *vivâ voce* with AJE. in 1879 and 1887, whence it was pal. I am not quite sure whether some of the sounds marked (*ii*, *uu*, *u₁*) should not be (*i₁i*, *ú₁u*, *ω₁*); those marked in this latter way are, however, correct.

Note.—(*a¹*m *a¹*z) are both common, but the first is rather educated, after a plural *pronoun* the pl. form of the verb is used, but after a pl. *noun* the sg, as “the men is come, they are come.”

R A few words marked R were pal. *vivâ voce* by AJE. from John Ramsay, a labourer at Rothbury, and belong to the same variety.

The (*a¹*, *a*) here correspond to JGG.’s (*a*, *a₁*) respectively.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 *biek*. 4 *tiek*. 5 *miek*. 6 *míed*. 7 *siek*. 8 *hev*, *he* [more commonly]. 9 *biheev*. 10 *haa¹*. 11 *maa¹*. 12 *saa¹*. 13 *naa¹*. 14 *draa¹*. 15 *aa¹*. 16 *daa¹n*. 17 *laa¹*. 18 *kíek*. 19 *tíel*. 20 *léem*. 21 *níem*. 22 *tíem*. 23 *síem*. 24 *shem*. 25 *míen*. 27 *níev*. 28 *heer*. 33 *reedher*. 34 *la st*. 35 *aa¹l*. 36 *thóu*. 37 *klaa¹*.

A: 39 *ka¹m*. 40 *kíem* [(*kíi₁m*) at Hexham]. 43 *ha¹nd*. 44 *la¹nd*. 46 *ka¹n¹l*, *ka¹nd¹l*. 47 *wa¹nder*. 50 *tíeqz*. 51 *ma¹n*. 54 *wa¹nt*. 55 *a¹s*. 56 *wesh*. 57 *a¹s*.

A: or O: 58 *from*, *fre*. 59 *la¹m*. 60 *la¹q*. 61 *ɐma¹q*. 62 *stra¹q*. 63 *thra¹q*. 64 *ra¹q* [(*w¹ra¹q*), heard years ago, in w.Nb. not in Warkworth]. 65 *sa q*. 66 *thoq*.

A’- 67 *gan* [going, R (*góoen*)]. 69 *noo*. 70 *tii*. 71 *wii*. 72 *whii*. 73 *sii*. 74 *twii*. 76 *tíed*. 77 *lú₁erd* [(*leerd*) small landed proprietor]. 78 *aa¹* [(*ówn*) to own, possess]. 79 *a¹n*. 80 *ha¹lídē*. 81 *lonen*. 83 *moon* [evidently a modern form for (*míen*)]. 84 *meer*. 85 *seer*. 86 *jet*, *oots*. 87 *kléeez*. 88 *kliid*. 89 *bíeth*. 90 *bla¹* [(*blú₁u*) pt.]. 91 *ma¹* [(*mà¹d*) pt.]. 92 *na¹* [(*níu*) pt.]. 93 *sna¹* [(*sni₁u*) not so common as (*snà¹d*) snowed]. 94 *krá¹*. 95 *thra¹l*. 96 *soo*. 97 *sóul*. 98 *nà¹n*. 99 *thrá¹n*. 100 *sà¹n*.

A’: 101 *jek*, *ook*. 102 *a¹ks*, *a¹sk*. 104 *rood*, R *róood*. 105 *rid*. 106 *brood*. 107 *líef*, *loof*. 108 *dú₁u*. 109 *laa¹*. 110 *i. nóut*, *ii. not*. 111 *óut*. 113 *híel*. 115 *híem*, *hú₁m*. 118 *bíen*. 121 *gíen*. 122 *i. níen*, *ii. nii*. 124 *stíen*. 126 *oor*. 127 *híers*. 128 [(*dhor*) used]. 129 *gest*. 130 *boot*. 131 *goot*. 132 *het*. 133 *root*. 134 *ooth*. 136 *óudher*.

Æ- 138 *faa¹dher*, *feedher*. 139 *dree*. 140 *heel*. 141 *neel*. 142 *sneel*. 143 *teel*. 144 *egíen*. 145 *sleen*. 146 *meen*. 147 *breen*. 148 *feer*. 149 *bliiz*. 150 *liist*. 152 *waa¹ter*, *weeter*.

Æ: 155 *tha¹k*. 157 *reev¹n*. 158 *Efter* [no dental (*t_r*)]. 160 *eg*. 161 *dee*. 163 *lee*. 164 *mee*. 165 *seed*. 167 *díel*, R *deel* [wh. Mr. R. said is not used]. 168 *ta¹lē*. 170 *harvist*. 171 *barli*. 172 *ga¹rs* [(*r*) distinct]. 173 *wa¹s*. 174 *esh*. 175 *fa¹st*. 178 *na¹t*. 179 *wa¹t*. 180 *ba¹th*. 181 *peth*.

Æ’- 182 *sii*. 183 *tíitj*. 184 *liid*. 185 *riid*. 186 *bríith*. 187 *liiv*. 188 [(*niker*) used]. 189 *wíi* *wé¹i*. 190 *kii*. 191 *hiil*. 192 *miin*. 193 *kliin*. 194 *oni*. 195 *moni*. 196 *weer* [(*wa z*) gen. used for pl.]. 197 *tjiiz*. 199 *blit*. 200 *whiit*. 201 *hiidh¹n*. 202 *hiit*.

Æ’: 203 *spitj*. 204 *diid*. 205 *thriid*. 206 *rēd*. 207 *niid¹l*. 210 *klee*. 211 *gree*. 216 *díil*. 217 [not used]. 218 *shíip*. 219 *slíip*. 221 *fiir*. 222 *heer*. 223 *dheer*. 224 *wheer*. 225 *flesh*. 226 *míest*. 227 *wet*. 228 *swet*. 229 *bríith*. 230 *fa¹t*.

E- 232 *brik* [(*brœ₁k*, *brœ k¹n*) broke, broken]. 233 *spiik*. 234 *niid*. 235 *wiiv*. 236 *fiivor*. 237 *bleen*. 238 *hēdj*. 239 *seel*. 241 *reen*. 242 *tween*. 243 *plee*. 246 *ku¹i₁n*. 247 *wiin* [but (*spíen*) is more used, and

always for lambs]. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer. 251 miit. 252 ket'l. 253 net'l. 254 ledher. 255 wedher.

E: 257 edj. 259 wēdj. 260 lee. 261 see. 262 wee. 264 eel. 265 stre'it. 268 eldest [occ. both forms used]. 270 i. belusez, ii. beli. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 bentj. 275 stentj. 276 theqk. 277 d'rentj. 278 wentj. 280 eliv'n. 281 lenth. 282 st'enth. 283 ma'ri [the refined sound is (mori)]. 284 thresh. 285 kra's ka'rs. 286 ha'rv. 287 buz'm. 288 let.

E'- 289 jīi. 290 hīi. 291 dhīi. 293 wīi. 296 biliv. 298 fī il. 299 grīin. 300 kīip. 301 hīir. 302 mīit. 304 [(klok) always used]. E': 305 hīi. 306 he'it. 307 nāi. 308 nīid. 309 spīid. 310 hīil. 311 ten. 312 hīir. 314 hārd. 315 fī it. 316 nekst.

EA- 317 [(dee) to frighten only]. 319 gīep. 320 keer. EA: 321 sa'l. 322 la'f. 323 fōut. 324 e'it. 325 wa'k. 326 a'd, oold. 327 bōold. 328 ka d, R kōold. 330 ha'd, R ōold. 331 [seld] used. 332 [teld used]. 333 ka'f. 334 ha'f. 335 a'l, aa'l. 336 fa'l faa'l. 337 wa'l waa'l. 340 jard. 342 eerm. 343 warm. 345 dar. 346 giet, jet, R géeut.

EA'- 347 hīid. 348 āi. 349 fiu. EA': 350 dīid. 351 līid. 352 riid. 353 brīid. 355 dīif. 356 līif. 357 dhoo. 359 ne'iber. 360 tūim. 361 bīin. 363 tūip. 366 grīit, R gréet. 367 thrīit. 368 dūith. 369 slaa'l. 370 raal. 371 straa'l. EI- 372 e'i. 373 dheer. 374 nee. 375 reez. 376 beet. EI: 377 stīek. 378 week. 379 heel. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 sīv'n. 384 hīv'n. 385 binīdh. 386 jōu. 387 nīu. EO: 388 mīlk. 389 jook. 390 shūid. 393 bejont. 396 wārk. 397 sword [occ.]. 398 stārv. 399 brē'it. 401 ānest. 402 lārn, léorn. 403 fār. 404 stār. 405 hārth. 406 ārth. 407 tād'n. 408 nīu. EO'- 409 bīi. 411 thrīi. 412 shīi. 413 dīv'l, dīiv'l. 414 flūi. 415 lūi. 416 dūir. 417 tōu. 420 fōur. 421 fōrti. EO': 423 thīi. 424 rōef. 425 le'it. 426 fe'it. 427 bīi. 428 sīi. 430 frīnd. 431 bīir. 432 fōurth. 433 brīst. 434 bet. 435 jūu. 436 trīu. 437 truth, trīuweth. EY- 438 dīi. EY: 439 trōest.

I- 440 wīik. 441 sīiv. 442 āivin. 443 frē'ide. 444 ste'il. 446 ne'in. 448 [dhor used, for both *these* and *those*]. 449 get. 450 tūuzde. 451 sūu [and *soo*, the last probably modern]. I: 452 āi [but generally ā'l]. 454 wītj. 457 me'it. 458 ne'it. 459 rīt. 460 we'it. 462 se'it. 464 whītj. 465 sek. 466 tpe'ild. 467 we'ld. 468 tīlder [and (tīldren)]. 471 tīmer. 472 shriqk. 473 blīnd. 475 wīnd. 476 bīnd. 477 fīnd. 478 grīnd. 479 wāind. 481 fīqer. 484 dhīs. 485 thīs'l. 486 jest. 487 jīsterde. 488 rīt. I'- 490 be'i. 491 sāi. 493 drāiv. 494 te'im. 496 e'īren. 497 vrāiz. 498 re'it. I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 faiv. 503 le'if. 504 we'if. 505 we'if. 506 wū men. 507 wū men [sg. and pl. alike]. 508 me'il. 509 wheil. 511 we'in. 513 we'ir. 514 e'is. 515 wāiz. 516 wīzdem.

O- 520 bōu. 521 fool. 522 open. 523 hoop. 524 world. O: 526 kof. 527 bōut. 528 thōut. 529 brōut. 530 rōut. 531 dōuter. 532 kool. 533 dōel. 534 hool. 536 gōuld, guuld. 537 mōuld. 538 wū d. 539 bōul. 540 holēn. 542 bōult. 545 hop. 548 ford. 550 word. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 horn. 554 kros. O'- 555 shūu. 557 tūu. 558 lūk. 559 mōdher. 561 blūm. 562 mīun. 564 sūun. 565 nooz. 566 u,dher. O': 569 bīuk. 570 tīuk. 571 gu,d. 572 blū,d. 573 flū,d. 574 brū,d. 575 stu,d. 579 enōef. 580 tōef. 581 sōut. 582 kiul. 584 stīul [(stiel, in Hexham)]. 585 brūm. 586 dūu. 587 diun. 589 spīun. 590 floor. 591 moor. 592 swoor. 593 [mūn, used]. 594 biut. 595 fūit. 596 rōet. 597 sūt.

U- 599 ebūv. 601 fūul. 602 sūu. 605 sēn. 606 door. 607 bu,ter.

U: 608 œglī. 609 fœl. 610 wul. 611 bœlek. 612 sūm. 613 drœqk. 614 hūnd. 615 pūnd. 616 grūnd. 617 sūnd. 618 u,nd. 619 fūnd. 620 grūnd. 622 œnder. 625 tūiq. 626 hūqer. 628 nœn. 629 sēn. 631 dhorzde. 632 œip. 633 kœp. 634 thrūu. 635 worth. 636 fōrdher. 637 tūsk. 638 bu,sk. 639 dūst.

U'- 640 kūu, [R (kuuz kōuz), probably (kūuz)]. 641 hūu. 642 dhūu. 643 nūu. 646 būu. 647 hūlet. 648 wor [both accented and unaccented]. 649 thuuzend, R thōuzen. 652 kū,d. 653 bu,t.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 dū₁un dū₁n. 659 tū₁un tū₁n. 660 bū₁ur. 661 shū₁ur. 662 u₁z. 663 hū₁s. 665 muus. 666 hū₁zband. 667 uut, R ū₁ut. 668 pruud. 669 [œ₁nket used]. 671 muuth. 672 suuth.

Y- 673 mœ₁tj mœ₁tj, R mœ₁k'l. 674 did. 675 drái. 676 lí₁i. 678 din. 679 tjortj. 680 bizi. 682 lit'l. Y: 683 midj. 684 brig bridj. 685 rig [gen.]. 686 bá₁. 687 flē₁it. 689 build. 690 kē₁ind. 691 mē₁ind. 693 sin. 694 wark. 696 borth. 697 ba₁ri. 698 morth. 699 rē₁it. 700 wars. 701 forst. 703 pit. Y'- 705 ske₁'i, R skē₁'i. 706 wē₁'i. 707 thortiin. 708 hē₁ir. Y': 709 fē₁ir. 711 lē₁'is. 712 mē₁'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 716 eed'l. 724 bal'd. 737 meet. 740 weev. E. 744 mez'lz. 746 briidh. 747 indiver. 748 fligd. 751 piirt. I. and Y. 758 gort [gen. (la's)]. O. 761 líed lood. 769 [(móudira't) used]. 772 boonie₁ir. 774 póuni. 784 buuns. 787 suus. 789 róu. 790 guun.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 jeb'l. 810 fies. 812 líes. 814 mies'n. 817 redish. 818 jedj. 843 brentj. 846 tjanler. 854 barl. 856 peert. 860 píest. 861 tiest. 864 bika's. 865 fa'lt. E.. 867 tí₁i. 874 riinz [always in pl.]. 879 ríimel. 884 prentis. 887 klardj. 888 sartín. 892 nevi. 893 flū₁ur. I.. and Y.. 898 ne₁'is. 901 fē₁'in. 902 mē₁'in. 903 de₁'in. 904 váilet. 906 vē₁iper. 908 al'dve₁'is. 910 djist. 912 re₁'is. O.. 921 ekwent. 922 bishel. 926 spóil. 928 uuns. 929 kú₁ukú₁mber. 930 luundj. 932 emuunt. 934 buunti. 935 kuuntri. 942 fiul. 944 elú₁u. 945 vú₁u. 947 bóil. 948 buul. 952 i. kuurs. 955 duut [ʔ dū₁ut]. U.. 960 kú. 965 óil.

VI.

THE LOWLAND DIVISION OF ENGLISH
DIALECT DISTRICTS, BEING CHIEFLY
THOSE LYING IN SCOTLAND.

The Lowland Dialects are commonly called Scotch, because they are spoken in a country which has acquired the name of Scotland, from the Scots, an Irish Gaelic tribe which gradually acquired the ascendancy. In the Highlands, as the Celtic Border shews [*suprà* p. 14], Gaelic is still spoken; but in the Lowlands, English imported from England is the sole speech, and it was called Inglis up to the time of Barbour 1513. Dr. Murray (*Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*, 1873, henceforth cited as DSS), p. 50, says: "The tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the xvth century as Scottish and English—during the xvth century as Yrisch or Ersch and English—and during the xvth century by some as Ersch and Inglisch; by others probably as Ersch and Scots." But although a mere offshoot of the language of Northumbria, which had its domain in e.Yo. and Nb., the language at the present day is remarkably different in pronunciation and intonation from that spoken s. of the L. line 10 (p. 21), so that even an educated Lowlander, who thinks he speaks English only, and certainly does not speak dialect, is as a general rule instantly detected among Southrons. As therefore I have, for convenience, denominated the first five Divisions S., W., E., M., N. English, as spoken in England, I call the present L. or Lowland, that is, English as spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland.

Of the intonation, with a rising inflection at the end of affirmative sentences, and a remarkable sing-song, I am, as usual, unable to give any proper explanation, and hence I pass it over. As to the pronunciation, of which details follow, the general characters are U=(æ) and some (sæm); U'=(uu) quite pure with no tendency towards (ú₁u), the change in Cu. being quite sharp and sudden; vowels generally of medial length, and when prolonged much longer than in England, with little or no tendency to fractures; a strongly trilled tip-tongue *r*, even when not preceding a vowel, forming a most marked feature even in educated speech; and a constant use of (kh), sometimes in the forms (kjh, kwh). These are however only some of the most marked features, which distinguish the L. from the other five divisions.

There are four distinct groups of pronunciation, SL. = South Lowland in D 33, ML. = Mid Lowland in D 34 to 37, NL. = North Lowland in D 38 to 40, and IL. = Insular Lowland in

D 41, 42. The first is the subject of Dr. Murray's book, which furnishes mere indications of the next two, but not of the last. It must be remembered that I have taken all I possibly could from Dr. Murray's treatise, without which, and his personal kind assistance, I could not have attempted to give an account of L. My original intention was merely to supplement Dr. Murray's account of the other dialect districts by a few illustrations. I have been able to accomplish a little more than this, and to introduce the Orkneys and Shetlands, D 41, 42, which Dr. M. had omitted. But the supplementary character of my illustrations remains. With a very slight exception I have adopted Dr. Murray's Districts, merely changing their names and numbering them in sequence to my dialect districts in England, and this at once marks the subordination of this part of my work to Dr. Murray's. Taking his bounding lines, I had no occasion to examine changes of pron. with such care as in England, nor, as a general rule, to enter upon a consideration of varieties. I hope that this may be accomplished by some well-qualified Lowlander, taking Dr. Murray, who is now absorbed by his New English Dictionary, as *dux et ausper*.

In order to obtain a bird's-eye view of the various L. pronunciations, and their difference from English, I place first eight interlinear comparative specimens, from different parts of Scotland, and Shetland, and five versions of the first chapter of Ruth, the first three of these being taken from Dr. Murray, the other two from the English M. and S. Div. in Cheshire, D 25, and West Somerset, D 10. These illustrate all the districts except D 37 and 41, and hence shew the nature of their difference from each other and the forms used in England in a most striking manner.

EIGHT INTERLINEAR CS.

1. D 33, V i, *Bewcastle* (16 ne. Carlisle, Cu.) to *Longtown* (8 n. Carlisle, Cu.). This specimen was pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Sinclair, of Keilder, Nb. He resided in the Bewcastle district for the first 20 years of his life, and then 10 years in n. Tynedale. He says this mode of speech extends sw. to Longtown, but that se. of a line nearly passing through Bewcastle the dialect is somewhat different. He considers the Brampton dialect (D 32, V i) different. The Rev. R. D. Hope gave me a Longtown cs. in io., and where this spelling seems to confirm or oppose this version, attention is drawn to the fact in the notes.

2. D 33, V ii, *Hawick*, pal. by Dr. Murray from personal knowledge, about 1875-6. To this he subjoined the following important note, here placed first, with remarks of my own between []. The consideration of these points belongs to D 33, V ii, in especial, where the vowel system will be more fully considered.

"1. All the short vowels [that is, the vowels written as short] are *medial* in quantity, [hence they have, in this example only, been printed with the grave accent].

"2. What I have marked (*u*) seems to be really (*o*) with the lip closure for (*u*), [that is, (*o_n*), for which I have here, as usual, written (*u₁*)].

"3. As to *i* I am not satisfied yet; it is something between (*i*, *e*), an attempt to say (*e*) in the (*i*) position or to say (*i*) in the (*e*) position, but the former by preference, [hence I have written (*i₁*, *i₁*)].

"4. All the (*ee*) are *low*, tending towards (*ee*), query (*ee*)? [These I have

written (ee_1), and they may be (ee), at any rate an Englishman will hardly get nearer].

“5. All the (e) in accented syllables are *high*, tending towards (i), query (ei)? [These are written (e^1).]

“6. I cannot distinguish unaccented (e , a), and so have made all (e), it seemed to me on the whole better, but I have written (a , u) over those that are specially obscure.” [I should prefer using (u) in all these cases, but as in the Teviotdale sentences, see D 33, (a) was used, and as Dr. Murray very rarely superscribed (u), I have adopted (a) throughout all the last 7 of these 8 cs., without at all implying that I heard (a) as distinct from u^1 , for in unaccented syllables this would be difficult and uncertain, but the sound was clearly *not* (e) to southern ears. The other special signs apply only to No. 2.]

3. D 34, *Edinburgh*, pal. by Dr. A. H. Murray from the dictation of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Charles A. Murray, native. Dr. Murray notes:

“1. (ee , oo) are very high [hence I have used (e^1 , o^1)]. There is a great difference between Teviotdale (d_{ee}) and Lothian (d_{ee}^i) [for which I write (d_{ee_1} , d_{ee}^1) respectively].

“(E) is also high = (E^e) [for which then I write (e_1) as higher than ‘E’]. *till* is almost (tel), but very unlike (tel) as distinctly non-wide [I write (te_1) as distinct from (tel)].

“3. I take Melville Bell’s authority for *a* in *twaa*, *blaa*, etc., being (aa), for myself I am not clear about it.”

The difficulty Dr. Murray has felt in giving D 34, which is usually considered typical of Lowland Scotch, shews how much remained to be done in the minute analysis of L. pron. beyond D 33.

4. D 36, *Stranraer*, Wg., pal. in 1874 by A.J.E. from the dict. of Messrs. Boyd of Stranraer, Armstrong from near Dumfries, and Caddow from near to Kirkeudbright. As this was taken at an early period of my investigations, and by a Southron, and was also written rapidly, the Wick version, No. 7, having been taken down the same evening, and as I had no opportunity for revision, I am afraid it cannot be relied upon for very fine distinctions. The three gentlemen were collected by the Rev. R. Macbeth at Hammersmith, and the dictation was joint, each approving or suggesting differences, but the agreement was very close. I transcribe my notes literally without attempting to improve them conjecturally.

5. D 38, *Arbroath*, Fo. This was written in io. by Mr. W. J. Anderson of Arbroath, acquainted with the dialect from childhood, from which it was pal. by Dr. Murray, with considerable difficulty, as he was not personally acquainted with the pron.

6. D 39, *Keith* (:kith), Ba., written in Oct. 1873 by Rev. Walter Gregor, of Pitsligo (:pitsli:go) (34 ne.Keith, 5 wsw. Fraserburgh, Ab., native of Keith, and at that time 14 years at Pitsligo, author of the *Bangorshire Glossary*; pal. from io. by Dr. Murray in 1875, and corrected by a cwl. pal. by A.J.E. in Feb. 1878 from Mr. W. Gregor’s dict., which will be given under D 39. See also Buchan in the translations of *Ruth* chap. i. immediately following.

7. D 40, *Wick*, Cs., pal. in Feb. 1874 by A.J.E. from the dictation of Mr. A. Meiklejohn, who was 30 before he left Cs., Rev. J. Sinclair, who lived there till he was 20, and has been there since, and Rev. R. Macbeth of Wick, then at Hammersmith, who collected the others, and also those that gave me the Stranraer version, No. 4. In consequence of my taking down two cs. in one evening, I was rather hurried, and as it was also an early attempt, some of the finer shades probably escaped me.

8. D 42, *Duncrossness*, Sd. This parish, about 20 s-by-w. of Lerwick, includes Cunningsburg, Sandwick, and Fair Isle. This version was written io. in Nov. 1877 by Robert Cogle, an intelligent fisherman of Cunningsburg, Sd., from whom it was procured by Mr. W. C. Smith, advocate, Edinburgh. Although it was carefully written, and although RC. was kind enough to answer numerous questions, I should not have been able to make use of it, had not Miss A. B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, Sd., a friend of Mr. Laurensen, of whom more under D 42, carefully read it to me, with other specimens, in Oct. 1878, and allowed me to pal. it from her dictation.

* * * The notes to the eight cs. follow them immediately.

0. 1	<i>Bewcastle</i> , D 33, V i, pp. 682, 693	l ^h kw ^h at for	:dúuən
2	<i>Hawick</i> , D 33, V ii, pp. 682, 694.	kwhát foor	:dju ^h 'n
3	<i>Edinburgh</i> , D 34, pp. 683, 695.	dhy wee ¹ et	:djo ^h 'k
4	<i>Stranraer</i> , D 36, pp. 683, 695.	huu it iz	:djon
5	<i>Arbroath</i> , D 38, pp. 683, 695.		
6	<i>Keith</i> , D 39, pp. 683, 695.	fat wáai	:djon
7	<i>Wick</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	whéi	:tjon
8	<i>Dunrossness</i> , D 42, pp. 683, 696.	wha ¹ i	:djon ⁱ

- 1 hez nì dùts.
 2 hez nì' dùts.
 3 hyz nee¹ dùt.
 4 hæz nee duuts.
 5
 6 hyz nee duts.
 7 hez nii duuts.
 8 hez nee dùts.

1.	1	wiil, né ¹ e ¹ i be ^o r	iuu	ən	hím	me	bí ¹ i ¹ eth	lak ^h h	et	dhí ^s s
	2	wil, nibər,	ja'u	ən	həm	me	bí ¹ th	lak ^h h	ət	dher
	3	wil, nibər,	juu	'n	həm	me	bee ¹ th	laakh	a ^t	ma ¹
	4	wil, nibər,	juu	ən	hím	me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhər
	5	wil, nibər,	juu	ən	ham	me	beeth	laakh	ət	dhes
	6	wil, nipər,	juu	ən	hee ¹ m	my	beth	lakh	at	dhes
	7	wil, nibər,	jii	ən	hii	me	beeth	lakh	ət	dhes
	8	wiil, bóí,	du	ən	hii	mə	bēeth	ljàkh	ət	dəs

1	níuuz	ə	mé ¹ in,	kwhí ⁱ	keerz?	dha ¹ t)s	nóudhe ^o r	híe ^o r
2	ní'uz	ə	mé ¹ in.	kwhí ⁱ '	kee ¹ rz?	dhàt)s	ne ¹ dhər	hiir
3	níuuz.			whaa	kee ¹ rz?	dhat)s	nee ¹ dhər	hiir
4	níuuz	ə	mé ¹ in.	whaa	keerz?	dhat)s	nedhər	hiir
5	nuuz,	ə	mə ¹ in.	faa	keerz?	dhat)s	needhər	hiir
6	níuuz	ə	mé ¹ in.	faa	keerz?	et)s	needhər	hiir
7	níuuz	o	mainz.	faa	kjee ¹ rz?	at)s	nedhər	hiir
8	níuz			wha	keerz?	dat)s	nédər	hiir

- 1 nē dhíe^or.
 2 nār dhíⁱ'r.
 3 nār dhee¹r.
 4 nār dheer.
 5 nār dheer.
 6 nār dheer.
 7 nə eer.
 8 or deer.

2.	1	dhe	fíu	fuu ^h k	dé ¹ iz	wə	béiən	lak ^h ht	a ^t	wə
	2	dhər)z	fə'u	fu ^h 'k	déiz	kəz	dhe)r	lakh ^h 'n	ət	wéi
	3	noo ¹	móni	fə'uk	diiz	bikə ¹ z	dhe)r	laakht	a ^t ,	wi
	4		fíu	men	dii	bika ¹ z	dhee)r	lakht	at,	wi
	5		fíu	men	diiz	bikəz	dhe)r	laakht	a ^t ,	wi
	6		fíə'u	mən	diiz	fər	bii'n	lakht	yt,	wy
	7		fíáu	men	dii	koz	dhee)r	lakht	ət,	wi
	8		fíu	men	diiz	bika ¹ z	də)r	ljakht	a ^t ,	wi

1	ken	dha ₁ t	dì ₁ v)'nt	wə?	[kə'hat)s	te	mí ₁ Ek
2	kæ'n,		dè ₁ v)'n	wéi?	kə'hat)s	tə	gà ₁
3	AA kē ₁ n		dhat, jì	kē ₁ n.	kə'het	shəd	mak
4	ken,		doo'nt	wi?	what'l		maak
5	ken,		dē ₁ nə	wi?	fat	səd	mak
6	ken,		dē ₁ ny	wy?	fat fər	səd	
7	ken,		dì ₁ nə	wi?	fat	shed	mak
8	ken,		dē ₁ nə	wi?	what	sud	mak

1	dhem	dē ₁ i?	it's	not	və ₁ rə	lē ₁ klì	iz)t nù?
2	dhem?		et)s	noo	və ₁ rə	lē ₁ kli	ès't?
3	dhym?		et)s	noo ¹	vē ₁ ri	lē ₁ klì	e ₁ s't?
4	dhəm?		et)s	noo	və ₁ rə	léiklì	es)t?
5	dhəm?		et)s	noo	və ₁ rə	lōklì	es)t?
6	dh ₁ y?		et)s	nee	və ₁ rə	léiklì	e ₁ s't?
7	əm?		hē ¹ d)z	noo	və ₁ rə	léiklì	e ¹ z'd?
8	dəm?		it)s	no	və ₁ ri	lèklì	iz'ot?

3.	1	ə'uze ₁ vē ₁ r	dhū ₁ ez	v	dhe	fə ₁ ks	v)	dhe	kī ₁ es,	sii	djəst
	2	hē ₁ 'usəmē ₁ 'vər,	dher)z	dhə	fə ₁ ks	ə	dhə	kī ₁ 's,	sii'	dəst	
	3	huuzivər,	hiir)z	dh ₁ y	fə ₁ ks	ə	dhə	keē ₁ 's,	see	djəst	
	4	huue ₁ 'vər,	dhat)s		fə ₁ ks	ə	dhe	kees,	see	djəst	
	5	huuzōmē ₁ 'vər,	dhər'z	dhə	fə ₁ ks	ə	dhə	kes,	see	djəst	
	6	nuu	dhe ₁ 's'yz	dh ₁ y	fə ₁ ks	ə	dh ₁ y	kes,	see	djəst	
	7	fuu)ən)evər,	ez)e ¹ z	e ¹	fə ₁ ks	o	e ¹	kees,	so	djəst	
	8	whūdər ə no,	dəs es	də	fə ₁ ks	o	də	kes,	see		

1	ha ₁ d	jì ₁ r	nóiz,		fren,	ən	bì ₁	kwá ₁ iət	tì ₁ l
2	hád	ir	blæ'dhər,		frind,	ən	kaa	kaani	kə'həl
3	hád	jì ₁ r	gàb,	my	màn,	ən	bì ₁	kwá ₁ iət	tì ₁ l
4	had	jər	whisht,		frin,	ən	bì ₁	kwé ₁ it	tì ₁ l
5	had	jər	nóiz,		frind,	ən	bì ₁	kwá ₁ iət	tì ₁ l
6	had	jər	djaa,		frin,	yn	bì ₁	kwé ₁ iət	təl
7	had	jər	təq,		frin,	ən	bì ₁	kwé ₁ it	fəl
8	hē ₁ d	dì ₁	nóis,		bói,	ən	bì ₁	whá ₁ iət	tì ₁ l

1	a)z	d ₁ yn.							
2	aa)m	də'n	wə	mə	stu ₁ 'ri.	hiir)i	dhen!		
3	a ¹)m	dyn.				whysh't	ən	lès'n!	
4	a)d	dì ₁ n.				hiir	tə	dhes,	lès'n ə wii!
5	a ¹)m	dyn.				hark'n!			
6	ái	he	diin.			hark'n!			
7	a)v	din.				husht!			
8	ə)m	d ₁ yn.				lès'n	[whisht].		

4.	1	a)z	sàrt'n	a	herd	dhem	see,	sə ¹ m	v	dhe
	2	aa)m	sə ₁ r	a	hàrd	dhem	see,	səm	ə	dhū ₁ '
	3	aa)m	shyyr	a ¹	hàrd	dhym	see ¹ n,	səm	o	dhəm
	4	a)m	shy'uur	a	hard	dhem	see —	səm	ə	dhee
	5	aa)m	sərt'n	a ¹	hard	dhəm	see —	səm	ə	dhee
	6	ái)m	shuur	a'	hard	dhym	see —	səm	ə	dhes
	7	a)m	shuur	a	hard	əm	see —	səm	o	e ¹
	8	a)m	shə ₁ r	ət ə	herd	dəm	see'ən —	səm	o	dat

1	<i>fuu</i> ₁ 'k	et	<i>gü</i> ₁ 'ed	thruu	dhv	<i>hü</i> ₁ el	on)t
2	<i>vær</i> ₁ ə	<i>fu</i> ₁ 'k	et	<i>gi</i> ₁ 'd	thra'u	dhə	<i>hë</i> ₁ l
3			ət	<i>gee</i> ₁ 'd	thruu	dhə	<i>hee</i> ₁ l
4	fook	what	gid	thruu	dhi	heel	thiq
5	fə'uk	ət	<i>gjeed</i>	thruu	dhə	heel	theq
6	fə'uk	yt	giid	thra'u	dhy	heel	theq
7	fóuk	at	gid	thra'u	e ¹	heel	mètər
8	fok	ət	<i>gəəd</i>	tru	də	whool	thi ₁ q

1	frv	dhv	fee ^o rst	dhərse ₁ lz	—	·et	d _i l'd ₁ v,
2	thre	dhə	fèrst)oo)d	dher səl'z	—	ət	dè'd)a,
3	dhərse ₁ lz	fe	dhə fèrst)oo)t		—	ææ ₁	dè'd)a ¹ ,
4	free	dhə	ferst	dherse ₁ lz	—	dhat	d _i d)a,
5	fre	dhə	ferst	dhəmse ₁ lz	—	dhat	ded)a ¹ ,
6	fe	dhy	ferst	dhymselz	—	a't	a ded,
7	fee	e ¹	fersht	dhəmse ₁ lz	—	at	d _i d)a,
8	fEE	də	fərst	dəmse ₁ lz	—	·dāt	did á'i,

1	wiil	enúukh.
2	seer	ənəkwh.
3	shyyr	ənākh.
4	shy'uur	ənúukh.
5	sef	əniúkh.
6	shuur	inúukh.
7	seef	əníokh.
8	SEE'f	əníokh.

5.	1	et	dh _i	ja'qest	sə'n	h _i zse ₁ l,	v	grèt	búui	v
	2	ət	dhə	jaqest	sə'n	ez-sə'l,	ə	mək'l	kàlənt	ə
	3	ət	dhə	jaqyst	sən	hyzse ₁ l,	a ¹	mək'l	làdi	o
	4	dhat	dhə	jaqest	sən	h _i msel,	ə	beg	bói	e
	5	ət	dhə	jaqest	sən	həmsel,	ə	mək'l	ladhi	o
	6	yt	dhy	jaqyst	se'n	hymse ₁ l,	ə	mək'l	lun	ə
	7	ət	e ¹	jaqest	se'n	h _i msel,	ə	greet	bói	ə
	8	ət	də	jaqest	bói	h _i msel,	ə	mək'l	shiild	əbuunt

1	nē'in	iie ^o rz aal,	kent) _i z	feedhe ^o rz	vóis	et	iens,
2	nē'in	ir aald	kə'nd	ez fèdhərz	taq	ət	jè'ns,
3	na'in	jir aald,	ke ₁ nt	yz fè'dhərz	vóis	a't	jè'ns,
4	nēin,		kent	his fadhərs	taq	ət	jens,
5	nə'in,		kent	əz fadhərz	werd	a't	ens,
6	nēin		kent)s	fadhərz	ward	a't	ens,
7	náin,		kent	iz feedhərz	wáis	ət	éins,
8	ná'in		kent	his feedhərz	vóis	ət	wans,

1	fe ^o aa	t)wəz)se	kwiir	ən	skwiiken,	ən)a)wəd	
2	for aa	et wəz	si ₁	kwiir	ən	skwææki,	ən aa wəd
3	fər AA	et wyz	se ₁	kwiir	'n	skwiiki,	ən a ¹ wəd
4	thoo	et wəz	se	kwiir	ən	skwilen,	ən a wəd
5	thoo	et wyz	se	kwiir	'n	skwiik'n,	ən ái wəd
6	thoo	et wyz	see	kwiir	yn	skwiik'n,	yn a wəd
7	thoo	t)wez	sə	kwiir	ən	skwiik'en,	ən a wəd
8	altoo	it wəz	see	whiir	ən	skærlən,	ən ə wi ₁ d

1	træ'st)	i ₁ m	tə	spik	dhə	try ₁ 'th	oni	dee',	á'i,
2	lè'p'n	hè'm	tə	spik	dhə	trə'th	oni	dee ₁ ,	ət
3	træst	hè'm	te	te ₁ l	dhə	try'th	oni	dee,	ææ',
4	træst	hem	tə	tel	dhe	trəth	oni	dee,	did,
5	træst	ham	t'l	spik	dhə	truth	oni	dee,	áai
6	træst	hè'm	ty	spéik	dhɣ	tróuth	oni	dee,	áai
7	træst	hè'm	tə	speek	e ¹	trə'uth	oni	dee,	ái,
8	træst	h'im	tu	spek	də	trəəth	oni	dee,	'dat

- 1 a wad.
- 2 wil wad)ə.
- 3 wad)a¹.
- 4 wad)a.
- 5 wad)a¹.
- 6 wad)a¹.
- 7 at a wəd.
- 8 á'i wi₁d.

6.	1	en	dhə	aal	wumən	he ^o rsel'	wəl	tel	oni ₁	o)ɤ
	2	en	dhə	aald	wé ₁ if	hersæl'	'l	tæ'l)i,	oni	o)i
	3	ən	dhə	Aald	wá'if	hərsel	ɣl	te ₁ l	oni	o)juu
	4	ən	dhi	al	wéif	hərsel	wəl	tel	oni	o)i
	5	ən	dhə	aald	wəmən	hərsel	'l	tel	oni	ə)ɤ
	6	ɣn	dhɣ	aal	əmən	hɣrsel	'l	tel	oni	ɣ ji
	7	ən	e ¹		gíd wáif	hərsel	əl	tel	oni	o)ii
	8	ən	də	aald	wá'if	hersel	əl	tel	juu	or oni o

1	et	lakəhs		nə'u,	en	tel)ɤ	s ₁ tré'e ¹ it	of
2	ət	laakəhs	dhə	nə'u,	ən	tæ'l)i	stræ'kjht	of
3	jenz	a't)s	laakh'n	nuu,	ən	tel)ji	re'kht	af
4		dhat	lakh	nuu,	ən	tel)i	street	of,
5		a't	laakhs	nuu,	ən	tel)ɤ	strekht	af
6		ɣt	lakhs	nuu,	ɣn	tel)ji	a't	ens
7		ət	lakh	nuu,	ə	tel)ji	streekht	af
8	juu	ət	ljaakhs	nuu,	ən	tel juu	streekjht	af

1	tə ₁	wi ₁ dhu _t	mæk'l'	bodhe ^o r	i ₁ f	ɤ)l	nobet	às)e ^o r,
2	təə,	əthù't	mæk'l'	bòdhər	e ¹ f	i)l	onli	spiir
3	tyy,	wəthù't	mæk'l'	a ¹ dyy,	gen	ji)l	onli	aks)ər,
4	ti,	ədhu't	mæk'l'	bòdhər,	ef	ji)l	onli	aks)ər,
5	tyv,	wəthu't	mæk'l'	badhər,	ef	ɤ)l	onli	spiir
6	tii,	ɣn nee	mee ¹ r	əbu't	ɣt,	gen	ji)l	spiir
7		widhuu't	mæk'l'	bòdhər,	ge ¹ f	ji	onli	aks
8	tə	əthuu't	mæk'l'	bòdər,	if	ji)l	ònli	aks

- 1 oo! wə'net shyɣ₁?
- 2 a't)ər, æ'i, wəl)shi?
- 3 ee¹, wəl shy noo?
- 4 o, wud)'nt shi?
- 5 a't)ər, oo, wəl)shi noo?
- 6 a't)yr, aa', wi)nə shi?
- 7 hər, o, wəl shi no?
- 8 hər, o! wíl)nə shə?

7.	1	oni ₁	wee	shy ₁	telt	·méii	sii ₁ v	[kʷhən)a		ast e ^o r
	2	oni	we	shə	tæ'ld	méi		kʷhən a		akst,ər
	3	ət oni	rèt	shə	telt	mii,		kʷhən aa	spiird	a't,ər
	4	liistwez		shi	telt	mi	sii,	whən a		akst,ər
	5	oni	wáai	shi	teld)it	mii,		fən a ¹	spiird	a't,ər
	6	a't oni	ret	shə	tal)ty	mii,		fyn a ¹	spiirt	a't,gr,
	7	ət eni	reet	shi	telt it	mii		fan a		asket
	8	ət lest		shə	taald	·mii	ət	whi ₁ n á'i		akst her

1	twii ₁ othréii	te'imz	óu ₁ r	dí ₁ d)shə,	en	shyy ₁
2	twii ₁ ' or thréi	téimz	óur,	et dè ¹ d shi,	ən	shəə
3	twaa)khrii	tá'imz	ə'ur,	shə ded,	ən	shii
4	twaar thrii	téimz	óur,	did)shi,	an	shii
5	twaa ər thrii	tá'imz	ə'ur,	ded shi,	ən	shii
6	twaa ər thrii	téimz	óur,	ded shə,	yn	shii
7	twaar thrii	táimz	óur,	shi did,	en	shii
8	twartri	tá'imz	óuər,	dat shə d ₁ d,	ən	shee

1	óut'nt	te	béi	sə	va ₁ rə	fa'r	ràq	on	sí ₁ k)v
2	sùd(ne [səd)nə]		béi			w'ràq		ən	sè ¹ k'n e
3	shud)ne		bi			ràq		on	sek'n a ¹
4	okht nət	tə	bi			raq		on	sekən ə
5	əkht)nə	tə	bi			vraq		on	sek ə
6	səd)ny		by			vraq		on	sek ə
7	okht nə	tə	bi			r ₁ waq		on	sek ə
8	ókht nə	tə	bi			wræ'q		əpə	sek ə

1	póint	əz	dhí ₁ s,	[kʷhat	dez	·dhə'u	thi ₁ qk	on)t?
2	point	əz	dhè ¹ s,	kʷhát			thèqk)i?	
3	pə'int	əz	dhât,	di)i	nəə		thèq?	
4	theq	əz	dhəs,	what	d)i		theqk?	
5	pə'int	əz	dhes,	fat	də	ji	theqk?	
6	péint)sz	dhes,	fat	dy	ji		theqk?	
7	me.tər	əz	is,	fat	dji		thi ¹ qk?	
8	póint	əz	dəs,	what			teqkst	du?

8.	1	wiil,	əz)a	wəz	telen	dhe,	shu)wud	təl)w,	hə'u	
	2	əwil,	əz	aa	wəz	see ₁ n,	shəə	wəd	tæ ¹ l)i,	hə'u,
	3	wil,	əz	aa		se'd,	shii	wəd	tē ₁ l)ji,	huu,
	4	wil,	əz	a	wəz	see'en,	shii	wəd	təl)i,	huu,
	5	wil,	əz	aa	wəz	see'n.	shii	wəd	təl)jə	fuu,
	6	wil,	əz	a ¹	wyz	see'n	she	wəd	təl)ji,	fat wáai
	7	wil,	əz	a	wəz	se ¹ ən,	shii	wəd	təl ji,	huu,
	8	wiil,	əz	á'i	wiz	seeən,	shəə	wəd	təl ju,	fuu

1	[kʷheer	en	[kʷhən	shy ₁	fə'n	dhe	d ₁ ræk'n	bist	ət
2	kʷheer	ən	kʷhən	shə	fənd	dhe	d ₁ rækən	bist	ət
3	·kʷhən	ən	kʷheə ¹ r	shi	fən	dhy	d ₁ ræk'n	bry't	
4	whaar	ən	whan	shi	fən	dhi	d ₁ ræk'n	biist	
5	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fənd	dhe	d ₁ ræk'n	beest	
6	fan	yn	faar	shə	fan	dhat	d ₁ ræk ¹ k'n	beest	ət
7	faar,	ən	fan	shi	fan	e ¹	d ₁ ræk ¹ k'n	beest	fət
8	whaar	ən	whan	shə	fən	də	d ₁ ræk'n	best	ət

- 1 shy₁ kàz)è^or ·hə'zbənd.
- 2 shə kaaz ər mən.
- 3 shə kaaz ər mən.
- 4 shi kaaz hər gəd man.
- 5 shi kaaz ər man.
- 6 shə kaaz ər man.
- 7 shi kaaz ər man.
- 8 shə kEEZ hər mE'n.

9. 1	shy ₁	swœ ₁ 'r	shy ₁	saa)i ₁ m	widh	ə ₁ r	aan	iin,
2	shə	swœr	shə	saa)'m	wə	ər)n)een		in,
3	shi	tùk ər ee ¹ th ət	shə	saa)em	wy	ər	ee ¹ n	in,
4	shi	suur	shi	sa)m	wi	her	een	in,
5	shi	swoor	shi	saa)m	wi	ər	een	in,
6	shə	swiir	shə	saa)ym	wi	yrn	een	in,
7	shi	swoor	shi	sa)m	wi)ər		een	in,
8	shə	swœr	shə	SEE h'im	wi	hər	EE'n	in,

1	lā'en	strikt	ùt	et	iz	fə'l'	lenth	on	dhe	grā'n
2	lāi'en	strikit	ùt		ez	fəl	læ'nth	onə	dhe	grānd
3		striket	ùt		yr	hee'l	le ₁ nth	on	dhe	grān,
4	lāi'en	strikit	ət			fuu	lenth	on	dhe	grān
5	lāi'en	strikyt	ət			fəl	lenth	on	dhe	grānd
6	lāi'en	stréikyt	ut			aa)z	lenth	oo	dhy	grān
7	lāi'en	streetyt				aa iz	lenth	on	e ¹	grān
8	lāi'en	stretyt	ət		hiz	heel	lent	əpə	də	grānd

1	ev)ez	gy'd	sē'ndə	kliiz.	klú'es	bi ₁		dhe	dœœ ₁ r
2	e'n əz	gəd	səbðhədəz	ku ₁ 't	klú's	bi		dhe	hùs
3	yn yz	ggyd	səndəz	bē ₁ st,	djy ₁ st	fərne ₁ n't		dhe	door
4	in hiz	gəd	səbith	kleez,	djəst	bi		dhe	door
5	en əz	ggyd	səndə	kot,	kləs	bi		dhe	door
6	wii)z	gwid	səndy	kot	kləs	a't		dhy	door
7	in iz	gid	səbith	kleez	klooz	at		e ¹	door
8	ənt'el hiz	gy'd	səndə	kot,	kləs	bi		də	door

- 1 v)dhe hùs, duun et dhi₁ korne^or ə jon loni'n.
- 2 door dùn ət dhə kornər ə jòn [dhon] li'n.
- 3 o dhə hùs, dùn dhə kləs jòndər a't dhə kò'rnər.
- 4 o dhə huus, duun ət dhi kornər ə dhe loonin.
- 5 ə dhə hus, dun a't dhə kornər ə jon leen.
- 6 y dhy hus, dun yt dhy kornər ə jon leen.
- 7 o)e¹ huus, duun ət ə kornər ə jen rodi.
- 8 o də huus, duun ət də kòrnər o jon rod.

10. 1	hi ₁	wəz		kəhindhən	əwee	sez	shyy ₁ ,
2	héi	wəz		kəhinzhən	əwee ₁ ,	kə)shə,	
3	ən	hi	wyz	whəmp'rn	a'waa',	shə	diklee'rz,
4	hii	wəz		whəndjən	əwaa,	sed	shii,
5	hi	wəz		whə'inən	əwaa,	sez	shii,
6	hi	wyz		meenən	əwaa,	sez	shə,
7	hii	wəz	kóunən ən	whéinən	əwaa,	sez	shii,
8	hi	wiz		whindhən	əwaa,	sez)	shə,

1		fer	àl	dhə	wə'r'l	dhə	sí(ə)m)əz)ə	sik	beern,
2		for	aa	dhə	wor'lt	léik	ə	noo-wil	bèrn,
3		fər	AA	dhə	warld	lə'ik	a¹	noo¹-wil	be¹rn,
4		fər	aa	dhi	wərl	léik	ə	sik	wensh,
5		fər	aa	dhə	war'ld	lə'ik	ə	sik	ween,
6	dʒist	fər	aa	dhy	word'l	léik	ə	sik	le'tl)ən,
7		fər	aa	e¹	warl	le¹k	ə	s'ik	beern¹,
8		fər	aa	de	wərl	lek	ə	s'ik	beern,

1	ər)el ₁ t'l	las	i ₁ n)ə	fré'it.		
2	or ə	bè't	wè ₁ nsh	en ə	frí ₁ 't.	
3	or a ¹	bèt	lasək	y	dhy	pe ₁ t.
4	ər ə	bet	las _i	en ə	pet.	
5	ər ə	wii	las _i	en ə	teg.	
6	or ə	bet	las _i	yn ə	pet.	
7	ər ə	píri	wii	las _i .		
8	or ə	pí'ri	las	i	də	dorts.

11.	1	en	dha₁t	hə'p'nt		əz	hœ₁'r	en)ə	
	2	en	dhè¹s	həp'nt	də'st	əz	her	en	ər gə'd
	3	ən	dhat	wyz	dʒy'st	əz	her	'n	ər gjyd
	4	ən	dhat	hapənd		az	hər	ən	hər gəd
	5	ən	dhat	hap'nt		əz	hər	'n	ər gyd
	6	yn)t		hapynt		əz	hər	'n	ər gwid
	7	ən	at	hapend		fan	hər	ən	hər gid
	8	ən	dat	hap'nd		əz	shə	ən	hər gy₁d

1	dóu ^{te°} r _i n)laa		kom	thruu	dhə	ba ₁ k	faal
2	dòk ^h ter	wəz	kāmen	thrə'u	dhe ¹	bāk	jeerd
3	dòkhtər		kām	thruu	dhə	bāk	jee ¹ rd
4	dokhtər		kam	thruu	dhə	bak	jard
5	daakhtər		kam	thru	dhə	bak	jeerd
6	doothər		kam	thróu	dhy	bak	jeerd
7	dokh ^{tə} r		kam	fee	e ¹	bak	ev e ¹ hus
8	dáukhtər		kē'm	tro	də	bak	jeerd

1	fre	hiq'₁n		dhə	wet	klíi₁ez	uut	tə	drái	ev)ə
2	thre	heq₁n	ùt	dhə	wat	klíi₁'z		tə	drái	on ə
3	fe	hèq'n	ùt	dhy		kleē¹z,				et wyz
4	free	haqən	uut	dhə	wat	kleēz		tə	drái	on ə
5	fe	heq'n	ut	dhə	wit	kleēz		t'l	dráai	on ə
6	eftər	heq'n	ut	dhy	wit	kleēz		ty	dráai	on ə
7	fee	haqən	uut	e¹	wit	klees		tə	drái	on ə
8	fee	heqən		də	wit	kleēz	ut	tə	drá'i	whi₁n

1	weshin	dee',
2	wə'shin	dee ₁ ,
3	wàsh'n	dee ¹ ji ke ₁ n,
4	weshən	dee,
5	wash'n	dee,
6	wash'n	dee,
7	washən	dee,
8	dee wər	biin waash'n,

12.	1	[kæh'e'il	dhæ	ket'l	wæz	bóilən	for	téi	
	2	əz	dha	kæ't'l	wæz	bóilən	for	dhə	téi
	3	ən	dhy	ke't'l	wyz	bó'il'n	fær	tii	ən et wyz
	4	whən	dhə	ket'l	wæz	bóilən	fær	tii'	
	5	fən	dhə	ket'l	wyz	báil'n	fær	dhə	tii
	6	fyn	dhy	ket'l	wyz	béil'yn	fær	dhy	tee
	7	fan	e'	ket'l	wæz	bóilən	fa	tii	
	8	i	də	tá'im	ət	də	teeket'l	wæz	bóilən

1	i'en	br'e'it	sə'me ^o r	a'fte ^o rnyy ^u n,	onli ₁	
2	jee	féin	brækjht	sə'mər	æftərnən,	nii ₁ ' meer dhən
3	a'	bræa	'n	brækht	səmər	æftərnyn,
						ən nee' far'r
4	jee	féin	brækht	səmər	æftərnin,	djest
5	ee	fə'in	brækht	semər	æftərnyn,	onli
6	ee	féin	brækht	semər	æftərnin,	onli
7	éi	fáin	brækht	semər	æftərnin,	onli
8	ii	fá'in		səmərz	æftərnən,	onli

1		u	wik		kəm	thœ ₁ rzde.
2	[ner ez]	ə	wik	óur	gi ₁ 'n kəm	nist færzde.
3		ge'n	dhyn			lâst thærzde ¹ .
4		ə	wik		kəm	ferst dhærzdee.
5		ə	wik	sə'in	kəm	nikst fyvzde.
6		ə	wik	sə'in	kəm	fiirzdy ferst.
7		ə	wik	s'in	séin kəm	færshst fiurzdee.
8		ə	wik	wh ₁ n	də	nist færzde kəmz.

13.	1	en	di)jə	ken?	a	n ₁ ve ^o r	leernd	oni	méir	
	2	ən	dé)i	kæ'n?	aa)v	nè'vər	hård	nii ₁ '	meer	dhən
	3	ən	di)i	ke'n?	a'		hard	ne'	mee'r	dhyn
	4	an	d)i	ken?	a	nevər	hard	oni	meer	
	5	ən	di)jə	ken?	ái	nevər	leernt	oni	meer	dhən
	6	yn	di)v)ji	ken?	a	nivər	kent	oni	mee'r	nər
	7	ən	d)i	ken?	a	nevər	hard	eni	meer	dhən
	8	ən	də	ji	ken?	ái	n ₁ vər	kent	oni	meer əs

1		u	dh ₁ s	b ₁ znəs	tíl	dhæ		dee',	uz
2	dhè's	ə	dhə	bè'znəs	t'l	dhè's	gəd	dee ₁ ,	əs
3	dhat	ə	dhy	bé'znəs	t'l	dhy		dee ¹ ,	əz
4		o	dhi	b ₁ zn ₁ s	əp tel	dhə		dee,	az
5	dhes	əf	dhat	beznes	əp t'l	dhə		dee,	az
6	dhes	ə	dhat	beznys	əp ty	dhes	verə	dee,	əs
7	is	o	at	metər	əp tə	is		dee,	əz
8	dəs	o	dat	wark	tə	də	tá'im	ət)s	kəm, əz

1	sœæ ₁ r	uz	m ₁	n ₁ 'mz	:dʒu ₁ en	:shepe ^o rd	en)v	
2	sær	əz	mə	n ₁ 'm)z	:dʒu ₁ 'n	:shepərd,	ən	a
3	shyyr	əz	dhæ	kæa	mii	:dʒøk	:shepərd,	ən a'
4	shær	əz	ma	neem)z	:dʒoni	:shipərd,	ən	a
5	syrr)z		mə	neem)z	:dʒoon	:shepərd,	ən	a'
6	shuur)z		my	neem)z	:dʒon	:shepərt,	yn	fat)s
7	shuur)z		ma	neem)z	:tʃøk	:shipərd,	ən	a
8	shær	əz	má'i	nem əz	:dʒoni	:sheperd,	ən	á'i

- 1 di₁r'nt want tē ken áudhər, dheer nē'u !
 2 de¹nə want tē ne₁dhər, dhii₁'r nə !
 3 de₁nə want ty nee¹dhər, sə dhe¹r !
 4 dē₁nə want tē edhər, dheer nə !
 5 dō₁nə want t'l eedhər, dheer nu !
 6 mee¹r, a¹ dō₁nə went ty ken.
 7 di₁nə want tē hiir meer edhər, nuu dhen !
 8 dō₁nə want tē dā it nē¹dər, deer nuu !

14. 1 en sū₁ē, à)z gaan hū₁ēm tē mī₁ sē¹pe^or.
 2 nā'u dhe¹n, aa)m gaan hē¹m tē mē sēpər.
 3 wil ! a¹m gaan hee¹m ty my sēpər.
 4 an see a)m gan əwa¹ hem tē ma sēpər.
 5 ən see a¹m gee¹n əwaa¹ heem tē mē sēpər.
 6 yn see a)m djaain əwaa¹ heem tē mē sēpər.
 7 ən see a)m gjaan heem tē ma sēpər.
 8 ən see a¹i)m ggeən hem tē mī sēpər.

- 1 gyy₁d nē¹it, en di₁nə bēi sē shārp ət krā¹i₁n
 2 gəd nē¹kjht, ən wē¹t ə wii əfuu₁'r i kraa
 3 gyd nē¹kht, ən dē₁nə bi yn sē¹k a¹ həri ty kraa
 4 gəd nekht, ən di₁nə bii djest se fast tē kraa
 5 gjyd nekht, ən dō₁nə bi se kwek tē kraa
 6 gwid nekht, yn de₁ny bi see krus ty kraa
 7 gid nekht, ən di₁nə bi in set ə həri tē kraa
 8 gyy₁d nā¹i₁kjht ən dō₁nə bi see reedi tē kraa

- 1 1 óue^or v bodi egeen, [kəhən]i tàks v
 2 si₁' krùs óur ə bu₁'di əgi₁'n, kəhən hēi kràks ə
 3 se¹ krùs ə'ur a¹ bodi a¹ge¹n, wən hii₁z spik¹'n a¹
 4 óur ə bodi əgen, wən hi telz₁i ə
 5 ə'ur ə bədi əgen, fən i kraks o
 6 óur ə bədi əgen, fyn i spéiks
 7 óur ə bodi əge¹n, fan hi speeks o
 8 óur oni iin əgen, whi₁n hii₁z spekən o

- 1 dhi₁s dha₁t e^or dhe tē¹dhe^or.
 2 dhē¹s or dhāt, or dhə t)ədher thē¹q.
 3 bù¹t dhēs, dhāt, or dhy ədher thē¹q.
 4 dhi₁s dhat ər ədher.
 5 dhes dhat or dhə idhər.
 6 dhes dhat or dhy t)idher theq.
 7 is ər at.
 8 des dat or də idə thaq.

15. 1 its v week fyy₁l ət kla₁tte^orz wi₁dthùt riiz'n.
 2 hēi₁z ə sē¹li fəl et blē¹dherz əwee₁ wəthù¹t ri₁'z'n.
 3 hii₁z a¹ sē¹li gə'uk yt blē₁dhərz wəthù¹t se₁ns.
 4 et)s ə si¹li fəl dhat klātərz ədhu¹t rez'n.
 5 et)s ə week fyl ət blē₁dherz wəthù¹t rez'n.
 6 et)s ə wē¹ik fiil yt gandjez wənt'n rez'n.
 7 hed₁z ə week fil ət klātərz withut ə reez'n.
 8 et)s ə wee¹k fəl ət shēerks ədhu¹t reez'n.

1	en	dha ₁ ts	má ₁	last	ward.	gy ₁ d	ne'ít.
2		dhát)s	maa	hè'n ₁ mest	ward.	gəd	bái!
3	ən	dhát)s	AA	a ¹ v ty see ¹ ,	sə	gjyd	baa'!
4	an	dhát)s	ma	last	word.	gəd	nekht, əge'n.
5	ən	dhát)s	ma'	henmest	ward.	gjyd	bə'i t)jə.
6		dhát)s	máai	hinnmyst	ward.	gwid	báai.
7	ən	at)s	ma	last	ward.	gid	nekht, əge'n,
8	ən	dat)s	má'i	hidmest	ward.	gy ₁ d	ná'ikjht!

* * The above 8 cs. should be studied as part of the districts to which they have been referred on p. 684, and similarly for the 5 phonetic transcripts of the first chapter of the Book of Ruth on p. 698. They are inserted here, out of order, to render the comparison easier. The reader should observe, in No. 1, *Bewcastle*, the sudden cessation of (u, u₁) and its replacement by (æ), the cessation of (u₁u) and appearance of pure (uu) before consonants or (æ'u) when no consonant follows, all strongly against Cu. habits. In No. 2, *Hawick*, the peculiar (í₁, ú₁) vowels, and U' = (æ'u) when not before a consonant not found in the rest of L. In Nos. 5, 6, 7, *Arbroath*, *Keith*, and *Wick*, the use of (f) for (wh), and especially in No. 7, *Wick*, the use of (e¹, is) for *the, this*, and (h'e¹d) for *it*, the old (h) being restored, not a new h inserted, but in No. 8, *Dunrossness*, the frequent use of (t, d) for (th, dh).

Notes to No. 1, Bewcastle, cs. pp. 682, 684.

The Longtown version is cited as LT., and the words are put in italics.

0. *what* (kw_h) is almost (wh) when initial, not otherwise.—LT. *whay John hes nē doots*. No doubt *what for* would be the phrase used. Instead of *nē, nae* was first written.

1. *well neighbour*, so LT. JGG. considers (é₁e¹i) to represent the received diphthongal long *a*, only with a longer glide. I should probably have simply written (éi). The (e^o) which occurs frequently in this version is an obscure (e), and in fact does not sensibly differ from (v) or (ə), but JGG. wished to represent the impression he received.—*both*, both elements accented, LT. *bēaith*.—*mine*, LT. *meyne*. This thin (æ'i) diphthong, with a tendency towards (æ'i), is very characteristic of nw.Cu. See Holme Cultram, p. 562, No. 20.—*neither here nor there*, LT. *nayder hēer nor thēer*.

2. *die*, LT. *dee*.—*we know, don't we*, LT. *we ken, div'nt we*.—*make*, LT. *mēake*.—*very likely*, LT. *varra leykely*.

3. *howsoever*, etc., LT. *howsoever* or *huzsever*, *thē err the fācs o' the kēāse*, *sē just hod your noise, frēend*. Observe Mr. Sinclair's (ha₁d, fren). (fri,nz) in the pl. at Milburn, We.—*I is done*, LT. *ā've dun*, both words perhaps literary. In (dyy₁n) JGG. considers the vowel to be (uu) with the tongue obliquely advanced towards the (i) position, and he writes it (u^u'), but consents to (y₁) as merely a generic symbol representing 'something like'

French (y), and this was the effect to my ear when I heard him pronounce it. Observe (a)z) = 'I is,' which runs quite into Liddesdale.

4. *I is*, LT. *I am*, which is educated.—*certain*, etc., LT. *certain ā heerd*. The (r) is trilled throughout regularly as in Scotland.—*some*, JGG. considers this (æ¹) to lie between (o) and the Teviotdale value of (æ), and might be (o₁) as well as (æ¹), reminding him more of (o, o) than the Teviotdale (æ) does.—*the folks*, etc., LT. *thē fōōāks whē gēēid*.—*whole*, LT. *hēāl*.—*first*, the vowel is very difficult owing to the disturbance of (r). JGG. has tried many ways of symbolising it. But he finally admits (e^o) as an indistinct and indefinite (e). It sometimes reminds him of the Nb. sound, which he thinks is (æ₂) or (æ) pronounced with a widened pharynx, LT. *f'e'rst*, where the ' are unexplained.—*well enough*, the (iu), says JGG., is the same as in general NW. of England, but only occurs before (kw_h) in this district, as in *diukw_h*, *plukw_h*, *klukw_h*, *tiukw_h*, *siukw_h*, *enukw_h* = *dough*, *plough*, *cleugh*, *tough*, *sough*, *enough*; LT. *sēēāfe enuff*.

5. *youngest*, etc., LT. *youngist son himsel*, *a greet bōōēe o' neyne*—*knew*, etc., LT. *ken hēes fayder's voice at yince*; the *d* in *fayder* was probably dental, it is only occasionally marked in Mr. Sinclair's version, but JGG.

considers the omissions to be due to Mr. Sinclair's residence in Nb. Observe that 's of the possessive is used, it is omitted in D 31.—*queer*, the (ii) is quite pure throughout, never (*i*₁).—*truth*, LT. *trūth*, JGG. wrote (tr₁uth), see par. 3.—*I is done*.

6. *old*, LT. *āl*.—*will*, LT. *wull*.—*now*, LT. *now*, this (a'u) for (uu) occurs only in an open syllable, before a consonant it remains (uu, ù), as in Rx.—*too*, LT. *too*, with a 'guttural sound.' JGG. has attempted several ways of noting the sound, which in Rx. Dr. Murray assumes to be the French (ə)=*eu* in *peu*. JGG. says it is *not* labialised, but may lie between (ə, u), or among (ə, i, u) or (u₁, i₁), but consents to writing (ə₁) frequently in D 31, p. 541, as a variant of (ə) produced without rounding the lips.—*without*, LT. *withoot muckle bodder*.—*won't she*, LT. *wunnet shoo*. JGG. writes (shyy₁) here, describing it as "low (i₁), high-rounded," but writes (sh₁u¹) in par. 7. See note, par. 3, *I is done*.

7. *she*, LT. *shoo*, see par. 6, *won't she*.—*me*, LT. *mēē*, just as dialect writers use 'mee' in Cu. and Yo.—*when*, LT. *whōne*, on which Rev. Mr. Elwood, of Torver, Coniston, n.La., says in a letter of 20 March, 1874, "There is one word *whone*, the word for *when*, which occurs in his [Mr. Hope's] version, the sound of which (though I understood what sound he meant to convey the moment I saw it) I fear neither he nor I will be able to convey to you in the compass of a letter. It is pronounced something like *whāūn*, with a deep inflection." This may be (whoō·n) with a fall of pitch on (oo) and then a rise. Mr. Sinclair seems to have used an altogether different sound.—*two*, etc., LT. *twō* or *three teymes ōur*, *dud she*, and *shoo*.—*wrong*, etc., LT. *rang on sic a*.—*dost thou think*, LT. *dēē yah think*.

8. *she would*, LT. *shoo wad*. JGG.

says the (u) was distinct in both words, we have seen in other parts, p. 596, par. 8, that *she* becomes (shu) before (wud).—*how*, etc., LT. *how*, *where*, and *whōne shoo fun the drucken*.—*she calls*, LT. *she cās*.

9. *she swore*, etc., LT. *shoo swore she saw him, with her āan e'en, lying streakit, at full length on the grun in his gūd Sunday cōāt clōōs by the dūr* (guttural sound) *o' the hoose doon at the coorner o' yon lonning* (or *loo-ning*).—*lying*, observe not (līga^on).—*good*, JGG. wrote (g₁ū'd), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*door*, JGG. considers this a variant of the French *œu* in *sœur*.—*house down*, observe (hūs, duun), not (hā'us dā'un), because the word is followed by a consonant.

10. *whingeing*, LT. *wheyning*.—*she*, etc., LT. *shoo*, for *a' the woorld*.—*sick*, LT. *seek cheyld*. Observe (sik) with short (i), not (sīk, sīk).—*fright*, LT. *fret*, which is perhaps not dialectal, but Hawick (fri₁'t) is 'fret.'

11. *her*, LT. *shoo*.—*daughter-in-law came*, LT. *doughter-in-lāw cam'*.—*fold*, LT. *yaird*.—*clothes out*, LT. *clēs oot*.—*washing*, LT. *weshing*.

12. *while*, LT. *wheyle*.—*one bright*, etc., LT. *yin feyne breet simmer efternūn*.—*Thursday*, LT. inserts *neist*=next before Thursday.

13. *and do you ken*, etc., LT. *a and dē ye ken? ā niver lairned ony mair*.—*till to-day*, LT. *up too* (guttural sound).—*as sure*, LT. *as sūr as my nēame*.—*and I don't want*, etc., LT. *and ā div'nt want too ader, thēēr now*.

14. *and so I is going*, LT. *and sē ā'm gan hēame ta sup*. *Gude nēet and div'nt be sē quick to-o* (guttural sound) *crāw ōur a body again whone he tāks o' this that or t' other*.

15. *weak fool*, LT. *weak fūl*, JGG. writes (f₁uu¹), see note, par. 3, *done*.—*that clatters*, LT. *that prates withoot reason*.—*my last word*, LT. *my last word*. *guā b'oy*.

Notes to No. 2, *Hawick*, cs., pp. 682, 684.

2. *likely*, (léiklī) is also used, I have however heard (lè¹klī) from Lowlanders myself.

3. *just*, Dr. M. says "commonly (dǽst) when unemphatic and gen. even if emphatic, though (dǽpst) may then be heard from some. The vowel is the ordinary Scotch *u*, currently assumed = French *u*. When I learnt French at school, I was taught to

pronounce French *juste* with the same vowel."—*call canny*, that is, *drive gently* (or be still).

4. *first of it*, the (oo) was marked long by Dr. M.

5. *that well would I*.

8. *aveel*, (āwil, āwil) both given.

9. *Sabbath day's*.

13. *than*, (dhən, ez, nər, bi) all used after the comparative.

Notes to No. 3, *Edinburgh* cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *the*, Dr. M. uses (y) rather vaguely where I should put (i) or (i₁), but I leave it.—*at*, I have changed Dr. M.'s (ah) into (a¹) as more suggestive.—*who cares*, etc., or better (whaa mæ'indz dhat' dhat's a¹ smaame'ter)."

2. *because*, I rather doubt the appreciation (bikə'z).

3. *just*, the shade of (y) in (dʒyst) is doubtful here and elsewhere.

4. *sure enough*, or (nee¹ dùt vùt yt) no doubt about it.

6. *you yons*, apparently, you that are yonder.—*ask*, both (aks, ask) are used.

8. *when*, (kwàn) or (whàn).—*where* (kwheel'r) or (wheel'r).

10. *no-well*, that is, unwell, or sick.

13. *the day*, that is, to-day.

Notes to No. 4, *Stranraer*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

5. *big*, (greet) is also used *deed would I*=indeed I would, as a variant (ái, wed ə) *aye*, would I.

6. *now*, (ni) is used at Kirkcudbright.

7. *leastways* or (oni wez) any ways. *wrong*, the *w* is not heard.

8. *found* (fan) or (fan).—*beast* (bé'st) in Wigton.

9. *lane*, yonder (jonər) might be added.

10. *pet* or (tef) *tiff*.

14. *do not be* I had transcribed (did)nə, a manifest error, and hence I adopt the reading of No. 7.

15. *silly* or (wik) *weak*.

Notes to No. 5, *Arbroath*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Mr. Anderson is referred to as A.

1. *you and him*, A. wrote *you an'he*.—*both*, A. *baith* with the sound *āe*, explained as "somewhat like English *ay* in *say*, but has a more shut sound," probably (e¹) is meant, but Dr. M. uses (ee) throughout. The words which A. specifies as having this *āe* or say (ee¹) sound are in his spelling: *baith*, *nather*, *hāill*, *ance*, *straicht*, *lane*, *bairn*, *yaird*, *fae*, *afternune*, *mair*, *aither*, *wake*: both, neither, whole, once, straight, lane, bairn, yard, from, afternoon, more, either, weak. He also uses *ēa* to express a sound "somewhat similar to *āe* or French *de* pro-

longed," which is a very different sound from (ee¹), and assigns it to: *learned*, *name*, *hame*.—*laugh*. A writes *lauch*.—*it*, this use of (e) for (i) is not recognised by A.

5. *laddy*, Dr. Murray notes the pron. (ladhi) as "authentic," A. merely writes *laddie*.

7. *wrong*, A. writes simply *wrang*, the (vraq) is M.'s insertion.

10. *tig*, "a pet, a fit of sullen humour," Jamieson's Dictionary.

12. *when*, A. has *fan*.—*boiling*, A. has *boilin'* not *bilin'*.

13. *don't*, A. has *dinna* not (dænə).

Notes to No. 6, *Keith*, cs., pp. 683, 684.

Rev. Walter Gregor's spelling is cited as G; Dr. Murray's as M; vv. the vivā voce cwl. as heard by AJE.

2. *likely*, G. *li'ckly*. The *i* of Ab. writers and that neighbourhood is used in at least three manners, which will be discussed under D 39. Dr. M. has apparently in despair used (y) where Mr. Gregor wrote *i*, with the following explanation, which neither Dr. M. nor I succeeded in understanding: "*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill*, *mill*, another in *wint* (wont), and a third in *fin* (when) *hinmist*. The sound in *fill*, *will*, *him*, comes nearest to the sound of *yes*, *yet*; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of the *i* in

window. In *fin* the sound comes nearest the sound in *pin*." In English the last two are identical. In all cases Mr. Gregor probably refers to the pron. in more southern parts of Scotland. M (ləkly), vv. (léiklī).

3. *quiet*, G. *quai't*, M. (kwaa't), vv. (kwe'et).—*done*, G. *dēēn*, M. (din dyyn), vv. (diin).

4. *enough*, G. *ānyuch*, M. (ynjekh), vv. (iniukh).

5. *son*, G. *sin*, M. (see'n), vv. (se'n), and *sun* was absolutely the same.—*loun*, "a boy," Jam. Dict.—*word*,

G. *wird*, M. (wɪrd), vv. (wərd), this is one of the three pron. of *i* in D 39, which sounds to me like (æ).—*was*, G. *wiz*, M. (wyz), vv. (wez), this is another of the three pron. of *i* in D 39.—*truth*, G. *trauth*, M. trə'uth, vv. (tróuth).—*would*, G. *wid*, M. (wɪd), vv. (wəd).

7. *told it*, G. *taul't*, M. (taal)t, vv. (tal)t).

8. *found that*, G. *fan that* or *tat*, this is a case of assimilation of (dh) to (t) after (n), found elsewhere.

9. *her own eyes*, G. *ir nain een*, M. (yr-n- een in), I should have probably heard (ər ne'n in).

9. *in his good Sunday coat, close at the door*, G. *in's gweed Sunday quíte close at tha door*, M. (wi)z gwíd sandy kwéit, klos a't dhy door. Unfortunately the word *coat* was skipped in my vv. wl., but in a num. wl. which G. had previously sent me it was marked (kot), which I have adopted. But in *Johnny Gibb*, *quite* is used for *coat*.

10. *little one*, G. *littlön*, as well as I could read it, but the writing was indistinct, and M. gave it up.

11. *as her and her*, G. *iz hir ən hir*, M (yz heer 'n yr), probably (əz hær ən hær) would be more correct, and I have introduced it.

14. *going*, G. *djahin*, M. (djaan, dzshaan), vv. the word *to go* was written both (gĩaq, djan), hence I adopt (djaa'in) as most probably what was intended; of course it is an alteration of (gjaan) heard at Wick, Cs.—*don't*, G. *dinnä*, which M. here represents by (deny), but just at end of par. 13 by (dənə). The sound is perhaps (də'nə).—*crouse*, “brisk, apparently brave,” Jam. Dict.

15. *ganjis*, as G. writes it here, is in his *Dialect of Banffshire, with a Glossary of Words not in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, “GANNYIE, *n.* (1) much pert foolish talking, (2) a pert talker.—GANNYIE, *v.n.* to talk much in a foolish, pert fashion (*Gandy* is the form given by Jamieson). GANNYIEIN', *a.* given to pert, silly talking (Jamieson gives the noun, *ganien*).”—*reason*, G. *rizzin*, M. (rizyn), vv. (rez'n).

Notes to No. 7, Wick, cs., pp. 683, 684.

0. *John*, (:tjɒn) is remarkable, because initial (tj) generally becomes (sh).—*no doubts*, (nee duuts) more common in Wick, according to Micklejohn and Sinclair.

1. *mine*, the form (máinz) is only occ. used, (má'in) is most frequent.

2. *should*, (sed) is an older form.—*it is*, observe the retention of the aspirate in *it*, Ws. *hit*.

3. *how and ever*, for *howsoever*, (fuu) is the regular form for *how* and *why*.—*these is the*, observe omission of (dh) in *these*, *the*, which is regular in Cs.—*till* (fel) is not a form of *till*, but of *while*, commonly used in the N. for *until*.

4. *some of the*, (sím) also used.—*that*, (fa) who, also used.—*from*, (fre) also used.—*enough*, (əniókh) also used.

5. *voice*, the form (wáis) is archaic.

6. *straight off* or (ət éins) at once.—*if* or (ge'n) given.—*ask*, (aks) is common among the older people in Cs.

7. *any* or (onu).—*telled* or (tould)

told.—*ought* or (shud) should.—*matter* or (póint), the (:tr) occurs in this district.—*as this, what*, obs. (dh) omitted in *this*, and (f) used for (wh).

8. *tell you*, never (tel)i, the (j) always inserted.—*how*, the (huu) is possibly an error for (fuu), as in No. 5.

9. *swore*, (sweerd) is rarely used.—*Sabbath* (səndə) is used, instead of *Sabbath clothes* they also say (hiz hee'nd koot) his hind or spare coat.—*close* or (djest).—*yon little road*, (dhon) is heard in Fi. and Ab.

10. *cowning and whining*, I don't find *to cown* in glossaries, (fimpər) whimper means to cry.—*or a little wee lassie*, (píri) is an old word for small, and occurs in D 42, (ən el-netərd lassigi) an ill-natured small lass, is also used.

11. *from the back of the house*, or (throu e' jeerd) through the yard.

13. *more than this*, or (nər) may be used for *than*.

Notes to No. 8, Dunrossness, cs., pp. 683, 684.

1. *why*, the (wh) is forcibly uttered, but the sound is not quite (kʷh); the (á'i) is fine, very far from (ái) and

might be almost written (æ'i).—*Johnny*, the (ò) medial, as the vowels generally are, but the (n) not doubled;

final (i) pure, not (i).—*has*, on account of the want of emphasis both (h) and (ɛ) were rather indistinct, and (ɛz) would perhaps be nearer, not (ɛz, əz). *doubts*, the vowel medial in length; in many cases where I have used short or long vowels from the feeling of the moment, probably medial vowels would have been more correct.

1. *both*, the (th) quite distinct, not (t, d, dh), but occasionally (dhth) in the pause.—*this*, the (dæs) was very distinct, though all Shetland writers use *dis*; this is probably the *i* of D 39, there explained.—*cares*, there, with distinct (ee) not (ɛɛ), no insertion of (v) before (r), which was quite trilled, though not so strongly trilled as before vowels, or as in L. speech.

2. *they are*, this is a common contraction.—*do not*? For the distinctions (ə, œ, y), which Shetlanders generally write as ü, I give whatever struck my ear at the time, but of course I may have often been wrong.

3. *facts*, *case*, neither word is in gen. use, hence Miss M.'s own pron. was conjectural.—*till I am done*, (til) almost (tel); (əm ɐm) unemphatic for I am; (dy,n), with a deeper (y), almost (ə), but with a difference difficult to determine.

4. *sure*, the vowel is very long.—*whole*, though not very long the vowel was not so short as medial.—*safe*, the fracture was very slight, but certain.—*enough*, the vowels were both marked and distinct, but the first is shorter and has the stress.

5. *father's*, the vowel might have been written (ee₁), it seemed to lie between (ee, ɛɛ).—*queer*, obs. the change of *qu* into (wh).—*skirling*, "crying with a shrill voice," *Jam. Dict.* R. Cogle also suggested (pesterin).—*him*, the aspirate never seems to disappear even in unemphatic syllables.

7. *two or three*, in the sense of a few, if strictly *two or else three* were meant an (or) would be inserted, thus (twartri) a few, (twaa or trii) two or else three.—*over*, *ought*, in these two words I recognised (ou), otherwise I generally heard (áu, á'u).—*wrong*, the *w* with a distinct syllabic value, and the (æ) fully as fine as in s.England.

8. *how*, as far as I could ascertain this was the only word in which (h) was replaced by (f), and I do not under-

stand why (fuu) should have been used here and in No. 5, and not in No. 6 and No. 7. It is evident that (f) must arise from the older form *hwi*, which also = why, in which sense also (fuu) is used.—*calls*, Miss M. knew (kɛɛz) best, Mr. Laurenson (kaaz).—*man*, obs. (mɛ'n) sg. and (mɛn) pl., the word *husband* is not used.

9. *own*, a slight fracture as in *safe*, par. 4.—*eyes*, (in) not (ɪn), vowel short.—*stretched*, this was the only word in which I observed dental (t,r). *road*, the vowel decidedly short; *lane* is not used in the country, in towns it is called a (klo's) close.

10. *in the dorts*, in the dumps; "DORT, s. pet, commonly in pl." *Jam. Dict.* Miss M. considered this paragraph the best Shetlandish of the whole version as far as words go.

11. *daughter*, those who affect English say (dakhter).—*they were been washing for they had been*, this is regular, the compound past tenses of *to be* are formed with *be* and not *have*, similarly *I am done* (əm dy,n) par. 3.

12. *kettle* or (bóiler) boiler.—*one*, (ii), RC. wrote *ae*, implying (ee); obs. also (iin) in par. 14. The numerals are: (iin, twa, tri, fôur, fá'iv, saks, siiv'n, akht, ná'in, tɛ'n, ɛliiv'n, twɛl, twanti, hander, thuuz'n).—*Thursday*, this seems to be the only word in which *th* becomes (f), compare Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7, which make the same change.

13. *the time that is come*, the present time.—*do not*, (donə) here and in par. 14, but (dənə) in par. 2. These variations depend upon the position of the words in a sentence, but no rule could be given.

14. *night* (ná'ikjht), obs. both the diphthong and the palatal, which I do not recollect elsewhere.—*thing*, this is one of the words which generally retains (th); but in pitying a child people will often say (pæɹ tɛq) poor thing with a (t).

15. *shargs*, so Miss M. gave the word, saying that the *g* is generally preserved; here, however, she pron. (shɛɛrks), and interpreted: scold, prattle, chatter. I cannot find the word in glossaries.—*hindmost*, (hin-mest) is also said.—*good-bye* is only said when parting for some time on a journey, but (sɛ læq) so long is a very usual farewell expression.

FIVE INTERLINEAR VERSIONS OF CHAP. I. OF THE BOOK OF RUTH.

Arranged to compare three characteristic Lowland Scotch with two characteristic English dialects, one M. and the other S.

1. D 33, *Teriotdale*, from the pal. version in Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. of Scotland*, p. 241, written by him from personal knowledge as a native. In this pal. Dr. M. introduces *é è*, *é è* in a sense different from that which I assign to these symbols, I have therefore replaced them by (*e*¹ *e*₁, *e*¹ *e*₁). The notation is however still slightly different from that adopted in the Hawick es., *suprà*, pp. 682, 684, which was written subsequently by Dr. Murray. The medial vowels are here written short for convenience.

2. D 35, *Ayr*, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Messrs. Heron Duncan and W. Duncan, and revised by Mr. Giffen, of whom more under D 35, printed in Dr. M.'s DSS., p. 240, intended to represent the Central Group, D 34 to 37.

3. D 39, *Buchan*, ne.Ab., now called Deer and Ellon, beyond the rivers Doern and Ythan, once a county by itself, pal. by Dr. Murray from the dict. of Mr. Thomas Forrest, and revised by his brother Mr. W. Forrest, with the assistance of Mr. Alexander Melville Bell, by whom the sounds were written in Visible Speech characters. For further remarks on Buchan speech see under D 39.

4. D 25, *s.Ch.*, written in glossic by Mr. T. Darlington from personal knowledge as an illustration of his *Folk-Speech of South Cheshire*, and here transliterated into pal. from p. 97 of that work. For the characters of D 25, see p. 409, and Beckley dt., p. 411. The (r) was probably (r), although (r) was written.

5. D 10, *w.Sm.*, written in glossic by Mr. F. T. Elworthy from personal knowledge for the purpose of comparison with Nos. 1, 2, 3, printed in his *Grammar of the Dialect of West Somerset*, p. 105, whence it was pal. by A.J.E., and finally corrected from Mr. Elworthy's dictation. See pp. 146 to 153.

- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------|-------|----|--------|--------|---------------------------|
| 1. | 1 | <i>Teriotdale</i> , D 33. | nə'u, | et | kam | əburt | e)dhe)dee ₁ z |
| | 2 | <i>Ayr</i> , D 35. | nuu, | et | kam | əburt, | 'n)dhe)dee ¹ z |
| | 3 | <i>Buchan</i> , D 39. | nuu, | et | hap'nt | | y)dhe)dee ¹ z |
| | 4 | <i>s.Cheshire</i> , D 25. | nái | it | apent | | i)th diiz |
| | 5 | <i>w.Somerset</i> , D 10. | ne'u | et | vaald | e'ut | in dhee deez |

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------|-----|-----------------------|-----|--------------------------|------|-------|------|------|
| 1 | kʷhən | dhe | dʒədʒiz | | rə'uld, | et | dhe | wər | e |
| 2 | kʷhən | dhe | dʒədʒez | | ruult, | | dha't | dher | wəz |
| 3 | fyn | dhe | dʒiudʒez | | ruu'lt, | et | dher | wyz | ə |
| 4 | wen)th | | dʒu _o dʒiz | wən | rə'ulɪn, | əz | dher | wəz | want |
| 5 | han | dhe | dʒə'dʒez | wəz | ɛryy ₁ 'elin, | in)s | dher | wəz | e |

- | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------------------|--|---------------|-------|------------|
| 1 | dærth | e)dhe)laand | | en)e)sært'n | mən | thræ |
| 2 | dee'rth | y)dhe)laan | | ən)ə)sert'n | mən | biləqən te |
| 3 | fee'men | y)dhe)laan. | | yn dher wyz e | mən | bilagen ty |
| 4 | bred i)th | ku _o ntri, | | en e saartin | mon | e |
| 5 | díerth | in dhe kən'tri. | | en)e)sartin | me'en | o |

- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------|------------------------|--------|-------------------|-----|-------|-------|---------|
| 1 | :bæthlem | :dʒə'udə | g'i'd | əwee ₁ | te | bé'id | e | kʷhé'il |
| 2 | :bæthləm | :dʒuudə, | gʒe'd | əwaa | te | ste'i | ə | kʷhé'il |
| 3 | :bethlem | :dʒuudə ¹ | gʒe'd | | ty | bə'id | ə | fə'il |
| 4 | :be'θliəm | :dʒæ'udə | went | | | liv | | |
| 5 | :bæthlE'em | :dʒyy ₁ de, | i ween | vúueth | vər | tə | bá'id | |

- 1 e\the)kən'tri ə :moob, he'm, en\ez)wé'if, en\ez)twii'
 2 y\the)kyntrah ə :moob, hem, en\ez)wé'if ən\ez)twaa
 3 y\the)kwintre¹ ə :moob, hee'm yn\yz)wé'if yn\yz)twaa
 4 i'th ku_ntri ɐ :moob, im en iz wé'if en iz tæ'u
 5 in dhe kəntri ɐ :moob, ii ded, en ez wá'if, en ez tyi₁

1 sənz.

2 sənz.

3 see¹nz.

4 su_nz ɐlu_qg wiðh im.

5 zə¹nz laaq)wə)en.

2. 1 en dhe mənz ni'm wəz :eli'melek, en)dhe)kaad
 2 ən dhe nem ɐ dhe mən wəz :ilə'melek, en ez gjyd
 3 yn dhe manz ne'm wyz :eli'melek, yn dhe kaad
 4 en th)mən)z niim wəz :eli'melek, en iz wé'ifs
 5 en dh'ki me'en wəz ekjaal :elə'melik, en ə'z wá'iv

- 1 dhe gəd we'if :naoo'mi en dhe twii' kalənts
 2 wá'ifs ne'm wəz :náoo'me, en dhe kaad ez ladez
 3 yz wé'if :neoo'mi, yn dhe twaa ladiz
 4 niim wəz :nee_joo má'i, en iz tæ'u ladz wen kaad
 5 ɛr wəz ekjaal :neoo'má'i, en ez tyi₁ bəwiz wəz ekjaa¹

- 1 :maakwhlen en :kil'en, :ii'frethé'its
 2 :mækhlen ən :kil'n :ɛ'frəthə'its
 3 :meelen yn :kil'en :ee'frethə'its
 4 :maalen en :tjɪl'en, en dhi wen aa ən em :iifrethə'its
 5 :méelen en :tjə'l'en, dhe wəz aal o)'m :eefrethə'its

- 1 thræ :bæthlem :djə'udə. en dhe kəm entə dhe
 2 ə :bethlēm :djuudə. ən dhe kəm ənt'l dhe
 3 fi :bethlem :djuude¹. yn dhe kəm ent'l dhe
 4 áit ɐ :be'thl'em :djæ'udə en dhi kæ'um intə)th
 5 ɛ'ut o :bæthle'em :djyyde en dhe kəmd intə dhe

- 1 kəntri ə :moob, en bed dhi'r.
 2 kyntrah ə :moob, en stə'it dheer.
 3 kwintre¹ ə :moob, yn be'd dheer.
 4 ku_ntri ɐ :moob, en dhier dhi meed'n dher wəm.
 5 kəntri ɐ :moob en dheer dhe bá'id.

3. 1 en :eli'melek, :naoo'miz gədmən déid, en shə wəz
 2 ən :ilə'melek, :naoo'mez gjydmən diit, ən shy wəz
 3 yn :eli'melek, :neoo'miz mən diit, yn shi wyz
 4 en :eli'melek, im ez wəz əzbend tɛ :nee_joo má'i déid,
 5 en :eelə'melik, dhat)s dhəzben ɐ :ne_joo má'i zo tɛ

- 1 læft wə dhe twi' laadz.
 2 left hær'n ɛr twaa kæl'nz.
 3 left yn ɛr twaa sec'nz.
 4 ɛn soo æ'u wɛz left bi ɛrse'l, ɛr ɛn ɛr tæ'u laɔz.
 5 speak ii dái'd; ɛn ɛr wɛz ɛla'f, ɛr waaɔ, ɛn ɛr
 tyɪ zə'nz laaq)wɛ'ɛr.

4. 1 ɛn dhe₁ tək dherselz wé'ivz thræ maq dhe wəmin
 2 ɔn dhe¹ tək dhərselz wə'ivz ɛ'dhe wimen
 3 yn dhe meret wɪmen bilagen ty dhe kwintre¹
 4 ɛn dhe tæ'uk'n éitɪ ɛn ɛm ɛ :moob wu₁men fer dher
 5 ɛn dhe tək₁ dherzalz ɛ wá'iv ɛ piis, ɛ'ut ɛ dhe wamin

- 1 ɔ :moob, dhe nɪ'm ə'dhe'ti'n wɛz :orpə, ɛn dhe nɪ'm
 2 ɔ :moob, dhe nem ə'dhe'jen wɛz :orpə, ɔn dhe nem
 3 ɔ :moob, dhe ne'm ə'dhe'tin wɪz :orpə¹, ɛn dhe ne'm
 4 wé'if; t'ɔnz niim wɛz :aarpɛ ɛn t'u₁dherz wɛz :ræ'uth;
 5 ɛ :moob, waaɔ ɛ dhe wɛz ɛkjaal :aarpɛ, ɛn dhe t'ɔdher

- 1 ə'dhe'tædher :ræth, ɛn dhe bed dhii'r dhe fææk ɔ
 2 ə'dhe ydher :ruth; ɔn dhe stæ'it dheer dhe fæek ɛ
 3 ə'dhe tidher wɪz :ruth, ɛn dhe dwalt dheer niir ɔbut
 4 ɛn dhi livd i dhat ku₁ntri ɛbáit ten iier.
 5 ɔ'm wɛz ɛkjaal :Ræth, ɛn dhe livd in dhiki plæs

- 1 tæn iir.
 2 ten iir.
 3 ten iir.
 4
 5 be'ud ɛ teen jær.

5. 1 dhan :maakwlen ɔn :kil'ien déid tæ, bi'th dhe
 2 ɔn :makhlən ɛn :kil'n diit tee¹, bee'th
 3 yn :meelen yn :kil'ien bee'dh diit tii',
 4 ɛn :maalen ɛn :tjɪlɛn déid ɛz wel,
 5 ɛn :mæ'elen ɛn :tjæ'lɛn dhe dái'd tyɪ dhe

- 1 twi' ɔ dhem; ɛn dhe wamen wɛz læft ɛr li'n,
 2 ɔ dhem; ɔn dhe wamen wɛz left ɔlɛn,
 3 yn dhe wé'if wɪz left ɛr li'n,
 4 bæ'ueth ɔn ɛm; soo dhe wu₁men wɛz left aa ɛlæin,
 5 búvth ɔ'm; ɛn so dh'ɔmen wɛz ɛla'f ɛdhe'ut

- 1 wə nedher bɛrn nɛr mæn bilæqen ɛr.
 2 wɪ nee'dher mæn nɛr ween.
 3 wɪthut ee'dher be'rn ɔr mæn.
 4 nái ɛr tæ'u su₁nz ɛn ɛr ɔ'ud mæn wɛn gɔn djed.
 5 ædɛr wæn ɛv ɛr tyɪ zə'nz ɛr it ɛr æzben.

6. 1 dhan shə ree₁z əp, her en er twi' gəd dokhterz,
 2 dhen shy ree'z wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz,
 3 dhen shi got əp wi er gwid daatherz,
 4 dhen æ'u got u_op wi ər d'suter in laaz
 5 dhan ER gaat ap we ər daartur₁laaz

- 1 te gaq h'iem əgi'n thræ dhe laand
 2 fər te gjæq əwaa h'em fe dhe kyntrah
 3 ty gjeq he'm əgje'n fi dhe kwintre'
 4 fər goo bak áit e th ku_ntri
 5 in's ER mə'd gə₁ bak egien vrem dhiki kantri

- 1 ə :moob, for shə ed hard e dhe kantri ə :moob,
 2 ə :moob, fər shyy'd hard tɛl y dhe kyntrah ə :moob,
 3 ə :moob, fər shii'd hard tɛl y dhe kwintre' ə :moob,
 4 e :moob, fər æ'u'd ierd wel æ'u wez dhier, et
 5 e :moob, vER ER'd vER'd

- 1 hau ət dhe :loord hed ləkit æfter ez
 2 dha't dhe :loord həd tee'n thookht te ez
 3 et dhe :loord hyd luket efr)yz
 4 ái dhe :laard ed teen éid en iz oon
 5 e'u dhət dhe :la'erd ed teed emá'inded ə'z oon

- 1 fu'k, en gin dhem brid.
 2 fok, ən gin dhem brid.
 3 fok, yn gin dhem brid.
 4 fooks, en ed gjen em bred.
 5 voks, in gi, in o)'m breed.

7. 1 sii' shə g'd əwe₁ ut thræ dhe pli's et shə
 2 see' shy gjed əwaa fe dhe ple's k'haar shy
 3 yn shii gjed ut ə dhe ple's faar shi
 4 en soo æ'u staartid of áit e'th plis wéier æ'u
 5 zo ER ween v'æth e'ut e dhiki ple'es wER ER

- 1 wəz at, ən dhe twi' gəd dokhterz əla'q wəə'r;
 2 wəz stop'n, wy ər twaa gjyd dookhterz əla'q wyy'r;
 3 wyz, her 'n er twaa gwid daatherz wi'er;
 4 wəz, en ər tæ'u d'suter in laaz elu_oqg widh ər;
 5 wəz, en ER ty₁ daartur₁laaz laq)we₁ ər

- 1 en dhe tək dhe gi't te gaq bak te dhe
 2 ən dhe tək dhe wə'i te gjæq əwaa bak hem te dhe
 3 yn dhe tuk dhe gj'e't bak egje'n t'l dhe
 4 en dhi got'n epe'th rood fər ku_m bak te th
 5 en dhe went aən pen dhe rhoovd vER tɛ gə₁ bak tɛ dhe

- 1 laand ə :dʒʊdə.
 2 laand ə :dʒuudə.
 3 laan ə :dʒuude¹.
 4 land ɐ :dʒæʊdə.
 5 læn ɐ :dʒyɪdə.

8. 1 dhan kwə :naoo·mi tæ er twii' gəd dokwhterz :
 2 dhen :naoo·me sed te ɛr TWAA gjyd dookhterz :
 3 yn :neoo·mi sed t'l er twaa gwid dAAtherz :
 4 en :nee)oa·mái sed tɐ ɛr tæ'u də'uter-in-LAAZ :
 5 en :neoo·má¹i ZED TY₁ ɛr TY₁ daarterLAAZ :

- 1 "gaq əwee! gi" bak elk jən o)i te ir ee₁n
 2 "gjæq əwAA! bak elk en e)Jə te Jɛr
 3 "gjeq əwaa! en gje bak bee¹dh ə)Ji ty jir ee¹n
 4 "kuₒm, goo Jɛr wiiz bak, bæ'ueth ən)Ji tɐ Jɛr
 5 "gə₁! gə₁ bak eetj wan o)i tɐ Jɛr

- 1 mædherz hus! dhe :loord béi gəd te)i ez ii)v
 2 mydherz hus! ən dhe :loord bi gjyd te)Jə əz Ji he
 3 midherz hus! dhe :loord bi gwid ty)Jɐ əz Ji he
 4 muₒdherz áis, dhv :laard déiɐl kéindli wi Ji ez Jee)n
 5 madherz E'uz! dhv :la'ɛrd de'ɐl ká¹inli laaq)wee)i,

- 1 bin gəd te méi, en te dhem et)s gi'n.
 2 bin gjyd te mii, ən te dhem dhaht)s əwAA.
 3 bin ty mii, yn ty dhe¹m et)s əwaa.
 4 delt wi dhem ez bín djed, ɛn wi méi.
 5 se'em)s JY₁)v ɛde¹ɐlɐd laq we dhee dhet bi deed, ɛn
 laq)we)mii.

9. 1 dhe :loord grant et ii mæ fend ræst, elk in o)i
 2 dhe :loord gi Jə te fən rest bee¹th e)Jə
 3 dhe :loord grant Jɐ, ət Ji me fen rest, elke in y)Jɐ
 4 dhv :laard grant Ji tɐ fáind rest bæ'ueth on Ji
 5 dhv :la'ɛrd grant)i, in)s i mæ'd vá¹in ras, eetj wan)o)i

- 1 e ir ee₁n hus, wəə e mən ə ir ee₁n." dhan
 2 wy ə hus ən ə mæn ə Jɛr AAN." dhen
 3 wy ə man yn ə hus y jir ee¹n." sə'in
 4 i Jɛr u₁zbendz áis." dhen
 5 in dh)E'uz ɐ Jɛr ɛzbɛn." dhæn

- 1 shə kest dhem, en dhe bigəd ə-grit-in lud en see₁r.
 2 shy kest dhym, ən dhe bigu'd ə-grit-in ən grat seer seer.
 3 shi kest dhem, yn dhe roort yn grat.
 4 æ'u kist ɛm, ɛn dhi oop'nt áit ɛn skráikt.
 5 ɛr kiist ɛn, ɛn dhe lefted ap dher va¹is ɛn weeped.

10. 1 en dhe sed tel)er: "æ·bət, wéi)l gaq hiem
 2 ən dhe sed te)er: "naa! naa! wi)l gjæq
 3 yn dhe sed t'l)er: "ee·byt! wiil gjeq he'm
 4 en dhe sed'n, "wéi)n saartinli goo wi)jə bak
 5 en dhe zed tɛ ɛr: "shiiERLá'i wi wul gə₁ bak

1 wə Jə'u tə ir ee₁n fu'k!"
 2 we Jə bak te Jər frinz!"
 3 wy jə ty juur fok!"
 4 tɛ joor ku_ontri'fooks."
 5 laq)wə)i tɛ jiiER voks!"

11. 1 bət :naoo·mi sed: "tərn əgi'n mə dokwhterz!
 2 ən :naoo·mi sed: "ji man tərn mə dookhterz!
 3 yn :neoo·mi sed: "gjeq bak əgje'n my dakhterz!
 4 en :nee·joo·mái sed: "tərn ji bak egjen mi də'uterz, en
 5 en :neoo·mi zed: "tərn jərzelz bak egien, mi daarterz;

1 kəhat wad ii gaq wə méi for?
 2 kəhat fər wəd ji gjæq wy mii?
 3 fat wyd ji dii', gjaan wy mii?
 4 goo jər wiiz; wət)'n ji want goo blu_ogg wi méi fər?
 5 wə)d)i wiš ver gə₁ laq)o)mii var?

1 em aa gaan tə hææ oni mi' bernz te béi mæn
 2 dyj Jə theqk aa)'l hee one mee'r wee'nz te bii laadz
 3 ym áai gjaan ty hee' oni mee'r be'rnz ty bi mæn
 4 iz dher ani mæ'uer su_onz i)mi wu_om jet tɛ béi jər
 5 ə'z ɛr ə'ni múER zə'nz in má'i ə₁m ne'u in)s dhe mə'd

1 for i?
 2 tɛ Jə?
 3 t'l jə?
 4 u_ozbendz?
 5 kaam ver tɛ bi jər ɛzbənz?

12. 1 tərn bak, mə dokwhterz, gaq ir
 2 gjæq əwaa, mə dookhterz, gjæq Jər AAN
 3 gjeq bak, my dakhterz, gjeq Jir
 4 tərn ji bak egjen, mi də'uterz, goo jər
 5 tərn jərzelz bak egien, má'i daarterz, gə₁ jər óoEN

1 wee₁z, for aa)m our aald te hææ ɐ
 2 gjet, fər aa)m faar ə'ur aal te hee ənydher gjyd
 3 waa'z, fər aa)m ə'ur aal ty hee' ənɪdher
 4 wiiz, fər ái)m tæ'u ə'ud tɛ av ɐ
 5 weez, ver ái bi ty₁ ool ver t)ee'ɐ ɐ

1 man.	ef	aa	wæz	te	see,	“aa)v	
2 man.	ən	gɪn	aa	shyd	see,	“aa	hee
3 man.		gɪn	āai	syd	see ¹ ,	“āai	he ¹
4 u _o zbend.	iv	āi	wəz	te	sii,	“ai)m	i gu _o d
5 əzben.	nif	ā ¹ i	wəz	vər	zee, E'u	“ā ¹ i)v	eg ^a t

1 hūp,”	æ'i,	en	ef	aa)d		e	man
2 hoop,”	ææ,	ən	gɪn	āa'	həd	ə	man
3 hā'ups,”	āai,		gɪn	āai	syd	hee ¹	ənidher man
4 bi'oops,”		iv	a	wəz	te av	ə	u _o zbend
5 oops,”		nif	ā ¹ i	wəs	t)E'v	ə	əzben,

1	dhes	væ'rə	nekjht,	en	wəz	te	hæ	bernz	əs	wil,
2	dhe		nekht,	ən	həd	sənz	tee ¹ ,			
3	dhe		nekht,	yn	syd	he ¹	be'rnz	əs	wil,	
4	dhis	veri	néit,	en	beer	su _o nz	en	aa,		
5	tyy ₁ ,	dhíiez	vəri	neet,	en	if	ā ¹ i	wəz	vər	te béer zə'nz,

13. 1	wad)i	wet	on	dhem	kwhəl	dhe	grə'u	əp?	
2	wəd)jə	wet	fər	dhem	təl	dhe	həd	grə'un	əp?
3	wyd)ji	wə'it	fər	dhem	t'l	dhe	wyr	grə'uən	əp?
4	wu _o d ji	wiit	on	em	dhen	dhi	wen	groon	u _o p?
5	wə'd jy ₁	wa'it	var)en		gə'n	dhe	wəz	egróed	ap?

1	wad)i	sté ₁ i	thræ	hææ'in		mæn	for	
2	wəd)ji	kip	fe	taak'n		mən	fər	wet'n
3	wyd)ji	bə'id	fi	tak'n	idher	mən	ty	wə'it
4	wu _o d ji	stəp	fər)em	en	béi	báit	u _o zbendz?	
5	wə'd jy ₁	staap	vər	dhee	vrem	ee'in	ə	əzbenz?

1	dhem?	naa!	naa!	mæ	dokwhterz,	for	aa)m	see'r
2	ən dhem?	naa!	naa!	mæ	dookhterz,	fər	aa')m	
3	fər dhem?	naa!	naa!	my	dakhterv,	fər	aa'm	see'r
4		nii,		mi	də'uterz,	fər	aa)m	teerb'l
5		noo!		má ¹ i	daarterz,	vər	et	

1	vækst		for	jə'ur	sí'ks,	et	dhe	haand
2	gə'i ən pət əbut		fər	juur	səks,	dha't	dhe	haan
3	vækst		on	juur	əkunts,	ət	dhe	haan
4	gréivd		fər	jeer	siiks	ez	dh)ənd	
5	griivth mi tərēb'l		vər	jí'vər	sé'eks,	E'u	dhet	dhe)æn

1	ə dhe :loord	hez	gi'n	sii'	əgi'n	ez."	
2	ə dhe :loord	hyz	gjen	se	see'r	əgjenst	mi."
3	y dhe :loord	hyz	gje'n	əgje'n	my	se ¹	mæk'l."
4	ə dhe :laard)z		gən	āit	egen	mi."	
5	ə)dhv :la'erd)z		egə ¹ .	E'ut	egə'n	mi."	

14. 1 en dhe kráid ut lud, en grát ægi'n, ən
 2 sa'in dhe bigu'd ə-grit'n əgjen, ən
 3 yn dhe bigu'd e-grit'n əgje'n, yn
 4 en dhi líftid u_op dher v_{ai}s en skráikt egen, ən
 5 en dhe lefted ap dher v_{ai}s, en weeped egen, ən

- 1 :orpə kest er gəd mǎdher, bat
 2 :orpə kest ər gjyd mǎdher, ən gjed əwaa, bat
 3 :orpə kest ər gwid mǎdher, byt
 4 :Aarpə k'ist ər mu_odher-in-laa, be
 5 :Aarpə kiist ər mǎdher-laa, but

- 1 :rəth haq béi)er.
 2 :ruth haq tee)ər.
 3 :ruth wyd)ne gjeq əwaa fii)ər.
 4 :ræ'uth u_oq tæ'u ər.
 5 :rə₁th ər kleeved ty₁ ər.

15. 1 en shə sed: "séi, ir gəd sester)z gi'n əwe₁
 2 ən shy sed: "lək-sii, jər gjyd syster hyz gjen əwaa
 3 yn shi sed: "luk, jir gwid sester hys gje'n
 4 en æ'u sed: "si)dhi, dhi sister-in-laa)z gən
 5 en ər zes: "lə₁k)i, zii, E'u dhi zə'ster-laa)z egə₁

- 1 hēm tə)er ee'n fu'k, en tə)er goodz;
 2 bak tə)er fok, ən te)er goodz,
 3 bak t'l)er ee'n fok, yn t'l er goodz,
 4 bak tē ər oon ku_ontri fooks en ər oon gədz;
 5 bak ty₁ ər vōks, en ty₁ ər gadz;

- 1 gi' wee₁ jə'u tæ æfter)ir gəd sester."
 2 gjæq juu əwaa æftr)ər.
 3 gjeq ii bak eftr)er.
 4 goo dhi wiiz bak egen æfter dhi sister-in-laa."
 5 dyy₁i ne'u gə₁ bak aadər dhi zə'ster-laa.

16. 1 en :rəth sed: "oo, de)nə trit on)əs te
 2 ən :ruth sed: " de)nə aask mə te gjæq əwaa
 3 ən :ruth sed: " de)ne sik my ty gjeq əwaa
 4 en :ræ'uth sed: " du_o)ne beg v mi tē
 5 en :rə₁th zed: " doo)ni bæg)o)mi vər tē

- 1 liiv)i, or te gaq bak thre kamin æfter)i, for
 2 fe)jə, or te tərɲ bak ən noo gjæq wy)jə, fər
 3 fi)jə, or ty gjeq bak fi foləjen)jə, for
 4 liiv jə ər tē goo bak frəm folə)in æfter jə; fər
 5 lef)i, ər vər tē gə₁ bak vrem vaali)in aadər)i; vər

1 *kʷher* ever *ii* *gaq* *aa*)l *gaq*, en *kʷhee*₁*r**ii*
 2 *kʷhar* *yver* *juu* *gjæq* *aa*)l *gjæq*, ən *kʷhar* *juu*
 3 *faar* *ii* *gjæq* *aa*)l *gjæq* *tii*', *yn* *faar* *ii*
 4 *wiier* *jo* *gən* *ái*)l *goo*, en *wiier* *jo*
 5 *wɛr*)*ə*'*vɛr* *ɟy*₁ *dɛ* *gə*₁ *aa*)*L* *gə*₁ *tyy*₁; en *wɛr* *ɟy*₁ *dɛ*

1 *bɛ*₁*id* *aa*)l *bɛ*₁*id*; *juur* *fu*'*k*'₁ *béi* *maa* *fu*'*k* en
 2 *bə*'*id* *aa*)l *bə*'*id*; *juur* *fok* *əl* *bii* *maa*' *fok* ən
 3 *bə*'*id* *aa*'₁)l *bə*'*id*; *juur* *fok*'₁ *bii* *máai* *fok* *yn*
 4 *lɔ**ɟ*'*n*, *ái* *lɔ**ɟ*; *joor* *fooks*'*s*'_n *bi* *mái* *fooks*, en
 5 *lad**ɟi* *aa*)*L* *lad**ɟi* *tyy*₁; *jóer* *voks*'*shel* *bii* *má*'*i* *voks*, en

1 *juur* :good *maa* :good.
 2 *juur* :good *maa*' :good.
 3 *juur* :good *máai* :good.
 4 *joor* :gɔd *mái* :gɔd.
 5 *jóer* :gAd *má*'*i* :gAd.

17. 1 *kʷhee*₁*r* *ii* *déi* *aa*)l *déi*, en *béi* *led* *e* *dhe*
 2 *kʷhar* *juu* *dii* *aa*'₁)l *dii*, ən *bi* *led* *y* *dhe*
 3 *faar* *ii* *dii* *aa*)l *dii*, *yn* *bi* *byrit* *dhee*'*r*
 4 *wiier* *jo* *déin*, *ái*)l *déi*, en *dhíier*
 5 *wɛr* *ɟyy*₁ *dɛ* *dá*'*i* *a*)l *dá*'*i* en *dhe*'*ɛr*

1 *grii*'*v* *dhiu*'*r* *əsé*₁*id*)*i*: *dhe* :loord *də* *sii*' *te* *méi*
 2 *jə**ɾ**th* *əsə*'*id*)*ɛ*. ən *dhe* :loord *dyy* *ty* *mii* *əs*
 3 *tii*' *dhe* :loord *dii* *see*¹ *ty* *mii*,
 4 *a*)l *bi* *berid*; *dhe* :laard *də*'*u* *soo* *tɛ* *méi*,
 5 *aa*)l *bi* *ɛbər**id*, *dhe* :la'ɛrd *dy*₁ *zo* *tɛ* *mi*

1 en *mee*₁*r* ef *okə**ht* *bət*
 2 *mək*'₁, *ææ*'₁, ən *mee*'*r* *tee*¹, ef *one* *theq* *bət*
 3 *áai*, *yn* *mee*'*r* *tii*', *gjin* *əkht* *byt*
 4 en *mə*'*uɛr* en *AA*, *iv* *óut* *bɛ*
 5 en *móo**ɛr* *tyy*, *nif* *óo**ɛr* *bɛd*

1 *di*'*th* *kəm* *ətwin* *ɟə*'*u* en *méi*!"
 2 *dɛ*'*th* *pɛ*'*r**ts* *əs*!"
 3 *dɛ**th* *pɛr* *juu* *yn* *mii*."
 4 *ɟɛ**th* *paarts* *jo* en *méi*."
 5 *dæ**th* *dɛ* *pə*'*ɛr* *ɟyy*₁ en *mii*!"

18. 1 *kʷhən* *shə* *saa* *ət* *shə* *wɛz* *sət* en *ə*-*gaqin*
 2 *kʷhən* *shy* *saa* *dha*'*t* *shy*)*d* *feerli* *mɛd* *ɛp* *ər* *mə*'*in* *tə* *gjæq*
 3 *fyn* *shi* *saa* *ət* *shi* *wyz* *bent* en *gjaan*
 4 *wen* *ə*'*u* *séid* *ɛt* *ái* *ə*'*u* *wɛz* *set* *ɛpɛ* *gə*'*u*)*in*
 5 *hən* *ɛr* *ziid* *ɛ*'*u* *ɛr* *wɛz* *vəl* *má*'*indəd* *vɛr*

1 wəə)r, shə gæ ous spi·kin tel)er.
 2 wyy ər, shy left af spik'n tee)er.
 3 wii)er, dhen shi gje ə'u·ə'r spi·k'n t'l er əbut it.
 4 wiðh ər, dhen ə'u gen oor tAAk'in tə'u ər.
 5 gə₁ lAAQ)wee)ər, dhoo ər læf oof speekin ty₁ ər

19. 1 si' dhe twii'səm gi'd, t'l dhe kam te :bæthlem,
 2 see' dhe twAA gjed on, tæl dhe kam te :bethlēm,
 3 see' dhe gje'd on dhegidher, t'l dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 soo dhi went'n bæ'ueth ən em tegjedher tən dhi kæ'umin
 5 zoo dhe tyy₁ weent ɛlAAQ, gin dhe kAAm tɛ :bæthlēm,

1 en kwəhən dhe wən te :bæthlem, kwəhət bət
 2 ən kwəhən dhe wən te :bethlēm,
 3 yn fyn dhe kam ty :bethlem,
 4 tɛ :bethlēm. ɛn soo it kæ'um ɛbə'ut ɛz wən dhi wən
 5 ɛn ɛt apt in)s dhe wɛz ɛkAAm tɛ :bæthlēm, dhɛt

1 dhe hiel tun wɛz en)e stiir əbut dhem; en kwə dheɛ₁,
 2 dhe hee'l tun wɛz en)ə stiir əbut dhem; ɛn dhe sed tɛ
 3 dhe hee'l tun wyz yn)ə stiir əbut dhem; yn dhe sed
 4 ku)m'n tɛ :bethlēm, dher wɛz ɛ stər i)dh ə'u·ɛl tain ɛbāt
 5 dhe wool sə'ti wɛz ɛzAAt ap ɛbɛ'ud)em, ɛn dhe zɛd,

1 "ɛz dhes :naoo'mi, theqk we?"
 2 jən ənydher, "ɛs dhat :naoo'mɛ?"
 3 "kyn dhes bi :neoo'mi?"
 4 ɛm, ɛn fooks wən sii)in: "iz dhis :nee'oomái?"
 5 "ə'z dhə'shɛr :neoo'mái?"

20. 1 en shə sez te dhem: "de)nə kaa méi :naoo'mi,
 2 ən shyy sed ty dhem: "de)nə kAA mii :naoo'mɛ,
 3 yn shi sed ty dhem: "de)ne kaa mii :neoo'mi,
 4 ɛn ə'u sed tə'u ɛm: "du)ne kAA mi :nee'oomái,
 5 ɛn ɛr zɛd ty)em "doo)n)i kjaal mi :neoo'mái,

1 kaa)me :maarə, for dhe :alme·kjhti hez
 2 byt kAA)mi :maarə, fər dhe :alme·khti həs
 3 kaa)my :maare', fər wil)a)wə'it dhe :alme·khti hyz
 4 kAA mi :mee'vɛr: fər :gəd :AAMáiti ɛz
 5 kjaal mi :mɛ'vɛr, kɛz dh) :AAlmái'ti)th

1 di'lt wə)me vɛrɛ betərli.
 2 delt wi'mi gə'i ən betərli.
 3 delt wy)my betərli ynɟukh.
 4 delt verɪ bɪtər wi mi.
 5 ɛdɛ'ɛled tərɛb'l bə'tɛr lAAQ wɛ'mi.

21. 1 aa g'í'd ut fá'u en dhe :loord hez brókwh't
 2 aa g'jed ut fuu, en dhe :loord hez bræq
 3 aa g'je'd ut fuu, yn dhe :loord)z brókht
 4 a went á't fu_ol, en dhe :laard)z bræ'ut
 5 á'i weent E'ut v_əl en wool en dhe :la'erd)dh vbraat

- 1 me h'iem tæm: hæ'u wæd i kaa)me
 2 mi hem ægjen tɔm: kwhæt wæ'i wæd jə kaa 'mi
 3 my he'm tygm: fuu kaa mi
 4 mi wæm egen empi. wæt)n ji kaa mi
 5 mi a'm egen eempti ænded: wá'i)d)i kjaal mi

- 1 :naoo'mi, sen dhe :loord hez
 2 naoo'me dhyn, syn dhe :loord hyz
 3 :neoo'mi, sen dhe :loord)z
 4 :nee)oo'mái fer, kensí'der'in á'i dhe :laard)z gen
 5 :neoo'mái'i dhæn? vaar i dæ zii E'u dhe :la'erd)dh

- 1 wætneſt ægi'n me, en dhe :almekjhti hez gin
 2 teſtifi't ægjenſt mi, en dhe :alme'khti hæz bin
 3 wætneſt ægje'n my, yn dhe :alme'khti hyz bin
 4 wit'ns ege'n mi, en á'i :gæd :aamái'ti)z
 5 etæſtifá'id egin mi, en dh) :aalmái'ti)th

- 1 me see'r træb'l."
 2 see'r on mi?"
 3 se' see'r æpo')mi?"
 4 a'mild [= 'ill-treated, abused, overworked,' *Glossary*] mi.
 5 v'f'ektæd mi.

22. 1 si' :naoo'mi kam h'iem, en :ræth dhe
 2 see' :naoo'me kam bak, en :ruth dhe
 3 see' :neoo'mi kam he'm, yn :ruth dhe
 4 en soo :nee)oo'mái kæ'um bak, en :ræ'uth dhe
 5 zoo :neoo'mái'i ween bak, en ræ'th dhe

- 1 :moobé'ites, her gæd dokwh'ter wæ)r,
 2 :moobæ'ites, ær gjyd dookhter ælæ'q wyy)r,
 3 :moob la's, her gwid dæather wii)er,
 4 :moob wu_omen, ær dæ'uter-in-laa wiðh ær,
 5 :moobá'i'tis, ær dæarterlæa læq wee)er,

- 1 her et kam ut e dhe kæntri æ :moob;
 2 hær æt kam ut æ dhe kyntrah æ :moob;
 3 her yt kam fi dhe kwintre' y :moob;
 4 ær wæt kæ'um bak á't v)th :moob ku_ontri.
 5 wat æd ekæm bak E'ut o dhe kæntri o :moob;

1	en	kəchən	dhe	kəm	te	:bæthlem,	et	wəz	ɛbut
2	ən	kəchən	dhe	kəm	te	:bæthləm	et	wəz	niir baa'
3	yn		dhe	kəm	t'l	:bethlem	'n		
4	en		dhi	kə'um	tə	:bethl'əm	dʒu _o st	et	th fəst
5	en		dhe	kəm	tə	:bæthləv'm	dʒə's	tə	

1	dhe	fuu'r	ænd	ə	dhe	baarli	hærst.
2	dhe	foor	EEN	ə	dhe	baarle	hee'rst.
3	dhe	bige'nen		ə	dhe	baarli	hee'rst.
4		staart		v)	th	baarli	aarvist.
5	dhe	bigi'nin		v		baarli	ar'vəs.

D 33. = SL. = South Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Southern Counties*.

Boundary. Begin on the Tweed by Carham near Coldstream on the nw. angle of Nb. Follow the Tweed by Kelso, Rx., and Melrose, to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb. Then turn sw. along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, Se. Continue along the border of Pb. and Lk. to Queensberry Hill, Df., at the s. of Lk. Then go s. and se. to e. of Dumfries, to Caerlaverock on the Solway Frith. Continue along the s. coast of Df., to join the s.L. line 10 (p. 21), and continue along that line to the starting-place, Carham.

The s. boundary here differs from that assigned by Dr. Murray, which at Gretna, Df., turns n., and goes w. of Langholm, Df., when it turns e. along the Cheviots to Peel Fell, and then crosses into Nb. almost as far as Otterburn, Nb., whence it turns n. to the Cheviot Hill itself, and then follows the Nb. b. to Carham. The part of D 33 which is thus excluded by Dr. M. as part of England lying between his s. b. and mine, I will distinguish as Var. i, the rest of the district being Var. ii. Dr. Murray's exclusion of V. i makes Canobie (6 s. Langholm), and Liddesdale, together with Bewcastle to Longtown, Cu., English and not L. It seems that the inhabitants regard these s. parts as English in character, just as the speech about Carlisle and Brampton, Cu., is called Scotch by the natives. Both conceptions are incorrect as will be seen. To keep my division distinct from Dr. M.'s, I have, as just stated, erected two varieties, his English L. being V. i, and his Scotch L. being V. ii. But so far as I have been able to obtain information, there seems to be no real difference in speech between these two varieties.

Area. In England a strip of the n. of Cu. and the n. slopes of the Cheviots. In Scotland, Rx., Se. and e. and m. Df. Or, as Dr. M. expresses it (DSS. p. 80), "the dales of the Teviot, the Esk, and the Anna, the Ettrick and the Yarrow," to which I add that of the Liddle, which he excludes. The n. b. separating D 33 from D 34 is indistinct. The w. b. dividing Df. is very sharp.

Authorities. Dr. J. A. H. Murray's "The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland," 1873 (abbreviated to DSS.), with the pron. in systematic spelling or palaeotype, is the principal authority, and he has given me much additional information by word of mouth. This is one of the very few books which conveys trustworthy accounts of pron.

Mr. A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech contains several sentences in this dialect, dictated by Dr. M., and afterwards transliterated into pal. by me, and corrected for this work by Mr. A. Melville Bell, his son, Prof. A. Graham Bell (now of telephonic celebrity), and Dr. Murray, by word of mouth in conclave, 13 June,

1868. Similar sentences from other dialects inserted in Visible Speech were corrected in the same way by the same persons, at the same time, and will be referred to hereafter.

See also the Alphabetical County Lists for Scotland, under the following names, where * means vv. per A.J.E., ‡ per J.G.G., || per Dr. Murray, ° io.

Cu. ‡ Bewcastle to Longtown, ° Longtown.

Se. ‡ Selkirk town.

Rx. || Hawick, ‡ Liddlesdale Head, ‡ Roxburgh town, ‡ Teviotdale Head, * Yetholm.

Characters. The vowel system is described by Dr. M. in DSS. pp. 103–117. See *Introd. to Hawick cs.*, p. 682. He considers it to be (1i, 2i, 3i', 4e, 5e, 6æ, 7a, 8a, 9o, 10u', 11u, 12ə), and those are the vowel signs which are used in his *Hawick cs.* [except that in the *cs.* (i', u') are used for (i', u')], the *Ruth chap. i.*, and the *cwl.*, p. 716. In unaccented syllables, however, he employs (ə), for which in the *cwl.* (v) has been used. This analysis is rather rough, and he has supplemented it by additional observations, here abstracted. The vowels are generally medial in length, and should therefore be written (i i i') etc., as in the *Hawick cs.*, but this grave accent is generally dispensed with. Occasionally they are long, and are then much longer than in English, and should be written (iì, iì) etc., but this grave accent indicating the drawl is also usually omitted.

1. (i), the pure Fr. and It. sound, even when short (medial) in closed syllables, in which case it sounds as (ii) to an English ear. Stopped and medial in length (sik, fit, dip, lin, fist) seek, feet, deep, lean, feast, before voiceless consonants and (l, m, n) Brief, and generally really short, in prefixes, as (bila'q, dimi'n, rig'e'rd) belong, demean, regard. Long, when final accented, as (wii, ii) wee, ye, or before (r, z, dh, v), as (wiir, liiz, miidhz, diiv, weir, leeze, meethes, deeve (in Dr. M.'s spelling). The medial (i case is the only one which offers difficulty to an Englishman. It seems also to occur final, see (i').

2. (i), Dr. M., in deference to the opinions of Mr. Melville Bell and myself, admits (i) in final accented syllables, but Dr. M. himself inclines to (i) in such cases. I think in my own case the (i) arose from a misapprehension, and a confusion of D 33 with D 34. J.G.G. used (i') in such cases for D 33, which is practically not easily separable from (i). If this latter view is correct, (i) does not exist in D 33, except as part of the next vowel.

3. (i'), this is a decided fracture, the same as (iv) in D 30, but the second element is far more fugitive in D 33, and hence I reduce it to (') in writing. The fracture is so rapidly pron. that the (') is scarcely heard in closed syllables as *beat* (bi't), so that the effect is almost like (i, e'). At Liddlesdale Head J.G.G. used (iiy, ee'v, ii.v), and finally (iie') for this fracture. I had often great difficulty in separating the sound from (ii, ee') in Dr. M.'s own pron. At the beginning of a word the (i') develops into (iv, ié, ia'), the latter being more recent forms, as (i'n, jen) one, written *ane*. D 33 differentiates many words as (i, i'), thus (mil, mi'l) meal flour, and meal repast; (sin, si'n) seen, scene, (hil, hi'l) heel, heal, (bit, bi't) beet, beat, (fit, fi't) feet, feat.

4. (e), this is rather (e) to my ear. Dr. M. considers it an opener sound than Fr. *é*. It is perfectly simple and has no tendency to fall into (ee') with a vanish, as in English. It occurs both long and stopped (medial) in D 33, as (weer, beedh, wee; wèt, tèt) were, bathe, way; wait tail, these last two words being quite different from Engl. *wet*, *tell*.

5. (e). Here there is considerable difficulty. The sound is not (e), but Dr. M. considers it to be the received (e) as used in London (*net*, *men*) as distinguished from (*net*, *men*). It is at any rate a degradation of (i), passing to (i, i, e'), and as I heard it in L. *fill pit* was rather (fe'l pe't) than (fel pet). But then Dr. M. identifies it when final unaccented with (v); "in emphasizing

and prolonging the final vowel in such words as *America*, *dynna*, *weido*," America, do not, widow, "the sound I hear," says he, "is the same as that in *hyll*, *bynd*," where he uses *y* for this sound. I must own that his pron. did not strike my ear in the same way. To Dr. M. also the (ə, ah) or (a¹) are all "so near when brief and unaccented that it is difficult to distinguish them." This vowel replaces written *i* frequently, written *y* in old books, and it seems the beginning of an obscuration of *i* which is more developed in D 39, where it will be specially considered; it occasionally sounded to me as (i, e, ə, æ). After (w) this sound regularly develops (x), as (wal, wat, wan, k¹chan) will, wit, win, whin.

6. (æ), here again when I heard Dr. M. pron. I did not recognise my own (æ), or any trace of that quality. I rather heard (ɛ, ɛ₁), or a very deep form of (ɛ). The quality of sound seems to belong to my *men* as different from my *man*. But I have judged it right to retain Dr. M.'s (æ).

7. (a) is the deeper French form of *â*, it is decidedly broader than (a), and is sometimes identified with German (a) in Mann. It is constantly confused with (ɔ) by Londoners, who hear (man) as (mɔn) and write it *mon*, which conveys the very different sound (mon) to L. ears.

8. (ɑ). This occurs only as a stopped vowel, it is the deep form common in England, but sometimes appears to be somewhat higher (ɑ¹).

9. (o). This is fully identified with Italian *o aperto* by Dr. Murray; it is always pure, and never vanished into (oo'w).

10. (u'). This is another fracture, of which the first element seems to be rather (u₁), while the second is as hurried and obscure, as in the third vowel (i'). The result is very like Italian *o chiuso*, a sort of (oo¹) or (uch). It distinguishes pairs of words in L., as (boor, buu'r), boar, bore, (room, :ru'm) roam, Rome.

11. (u). The long and short (medial) forms have the same quality in L., where (u) is never heard. Compare English *pool*, Fr. *poule*, Eng. *pull* (puul, pul, pul), but as the L. makes the vowel rather medial in length, it seems to an Englishman to have no short (u) at all. And certainly Scotch writers on English pron. (as the late Prof. Clarke, of Aberdeen) do not use a mark to differentiate either the length or quality of the vowels in *foot*, *food* (fut, fuud).

12. (ɔ). This identification did not seem quite correct to my ears, and (y₁) or (ɔ¹) seemed nearer, but (ɔ) will be retained. This replacement of O' in L. varies much in the different dialects, ranging from (ɪ) to (œ) or deeper.

The diphthongs in D 33 are heard by Dr. M. with final (i, u) and not (i, u) as in England, doubtless from the absence of these vowels. He recognises the following forms.

The (i) series: 1. (ēi) nearly (e'j), and hence resembling the vanishing received *ā*. 2. (ēi) having the vowel No. 5 for the first element, so that the distinction (ēi, ēi) is delicate; this is however common. 3. (æ'i) is rare except in contractions (hæ'i, mæ'i) have you, may you. 4. (āi), the regular "broad i," as distinguished from (ēi), the "thin i." 6. (ōi), distinct from Engl. (ɔ'i, A'i).

The (u) series: 1. (ōu). 2. (ā'u). 3. (á'u). 4. (æ'u) occurring in (mæ'u) to mew. 5. (ɔ'u).

Of the consonants only *h*, *ch*, *r* need be noticed. The aspirate is never omitted, except, as almost universally, in *it*, but even here it is found occasionally in D 39, 40, and regularly in D 41. In one word *us*, when emphatic, it is inserted as (hæz). This also happens in the N. div.

The guttural (kh) appears in three forms (kh, kjh, k¹ch), but does not follow the usual German rule. Thus:

1. faugh! ugh! = (fikh, hukh).

2. high, eight = (hekjh, ækjht).

3. laugh, lock, rough, laughed, low, dough = (lak¹ch, lok¹ch, ræk¹ch, lək¹ch, lū'k¹ch, dū'k¹ch).

and (k¹ch) frequently occurs initial. In ML. dialects, D 34 to 37, (kjh, k¹ch) appear not to occur.

The trill of *r* is always strong, whether before or not before a vowel, but a sound of (ɐ) is generally developed before the (r) in the latter case, which, however, Dr. M. does not write in.

The general characters of the D 33 are these :

A- = (i') as (ni'm, ti'l) name, tale, as in D 30, p. 496.

A: = (a) as (lænd) land, peculiar.

A' frequently = (i') as (ti', ti'd) toe, toad, as in D 30.

E'-, EO'- = (éi), this is also frequent in N. div.

I generally (i), or at most (i').

I' = (ái) when open accented, or before voiced consonants, otherwise generally (éi) or perhaps (ēi).

O = (u') frequently, especially before (r), the (') being slightly heard, but also often (o).

O' frequently (ø), occ. (oo).

U: regularly (ɶ), even in cases when (u) is heard in rec. sp. as (fæl) full.

U' when final and open is regularly (ɶ'u), which is a special feature in D 33; it is occ. met with in D 32, V vi; but when a consonant follows, it is (ù), as a brown cow = (v brùn kɶ'u), and never (ú₁u).

It is by all these characters together that D 33 must be defined, and comparing the subsequent Liddlesdale Head cwl. with Dr. Murray's, it will be found that they both agree in these characters.

The essential characters which distinguish the L. from N. are the regular use of (ɶ) for U, the regular use of (uu, ù) for U' before a consonant, and absence of (ú₁u, óu) from U' words, the regular use of the guttural (kh), the strong trill of the (r).

The difference of D 33 from D 34 is shewn by the fractures (i', u'), the use of (éi), which JGG. writes (éii), for E' EO', and of (ɶ'u) for U' when final, and the three forms of the guttural (kh, kjh, kwh).

TREATMENT OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

The examples given by Dr. M., DSS. p. 135, are here transcribed in his order and groups without comment.

1. (viizəb'l, fiizəb'l) visible, feasible; (vbi:ləti) ability.
2. (stamək, məzik) stomach, music.
3. (pəles, :forbes, notis, həgis) palace, Forbes, notice, haggis; (paltəs) poultice.
4. (prii'lesi, poləsi, frənsi) prelacy, policy, phrenesy.
5. (manidʒ, meriʒ, kolidʒ) manage, marriage, college; (kəbitʃ, poritʃ) cabbage, porridge; (bondidʒər) bondager.
6. (hə'len, særtən, baaren, gerten, :lətin, seɣin, béi'in) hallan [a screen], certain, baron, garter, Latin, singing, being [as verbal noun]; (həme:nəti, devinəti) humanity, divinity; (mə'teni, hərmeni) mutiny, harmony; (gerdin, tʃeldrin, lenin, ulin, flənin) garden, children, linen, woollen, flannel; (setən, béien, kəmen) sitting, being, coming [as participle]; (w'ret'n, stəd'n, həd'n, op'n, week'n, kə'həit'n) written, stoodn, holden, open, weaken, whiten.
7. (óurens, empidens, sapiens) owerance [=superiority], impudence, sapience.
8. (kələnt, paarent) callant, parent.
9. (-ər) -ar, -yr; (əri) -ary, -ery, -ory; (hestəri) history.
10. (kə'uərd, ɡeizərt) coward, guisart.
11. old (m'i'rit, :dʒəkəbit) merit, Jacobite; new (pupət, vomət, rəbət, hæmüt) pulpit, vomit, rabbit, hermit.

12. (*fedher*, *redher*, *kuntēs*, *weakest*) father, rather, countess, weakest.
13. (*muthfē*, *thokwhtfē*) mouthful, thoughtful.
14. old (*tærefi*), new (*tærifēi*) or (*-féi*) terrify.
15. old (*manhīd*, *meedenhīd*) manhood, maidenhead; new often (*-hād*).
16. older (*rapid*) rapid; newer (*viivēd*, *tipēd*) vivid, tepid.
17. (*wi'kriŋ*, *kaaldriŋ*) wakerife [= watchful], cauldriŋ [= causing the sensation of cold, cool = indifferent].
18. (*komæniēn*) communion.
19. (*pæriŋ*, *finiŋ*) parish, finish.
20. (*ol·iv*) olive.
21. accented (*baptii·z*, *siiveli·z*, *ekstersii·z*) baptise, civilise, to exercise; unaccented (*e·ksersiz*) an exercise sb.
22. new (*tæb'l*, *han'l*, *mor'l*, *bær'l*, *diiv'l dil*) table, handle, moral, barrel, devil *deil*; old with (*-el*).
23. (*thóules*) throwless [= inactive].
24. (*fe·tlenth*) foot-length.
25. purposely accented (*træ'u·lái*) truly; unaccented (*-li*).
26. (*-mēn*) both *-man* and *-men*.
27. (*djædjmēt*) judgment.
28. (*hermeni*, *a'grimæ·ni*) harmony, agrimony.
29. (*bæn·mest*, *hen·mest*) boonmost [= above most, uppermost], hindmost.
30. (*switnēs*) sweetness.
31. (*aames*) almous = alms; (*-ies*) *-ious*, *-eous* gen. but (*rekjhtwēs*, *pitwēs*) *righteous*, *piteous*.
32. (*frindshep*) friendship; old retained (*hæ·zis·kep*, *eerskep*) housewifeship, heirship.
33. (*disii·ziv*) decisive, and so often (*-ziv*) for *-sive*.
34. (*tēiersam*, *-sum*) tiresome.
35. old (*galæa·shenz*) Galatians; new (*neeshen*, *neeshenel*) nation, national; (*-ashen*, *-iizhen*, *-oozhen*, *æzhen*) *-assion*, *-ession*, *-ition*, *-otion*, *-ution*, but (*okeeshen*, *tranzishen*) *occasion*, *transition*; (*peeshenz*) *patience*.
36. (*preeshies*, *gloories*) *precious*, *glorious*; (*-ties*, *-djies*) *-teous*, *-geous*, *-gious*, as (*plenties*, *prodidries*) *plenteous*, *prodigious*.
37. (*ofishiēl*, *parshia·leti*) *official*, *partiality*.
38. (*kanti*, *kanteli*) *canty* [= cheerful], *cantily*; old remaining (*bunteth*, *pærteth*, *denteth*) *bounty*, *poverty*, *dainty*.
39. (*neeter*, *leezer*, *mezer*) *nature*, *leisure*, *measure*.
40. (*dunwert*) *downward*.
41. (*léikwez*, *lekwez*, *séidwez*) *likewise*, *sidewise*.

Illustrations.

1. *Bewcastle* cs., in the 8 interlinear cs. in the introduction to the L. div., No. 1, pp. 682, 684.
2. *Hawick* cs., in the same 8 cs., No. 2, pp. 682, 684.
3. *Teviotdale* version of Ruth, chap. i., in the 5 versions of this chap. in the introduction to L. div., No. 1, p. 698.
4. Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences as written in his *Visible Speech*, and corrected in the manner already detailed, see bottom of p. 709. These sentences are given on the next page.
5. Dr. Murray's arrangement of the Scotch Hundredth Psalm, p. 715.
6. Dr. Murray's wl. from his DSS. rearranged as a cwl. and augmented by many new words supplied by himself, p. 716.
7. JGG.'s Liddlesdale cwl., shewing the essential similarity between V i and V ii, p. 721.

MELVILLE BELL'S TEVIOTDALE SENTENCES AS CORRECTED,
p. 713, No. 4.

1. *dhe beernz wəz laakʊhən*
ən skraakʊhən a'ma'q dhe saakʊhs
dun e)dhe haakʊh.
2. *dhe)r təkʊh saakʊhs gróuən*
e)dhe :rəkʊh :həkʊh :haakʊh.
3. *whet ɛr i oond əm? e)m*
oond əm nokʊht.
4. *hái ləkʊh ət dhe lí'kʊh door-*
hid.
5. *hæ i enəkʊh ɛ dí'kʊh.*
6. *ee whóu, beernz, ət)s a'*
rəkʊh nekjht. hǎ'u dhe wənd)z
sǎ'ukʊh'ən e)dhe tʃimle hid.
7. *hái)l bái óur dhe nóu nǎ'u*
8. *ǎ'u ɛn méi)l gaq óur dhe*
déik ɛn pǎ'u ɛ péi.
9. *kǎm tǎ méi ə)dhe mǎnth ɛ*
méi.
10. *pǎ'u ir tǎi'r foret tǎ dhe*
fǎi'r.
11. *əz ir feedhɛr ət hǐem dhe*
hǐel dee loq?
12. *hái gǐ'd tǎ dhe w'ra'q séid*
ɛ dhe gǐ't fɛr dhe w'rekjht's
shop.
13. *elkǎ blǐ'd ɛ gǎers kee)ps*
əts ee'n drop ɛ dǎ'u.
14. *mii' beernz ɛn meer tǎ gii*
dhɛm.
15. *ii)v enǎ'u ə putjez, ef ii)d*
enəkʊh tǎ fel dhɛm.
16. *dhe wækjht garz dhe streq*
heq strækjht.
17. *dhe kat mǎ'uz ɛn dhe ketlen*
wǎ'uz.
18. *uur :kersti wɛz wǎshɛn ət*
dhe wǎsh'ɛn ɛ dhe blaqkets.
19. *kʊheer)i gaan?*
20. *ɛ dǎl mǎrk nekjht ɛn ní'*
mǎn.
1. The bairns were laughing
and scratching among the willows
down in the haugh [=meadow].
2. There are tough willows grow-
ing in the Reugh Heugh Haugh
[name of a meadow near Hawick].
3. What are you owing him? I'm
owing him nought.
4. He laughed at the low door-
head [=lintel].
5. Have you enough of dough?
6. Ah woe! bairns, it is a
rough night. How the wind is
soughing in the chimney head [=top].
7. He will be over the knoll now.
8. You and me [I] will go over the
dyke [wall] and pull a pea.
9. Come to me in the month of
May.
10. Pull your chair forward to the
fire.
11. Is your father at home the
whole day long?
12. He went to the wrong side
of the gate [street] for the wright's
[carpenter's] shop.
13. Each blade of grass keeps
[=catches] its own drop of dew.
14. Mo [more pl.] bairns and more
[sg.] to give them.
15. You have enow [pl.] of
pouches if you'd enough [sg.] to
fill them.
16. The weight gars [makes] the
string hang straight.
17. The cat mews and the kitten
wews.
18. Our Christie was washing
[participle] at the washing [verbal
noun] of the blankets.
19. Where are you going?
20. A sad [*deuil*, Fr.] mirky night
and no moon.

THE SCOTCH HUNDREDTH PSALM

in Liturgical or Scotch English, Genuine SL., pron., and Vernacular SL.
From Dr. Murray's DSS., pp. 138-140.

This Scotch-English is mainly liturgical, or used for the language of the Bible: "It is English read with a northern [or L.] conception of the southern [or received] vowels. As a specimen I [Dr. M.] give the Hundredth Psalm as it was read in school and from the pulpit, within my own recollection, and may still [1873] be heard in any cottage in Teviotdale." The versions are here printed interlinearly, omitting the received English pron.

1. Liturgical Scotch-English.
2. SL. pron. of the word, leaving the English idioms.
3. Idiomatic SL. rendering, from DSS. p. 140, transliterated from Dr. Murray's peculiar spelling.

1. 1 *Liturgical.* aal piip'l dhat on ærth du dwæl,
2 *Local Pron.* aa fu'k æt on jærth dez dwæl,
3 *Idiomatic.* aa fu'k æt liivz [dwælz, wonz] onæ dhæ jærth,

1 siq tu dhæ :loord with tpiirful vóis;
2 seq tæ dhæ :luu'rd wæ tpiirfæ vóis;
3 seq tæ dhæ :lu'rd wæ æ tpiirfæ vóis;

1 him særv with merth, hiz preez forth tæl,
2 hem sæær wæ merth, hæz preez færth tæl,
3 sær em wæ merth, tæl færth ez preez,

1 kām ii bifoer him and ridjóis.
2 kām ii efu'r em en ridjóis.
3 kām ii efu'r em en ridjóis.

2. 1 noo dhat dhæ :loord is :good indi'd,
2 kæn æt dhæ :luu'rd ez :good endi'd,
3 kæn ii dhæ :lu'rd æz :good en tróuth,

1 withæ'ut æ'ur æd hi dæd æs meek;
2 wæthuut uur hælp hēi dæd æs mæuk;
3 hēi m'i'd æs wæthuut ooni hælp o uurz;

1 wi aar hiz fœk, hi doth æs fid,
2 wēi er hez hers'l, hēi dez æs fid,
3 wēi)r hez hers'l, æt hēi fidz,

1 ænd foor hiz ship hi doth æs teek.
2 en foor hez ship hēi dez æs tiæk.
3 en hēi ti'ks æs for ez ship.

3. 1 oo! ænter dhæn hiz geets with preez,
2 oo! kām en dhæn æt ez jææts wæ preez,
3 oo! kām en, dhæn, at ez jææts wæ preez,

1 epro'tj with dʒói hiz korts ɛntuu'!
 2 gaq foret wə dʒói hez kurts tə,
 3 gaq foret tə ez koorts wə dʒói,

1 preez, laad, ɛnd bles hiz nem aalwee'z,
 2 preez, láud, ɛn bles ɛz níem éi,
 3 éi preez ɛn láud ɛn bles ɛz ní'm,

1 for it iz simli soo tu duu.
 2 for et ez farent síi' tɜ dæ.
 3 for et)s farent tə dæ sív.

4. 1 for whái? dhe :loord ɛ'ur :good iz gud,
 2 for kwái? dhe :luu'rd uur :good ez gəd,
 3 kwat for? dhe :lu'rd uur :good'z gəd,

1 hiz gudnɛs iz for ever shə'ur,
 2 hez gədɛs ez for ever sæɜ,
 3 hez gədɛs ez sæɜ for éi,

1 hiz trə'uth at aal táimz fermli stud,
 2 hez trəth ɛt aa téimz fermli stəd,
 3 hez trəth stəd sekɜ ɛt aa téimz,

1 ɛnd shal from ɛdʒ tu ɛdʒ ɛndə'ur!
 2 ɛn sal fræ ívɛdʒ tɜ ívɛdʒ ɛndə'r!
 3 ɛn et'l læst fræ í'dʒ tə í'dʒ.

SOUTH LOWLAND cwl.

Hawick, Rx. This contains the words excerpted from Dr. Murray's *Dialects of S. Scotland*, pp. 142-149, being the wl. there given, rearranged and placed in order of the cwl., with many additions given to me by Dr. Murray. All words in Dr. Murray's list belonging to "Central Scotch" are given in a separate cwl. under D 34. All Dr. M.'s indications of pron. are transliterated into pal. As this was not constructed from my original wl., many words are omitted, and large additions are made, especially in the English and Romance sections. In this list I have used (v) instead of (ə) for the unaccented "obscure" vowel. The medial length has not generally been marked, all vowels marked short should probably be read as medial.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — ti'n [taken]. — kræd'l [cradle]. — sed'l [saddle]. 8 hæv. 10 haakwə [a haugh or low lying enclosure]. 17 laa. 19 ti'l. 25 m'n. — íep íep [old people, (ap) ape]. — kɛpɛn [capon]. 28 her. — fɛr [fare]. — wɛr [ware]. 32 bedh. 33 redhɜ [emphatic (ree-)]. 34 last.

A: — kran [crane]. — baand [band]. 43 haand. 44 laand. — staand [stand]. — gɛɛnɜ [gander]. 50 taqz [old], teqz [new]. — maqɜ [monger] 51 mɛn. — ɛrk [an ark]. 55 as. 56 wæsh.

A: or O: 60 laq. 61 amaq. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 65 saq. 66 thwaq, whaq [old], wheq whéq whéiq [new].

A'- 67 gi'. — slí' [a sloe]. 70 ti'. 71 wi'. 72 kwí'. 73 sí'. 74 twí'. — krook [croak]. 75 strook. 76 ti'd. 77 lu'rd. 78 áuun. 79

áaun aan [later (een)]. — poop [pope]. 84 meer. 85 seer. — sori [sorry]. — roor [roar]. — uuz [ooze]. 92 k'naa. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 95 thraa. 96 saa. — blaa'n [blown]. — maa'n [mown]. 100 saa'n. — leevrek [the lark, bird].

A': 104 rood. 105 red. 106 bri'd. — ladi [lady]. — groov [grove]. — druuv [a drove]. 108 deekjh di'kuch. 109 laa leekh li'kuch. 113 hi'l. — pol [pole]. — fi'm [foam]. — loom [loam]. 117 i'n jen. 118 bi'n. — hu'n [hone]. 122 i. ni'n, ii. ni'. — shen [shone]. 124 sti'n. 126 oor. — boor [a boar]. — garlik [garlic]. 129 gi'st. — reez [rose, pt.]. — blæster [bluster]. 135 kl'i'th. — raa róu [a row or rank]. 136 ii. or.

Æ- 138 fædher. — kædher [ladder]. — blædher [bladder]. 144 agi'n. 148 fer. — ant [an ant]. 149 bliiz. 150 list. 152 weter.

Æ: — wi'k'n we'- waa- [waken]. 156 glæed. — ædher [adder]. — hæd [had]. — gædher [gather]. 158 ætter. 159 hæz. 160 æg. 161 dee. — slekht [sleight]. — hæth [health]. 169 kuchan. — ep'l [apple]. 171 barli. 172 gars græs. — list [lest]. 174 æsh. — læs [less]. — glas [glass]. — fæs'n [fasten]. — kert [cart].

Æ'- 182 séi [sii-shoor] sea-shore]. — blitj [bleach]. 185 rid. 187 liiv. 189 wéi. 191 hi'l. 192 min. — lin [lean]. — wapen [weapon]. — tiiz [tease]. — tiiz'l [teasle].

Æ': — spræd [spread, pt.]. 206 ræd. 210 kléi. 211 gree. 213 edher. 214 nædher. — fæud [feud]. 216 di'l. — mi'l [meal, food]. 222 hèr. 223 dhii'r. 224 kuheer. — læst [to last]. 227 wit [v. and sb.], wat [adj.]. 229 breth. — slooth [sloth]. — w'reeth [wrath].

E- 232 brek. 233 spik. — bræktst [breakfast]. 234 næd, [older form (k'næd)]. — træd [to tread]. — wædher [weather]. 235 wiiv. — hevi [heavy]. 239 sel. 243 plee. 244 wil. 245 mil. 247 wi'n. — biir [to bear]. — piir [a pear]. — tiir [to tear]. 248 mir. 249 wiir. — weezel [weasel]. — it [to eat]. — bit [beet]. — fædher [feather]. 254 læther.

E: — w'ratj [wretch]. — wab wob [web]. 256 strik [stretch]. — hiiv [to heave]. 259 wadj. 260 lee. 261 see. — bæd [bed]. — bid [a bead]. — wad wadin [to wed, a wedding]. 262 wéi. — welkem [welcome]. — fiid [field]. — sæl [to sell]. — wal [a well]. — hæm [a hem]. — w'ræsh [wrench]. — kwæsh [quench]. 278 wæsh. — sænd [send]. — pan [a pen]. 284 thræsh. — wast [west]. — sæt'l [settle]. 288 læt. — bæst [best]. E'- 290 héi. 292 méi. 293 wéi. — sik [to seek]. 301 hiir.

E': 305 héikjh héi hái, [(hi) in (hillant) highland]. 306 héikht. — sin [seen, pp.]. 312 hiir. — briir [a briar]. 313 hærk. 316 nikst nist.

EA- — haak [hawk]. 320 ker. — nere [narrow]. EA: — djóul [jowl]. 322 lakuch. 324 ækht. — lakuchter [laughter]. 325 waak. 327 baald. 328 kaald. 329 faald. 330 haald. 331 saald [(sæld) sold]. 332 taald [(tæld) told]. — hapni [halfpenny]. 337 waa. 338 kaa. — maat [salt]. — saat [salt]. — biird [beard]. — mærk [mark]. — spark [spark]. 340 jeerd. — hard [hard]. — wærd [a ward]. 342 erm. — hèrm [harm]. 343 warm. — swærm [swarm]. — iern [iern]. — shèrp [sharp]. — wèrp [warp]. — jern [yarn]. — wèrn [warn]. 345 daar. — pèrk [park]. — shaa [to shew]. — eks [an axe].

EA'- 347 hid. 348 éi. — dái [to dye]. — dáier [dyer]. 349 fə'u.

EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid. 355 dif. 356 lif. — tæi [tie]. 357 thoo. — hip [heap]. — lous [loose]. 366 gret. 367 thri't. 368 di'th. 369 slaa. EI- 372 æ'i. 375 ræz. 376 bet. EI: 378 week. 379 hel. 380 dhem. 382 dheer.

EO- — tær [tar]. 387 nə'u. EO: — jook [yoke]. — wik [candle wick]. 389 jóuk. 390 sæd. 395 jæq. — dærk [dark]. 396 wark. — bærk [to bark]. 397 su'rd. — kærν [carve]. 398 stærv. — færm [farm]. — ier'l [earl]. — kærl [churl]. 402 iern. 403 fæ. 404 stæ. — shu'rt [short]. — hært [heart]. — smært [to smart]. 405 hæth. 406 ierth. 407 færdin. — straa [to strew].

EO'- 409 béi. — k'néi [knee]. — fréi [free]. — tréi [tree]. — fléi [to flee and fly]. 415 léi. — jyl [yule]. 416 i. ii. diir. — tjóiz [to choose]. — friiz [to freeze]. — siidh [to see the]. — rə'u [to rue]. 420 fôur.

EO': 422 sik [sick]. — krùd [crowd]. — thif [thief]. 423 thèi. 426 fækjht. 427 béi. 429 fint. 430 frind. 432 fòurt. 433 brist. 434 bi't. 435 jà'u. — tróu [to throw]. 437 trə'uth. EY- 438 déi.

I- — stærn [stern]. 447 her [neither (hēr) nor (hər)]. — jes [yes]. 449 get gi't. I: 455 lāi. — med'l [middle]. 458 néikjht. 459 réikjht. 460 wækjht. — skil [skill]. — geld [to guild]. 469 wal [to will]. — suum [to swim] — steqk [stink]. — sweqk [swink]. 473 blend. 475 wænd. — wände [window]. 476 bend. 477 fènd. 478 grend. — hent [hind]. — a-hént [behind]. — kern [to churn]. — ren [run]. — ræsh [a rush, plant]. 485 thres'l. 488 jet. — brə [bree broth]. — set [sit]. — wat [wit]. — watnes [witness].

I'- 490 bái [of place], béi [of agency]. 491 séikjh sái. — stái [sty]. — pép. 497 réiz. 498 w'reit. I': 500 lek [(lekli) likely]. 502 fáiv. 505 wéif wéivz. 506 waman. — héi [hay]. 508 méil. — réim. 511 wéin. — bléidh. 517 jà'u.

O- — brók'n [broken]. 518 bu'di [(bu'dis) bodice, properly pl.]. — ən [oven]. 520 bóu. — su'l [sole of foot]. 522 u'p'n. 523 hu'p. — papi [poppy]. — fuu'r [fore]. — buu'r [to bore]. — tu'rn [torn]. — snuu'r [to snore]. — bu'rn [born]. — shu'rn [shorn]. — forlu'rn [forlorn]. 524 wor'ld world. — hooz [hose]. — ku't [cot]. — rot'n [rotten]. — smær [smother].

O: — trokuh [trough]. 527 bokut. 528 thokuht. 529 brokuht. 531 dokuhter. 532 kuu'l. 533 dæl. 535 fu'k. 536 guuld. 538 wald wad. — k'nóu [knoll]. — tol [toll]. 542 bolt. — kóut [colt]. 544 dhan. — su'p [sop]. 546 for. — goor [gore]. 548 færd. 549 hærd. 550 ward. — boro [borrow]. — soro [sorrow]. 551 stu'rm. 552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. — nu'rn [morn]. — thu'rn [thorn]. — pu'rt [port]. — nu'rth [north]. — fru'st [forst]. — boks [box]. — foks [fox]. — post [post]. — bodem [bottom].

O'- 555 shə. 556 tə. — fodər [fodder]. 559 mædher. — uu [to woo]. — gəm [gum of teeth]. 562 mæn. — mænth [month]. 564 sən. 566 ædher. 568 bradher. — glou [to glow]. — glóur [to glower]. — gróun [groan].

O': 569 bək. 570 tək. 571 gəd. 572 bləd. 573 fləd. 575 stəd. — koov [a cove of the sea]. 578 pləkuh [sb.], plə'u [vb.]. 579 anəkuh [sg.], anə'u [pl.]. — flóun [flown]. 584 stəl. — dəm [doom]. — buun [boon]. 586 də. 587 dən. 590 flər. 592 swər. — bu's'm [bosom]. 595 iet [in some dialects (fæt)]. — stóu [a stow or store place].

U- 599 abə'n. — wad [wood]. 600 ləv. 602 sə'u. 603 kam. — mæqk [monk]. — heni [honey]. 605 sən. 606 dər. — net [nut].

U: — sneb [to snub]. — waf ulf [wolf]. 609 fəl fə'u. — pal [to pull]. 610 ul. — fuler [a fuller]. 612 səm. 612 hænd hund. 615 pænd. 616 grand. 617 sünd. 618 wund. — bæn [bound]. 619 fænd [pp.], fænd [pt.]. 620 græn [ground, pt.]. 621 wæn. — wander [wonder]. 625 taq. — tan [ton]. 630 wæn. — brakuh [broch brough borough]. — fer [fir]. 634 thrau thruu. — mærn [mourn].

U'- 640 kə'u. 643 nə'u. 644 suk [to suck]. 646 bə'u. — thum [thumb]. 648 uur. — plum [plum]. 650 abùt. 652 kəd. 653 bæt.

U': — kləd [cloud]. 657 brùn. 660 buur. 663 hùs. 665 mùs. 667 üt.

Y- 673 mak'l. Y: 686 bái. — rəth [ruth]. 688 bəld [(bəlt) built]. — gelt [guilt]. — hel [hill]. — kəmli [comely]. 695 hærk'n. — wari [worry]. — wærm [worm]. 700 wars [(warst) worst]. 701 færst. — wart [wort]. — kest [a chest]. Y'- 705 skái. — héid [hide]. — fóurtin [fourteen]. — drip [drip]. Y': 709 fəir. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. :izaa'k [Isaac]. :bəlaa'm [Balaam]. :kənaa'n [Canaan]. bab [babe]. :bab'l [Babel]. kebin [cabin]. deb'l [dabble]. ba-bi [baby]. heek [hack]. kæk'k'l [cackle]. teek'l tak'l [tackle]. :i'dəm [Adam]. dedi [daddy]. ded'l [daddle, a pinafore]. ped'l [paddle]. 717 dʒəd. 718 træd. ləd'l [ladle]. neeg [a nag]. krees [a crag]. deeg'l [daggle]. heg'l [haggle]. weg'l [waggle].

maak [maggot]. pleed [plaid]. dreg'l [draggel]. vi'grent vagrent [vagrant]. :abrehaa'm [Abraham]. bæld [bald]. :pada'n-:araa'm [Padan-Aram]. glens [glance]. waand [wand]. meener [manure, formerly spelled 'mainer']. :pi's [Pasch = Easter]. berd [bard]. skær [scare]. særk [sark]. snarl [snarl]. dærn [darn]. nesti [nasty]. :sat'n :saathen [Satan]. puta'tez [potatoes]. ræv'l [ravel]. si'vin [savin or willow]. kreez [craze].

E. træd'l [a treadle]. wælt [wealth]. pit [peat]. breedth [breathe]. hædher [heather]. ende'ver [endeavour]. walt [welt]. jærk [yerk, jerk]. bles [bless]. pæt [pet].

I. and Y. váiel [phial]. tráiel [trial]. weked [wicket]. pái [pie]. vái [vie]. wheg [whig]. rig [rig]. káhim [whim]. whan [whin]. prin [pin]. weq [wing]. whap [whip]. káhisht [whisht]. wæp [wisp]. dril [to drill]. split [split]. spái [spy]. prái [pry]. trái [try]. w'rái [wry].

O. ad' [ado]. 7ó1 l'i'd. sook [soak]. room [roam]. roon [roan]. bost [boast]. flot [float]. tok'her [tocher, dower]. klok [clock]. kod [cod]. su'd [sod]. sòde [soda]. sòfe [sofa]. bu'g [bog]. ku'g [cog]. flog [flog]. bu'g'l buug'l [bogle]. kok [coke]. bóu [boll of a plant]. skoold [scold]. dæfte [doleful]. góuf [golf]. dol [doll]. pol [poll]. strol [stroll]. ku'lier [collier]. kron [crone]. dru'n [drone]. mærel [mongrel]. mæki [monkey]. want [wont]. póuni [pony]. luup [loop]. gruuv [groove]. kop [cope]. skop [scope]. ku'rd [cord]. bu'rder [border]. kork [cork]. wærn [worn]. wæret [worsted]. snort [snort]. spu'rt [sport]. pu'rtli [portly]. toori [tory]. tos [toss]. lu'st [lost]. pu'si [posy]. troth [troth]. bódher bóder [bother]. sekwh [to sough]. pætes [poultry]. flans fl'a'uns [flounce]. pans pæ'uns [pounce]. buunderi [boundary]. mæntibaqk [mountebank]. spræt [sprout]. roov [rove]. slá'u'n [sloven]. tóu [tow]. dróun [drown]. gróul [growl]. próul [prowl]. bó1 bá1 [boy].

U. ræbish [rubbish]. dæk [duck]. kæd [cud]. pædin [pudding]. hæd'l [huddle]. blá'u [blue]. gi'ni [guinea]. buk [bulk]. buld' [bulge]. bælwark [bulwark]. tæp [tup]. bloor [blur]. kær1 [curl]. besh [bush]. pusi [pussy]. flæster [fluster]. 808 pet. stæt [stutter]. bez [buzz].

III. ROMANCE.

A .. ebi [abbey]. laaber leber [labour]. labrer lebrer [labourer]. iste'blish [establish]. febrik [fabric]. vi'kenz vi'genz [vacance]. plekerd [placard]. sæek [sack]. 810 fi's. segaa'shies [sagacious]. :djaa'kebit [Jacobite]. sekrfis [sacrifice]. vi'geben [vagabond]. a'djent [agent]. pedjent [pageant]. :speenjerd [Spaniard]. dreegon [dragon]. tri'z'n [treason]. gá1 [gay]. mé1 [May]. 824 tjeir tjeir [chair]. ti'lier [tailor]. fi'l [fail]. tjin [chain]. sant [saint]. èr [air]. kliir [clear]. pliiz [please]. fi'z'n [pheasant]. si'sin [seisin]. plizer [pleasure]. di'zert [desert]. 835 ri'z'n. 836 si'z'n. fi't [feat]. fi'ter [feature]. pis [pease]. pi'lin [paling]. baal [ball]. aam [alum]. veli [valley]. hale [halo]. vele [value]. demish [damage of fruit, other damage (da'mid)]. kambrik [cambric]. keem'l [camel]. fem'li [family]. feemin [famine]. feemish [famish]. enfla'meb'l [inflammable]. demson [damson]. tjaamer [chamber]. heush [haunch, to jerk from the hanch]. brensh [branch]. mendjer [manger]. tensh [tench]. stensh [to staunch]. enzh'l [angel]. graand [grand]. demaand [demand]. komaand [command]. 847 dndjer. 848 tjendj. rendj [range]. mener [manner]. 851 ant. tjant [chant]. dant [daunt]. dreper [draper]. tjeplet [chaplet]. meri [marry]. hænt [haunt]. vant [vaunt]. tjepl [chapel]. sapient [sapient]. keri [to carry]. 852 epren. bar [bar]. par [par]. fars [farce]. ertj [arch]. gerdin [garden]. dert [dart]. mertjant [merchant]. merket [market]. lerdj [large]. waran [warrant]. 854 barel. mærl [marl]. :tjerli [Charley]. alerm [alarm]. hermeni [harmony]. ermi [army]. sku'rn [scorn]. perish [parish]. neretiv [narrative]. skærsh [scarce]. gerten [garter]. kerd [card]. ert [art]. pert [part]. tjerter [charter]. :mertjames [Martinmas]. mæs [mass]. pas [pass]. past [past]. sti't [state]. bat'l [battle]. pi'st [paste]. kas'l [castle]. straate [strata]. fat'l [fatal]. :letin [Latin]. setin [satin]. neeshen [nation]. neeshenel [national]. raashenel [rational]. raashenz [rations]. láand [land]. láudnem

[laudanum]. *audiens* [audience]. *paatriark* [patriarch]. *maatren* [matron]. *paatren* [patron]. *meter* [matter]. *steete* [statue]. *steeter* [stature]. *si v* [save]. *hakchti* [haughty]. *stai* [stay]. *pauper* [pauper]. *autograf* [autograph]. *graa-vet* [cravat]. *teevren* [tavern]. *hezerd* [hazard].

E.. *i-di-pri-ri-si* [-e-de-pre-re-se-unaccented]. *i'-ri'-pri'* [-e-re-pre-accented]. *di'* [-de-accented, except when followed by two consonants, when it is (dæ)]. *si'* [-se-accented]. *idiu* [idea]. *riël* [real]. *djāient* [giant]. *thiēter* [theatre]. *kriēter* [creature]. *sil* [seal]. *pil* [peel]. *ri'konsiil* [reconcile]. *presliu* [precious]. *di'sent* [decent]. *si'kunt* [second]. *si'kret* [secret]. *deræ'k* [direct]. *pen* [pain]. 872 *tiif*. 874 *rin*. *ven* [vein]. *strind* [strained]. 877 *eer*. *di'ist* [deist]. *plæt* [plait]. *di'eti* [deity]. *i'ligent* [elegant]. *i'limēt* [element]. *i'lifent*. *puket* [pellet]. *ski'm* [scheme]. *thi'm* [theme]. *konti'n* [contain]. *menti'n* [maintain]. *fi'mēn* [feminine]. *dæm'sl* [damsel]. *mand* [mend]. *si'n* [scene]. *avendj* [avenge]. *vendjens* [vengeance]. *dj'ines* [genius]. *i'fi'mere* [ephemera]. *sēnt* [scent]. *vānt* [vent]. *tānt* [tent]. *plenti* [plenty]. *vānter* [venture]. *servee* [survey]. *ditiēr* [deter]. *vi'nes* [Venus]. *i'rb* [herb]. *pi'rtj* [perch]. *si'rtj* [search]. *maersi* [mercy]. *pi'trik* [partridge]. *revi'r* [revere]. *firi'r* [friar]. *sensi'r* [sincere]. *pi'rs* [pierce]. *pitiēr* [prefer]. *erbur* [arbour]. *nerv* [nerve]. *si'rdpēt* [sergeant]. *trāk'l* [treacle]. *pi'ried* [period]. *klērk* [clerk]. *mārl* [merle, blackbird]. *pi'ēr'l* [pearl]. *fērm* [firm]. *konzæ'rn* [concern]. *sārpēt* [serpent]. *ær* [err]. *hi'rs* [hearse]. *sārtēn* [certain]. *alē'rt* [alert]. *dizi'rt* [to desert]. *ensi'rt* [to insert]. *asi'rt* [assert]. *deskonsi'rt* [disconcert]. *divā'rt* [divert]. *ensi'rshēn* [insertion]. *sār* [serve]. *pri'zēt* [a present]. *dæ'spēt* [desperate]. *ām* [aim]. *ru'set* [resin]. *træ'zēn* [treasure]. *pēst* [pest]. *mezēn* [measure]. *rist* [to rest = be restive]. *ræst* [to rest = be quiet]. *krist* [crest]. *tāst* [test]. *ræstles* [restless]. *nēt* [neat]. *djit* [jet of water]. *komplīt* [complete]. *bist* [beast]. *fist* [feast]. *di'zert* [desert]. *deskreshēn* [discretion]. *dæ'stitūt* [destitute]. *ari'st* [arrest]. 893 *fluur* [flower and flour]. *flarish* [flourish]. *Europ* [Europe]. *konsi'v* [conceive]. *konsi't* [conceit]. 894 *disi'v*. 895 *risi'v*. *læv'n* [leaven]. *tækst* [text].

I.. and Y.. *dinaiel* [denial]. *poli't* [polite]. *libreri* [library]. *fizi'shēn* [physician, and so on for -ition, -ician]. *benefit* [benefit]. *ditiāient* [defiant]. *plāient* [pliant]. *plai* [ply]. *spai* [spy]. *krāi* [to cry]. *krāier* [a crier]. *griv* [grieve]. *oblidj* [oblidge]. *kondē'q* [condign]. *fi'rs* [fierce]. *piir* [pier]. *dijg* [jig]. *pil* [pill]. *pin'ien* [pinion]. *fini'sh* [finish]. *lāien* [lion]. *rāiet* [riot]. *tip* [type]. *irāi* [fry]. *si'lēnder* [cylinder]. *mēlē'q* [malign]. *binē'q* [benign]. *sāspi'shiēs* [suspicious, and so generally for final -icious, -itious]. *séiv'l* [civil]. *kritik* [critic]. *sāiz* [size]. *tjēstii'z* [chastise]. *advērtii'z* [advertise]. *bēptii'z* [baptise]. *sivvēliiz* [civilise]. *advērtii'zment* [advertisement]. *miizer* [miser]. *siti* [city]. *sit* [cite]. *envi't* [invite]. *piti* [pity]. *posi'shēn* [position, and so for all -ition].

O.. *rab* [rob]. *ræber* [robber]. *proob* [probe]. *goblet* [goblet]. *kootj* [coach]. *krōkes* [crocus]. *bru'tj* [brooch]. *ood* [ode]. *kod* [code]. *mōdern* [modern]. *lādj* [lodge]. *koor* [core]. 916 *eēn*. 917 *roog*. *droog* [drug]. *fēth* [faith]. *stū'ik* [stoic]. *buund* [to bound]. 920 *pōint*. *djook* [joke]. *stu'ri* [story]. *leezer* [leisure]. 922 *bāshel*. *sū'djēr* [soldier]. *kōloni* [colony]. *dramēderi* [dromedary]. *pāmel* [pommel]. *kāmpēni* [company]. *toon* [tone]. *āns* [ounce]. *fūund* [to found]. *koon* [cone]. *dipoon* [depone]. *spāndj* [sponge]. *onēr* [honour]. *māni* [money]. *bū'ni* [bonny]. *mānt mōunt* [mount]. *frānt* [front]. *kōntri* [country]. *fāntēn fōuntēn* [fountain]. 936 *fānt fōunt*. *mū'niment* [monument]. *stoor* [store]. *fū'rs* [force]. *ordēr* [order]. *stork* [stork]. *skārdj* [scourge]. *soor* [soar]. *fū'rdj* [forge]. *bārn* [bourn]. 938 *kōrner*. *kōrnet* [cornet]. *skorpiēn* [scorpion]. *kōrps* [corpse]. *horid* [horrid]. *ripū'rt* [report]. *sū'rt* [sort]. *pū'rteēt* [portent]. *pū'rter* [porter]. *pū'rshēn* [portion]. *kā'rel* [coral]. *fārm* [farm, seat]. *fōrm* [form, shape]. *fū'rtin* [fortune]. *dū'z* [a dose]. *klū's* [close, adj.]. *klū'z* [to close]. *prooz* [prose]. *kōmpū'z* [compose]. *sēpū'z* [suppose]. *rū'z* [rose, flower]. *klū'set* [closet]. *pū'setiv* [positive]. *kru'zier* [crozier]. *koot* [quote]. *kōst* [coast]. *hōst* [host]. *ōslēr* [ostler]. *nū't* [note]. *rū'st* [roast]. *tū'st* [toast]. *kū't* [coat]. *vū't* [vote]. *kloov* [clove]. *tāu'el* [towel].

ka'uerd [coward]. trab'l [trouble]. 942 butier. ku'kuu [cuckoo]. tatʃ [touch]. sôuder [solder]. hóu [hoe]. fə'u'el [fuel]. 947 bóil. 943 bôul. róu [roll]. kaler [colour]. truup [troop]. súp [soup]. 951 kap'l. fariʃ [forage]. torment [torment]. djânel [journal]. iar [iur]. narish [nourish]. tuur [tower]. pash [push]. gəshet [gusset]. 953 kázin. 954 káshen. bot'l [bottle]. kətlər [cutler]. kə'st [cost]. gə'tər [gutter]. kə'vi [covey]. mæv [move]. puur [power]. prəv [prove]. kevr [cover]. kóvet [covey]. dezon [dozen]. dʒə'u'el [jewel]. emplói [employ]. bæ'u'el [bowel]. free [to fray]. U.. d'u [due]. tra'u'an-d [truant, the (d) sometimes added]. grə'u'el [gruel]. wig [wig]. skil'iten [skeleton]. dā'u'el [duel]. krā'u'el [cruel]. tra'u'el [trowel]. embr'u' [imbrue]. wet [wait]. kwes'tin [question]. kə'st [quest]. 965 óil. kwel [quill]. bræz [bruise]. 966 frət. dʒɒdʒ [judge]. məl [mule]. kum [culm]. kənsəm [consume]. tən [tune]. pupet [pulpit]. skrəp'l [scruple]. kər [cure]. endər [endure]. 969 sər. dʒóis [juice]. əs [the use]. əz [to use]. refəz [refuse]. dʒst [just]. fəsti [fusty]. rikrət [recruit]. lét [lute].

LIDDESDALE HEAD cwl.

Near Thorlishope (12 sse. Hawick), pal. by JGG. from the dict. of Mr. Jackson, of Cateleugh, Kielder 27 nw. Hexham, Nbl., then 75 years acquainted with the dialect. This was gone over by AJE. with JGG. It was not originally intended for publication. It is here reproduced to shew that Liddesdale is distinctly L. and not N. Only the Wessex and Norse section was written.

To facilitate comparison with Dr. Murray's cwl. several of his pal. signs have been adopted, but JGG. analysed the sounds differently. Thus (i) became to JGG. i^e, which was very closely compressed so as to feel like a single vowel, the glide being extremely short, the (i₁) being a deep form of i, and (e) being some indistinct form of (e) not sensibly different from (i) or (e). The (ə), which I retain, JGG. preferred to write (ə¹) between (u₁) and (e) or (i₁), but "distinctly not rounded." There was a variety of this which was a 'rounded' form of (ə¹) or (i₁), which I write (ə₁); it seemed to be due to the influence of 'r', see Nos. 547, 590. The (u), also retained, was written (u₁ ə) very close, and resembling (oo), the last element "brief, but very distinct (ə)." These are all clearly slight varieties of Dr. Murray's sounds, (e¹) is used for Dr. M.'s (e) or y as he writes it.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bi'k. 4 ti'k. 5 mi'k. 6 mi'd. 7 si'k. 8 ææv. 9 bihi'v. 10 haa ['aa] very slightly broader than (aa) throughout]. 12 saa. 15 aa, [intermediate between (aa, AA)]. 16 daan. 19 ti'l. 20 li'm. 21 ni'm. 23 sam. 24 shi'm. 25 mi'n. 26 wi'n. 27 ni'v. 28 heer. 30 keer. 33 reedher. 34 last. 35 [(elsyn) used]. 36 thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kam. 40 ki'm. 41 tha'qk. 43 haan. 44 laan. 46 kán'l. 48 saaq. 50 ti'qz. 51 man. 55 as. 56 wæsh. 57 as. A: or O: 58 thra'. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 e'maq. 62 straq [this (t,r) was not acknowledged by Dr. Murray]. 64 wràq. 65 sàq. 66 kwhi'q.

A'- 67 gàq. 70 ti'. 71 woo. 72 whi'. 73 soo. 74 twi'. 75 st,rook. 76 ti'd. 77 luu,rd. 78 aan. 80 ho,lydø. 81 loonyn. 83 mi'n. 84 meer. 85 seer. 86 iets. 87 kliz. 88 klidh. 89 bi'th. 90 blaa [bliúu] pt.]. 91 maa [miúu] pt.]. 92 [ken] used]. 93 snaa [sníuu] pt.]. 94 kraa [kriúu] pt.]. 95 thraa [thriúu] pt.]. 96 saa [siúu] pt.]. 97 sool.

A': 101 i'k. 104 ród. 105 ri'd. 106 bri'd. 107 li'f. 108 díukw. 109 líukw. 111 oo,kwht. 112 hi'l. 115 hi'm. 118 bi'n. 121 gi'n. 122 ni'n. 124 sti'n. 125 onli. 127 hi'rsh. 129 goost. 130 bóet. 132 hzt. 133 wri't. 134 ooth. 135 klith.

Æ- 138 fe'dher. 140 hæl. 142 snèl. 144 egèn. 145 slèn. 146 mèn. 147 brèn. 148 feer. 150 list. 152 wa'ter. Æ: 155 tha'k. 157 ræv'n. 158 æftər. 160 ææg. 161 dee. 164 mee. 165 sèd. 166 mèd. 167 di'l. 168 tale. 169 kwian. 170 ha'rst. 171 baarle'. 172 gars. 173 waz. 174

æst. 175 fast. 178 nat. 179 kuhat. 180 bath. 181 pæ'th. Æ'- 182 sée'i. 183 titj. 184 lid. 185 rid. 186 bréith. 187 liiv. 190 kée'i. 191 hi'l. 192 min. 193 klin. 194 oni. 195 mo'ni. 196 war wær. 197 tpij. 199 [(blee) used]. 200 kuhit. 201 hi'dh'n. 202 hit.

Æ': 203 spitj. 204 did. 205 thrid. 206 ræd. 207 nid'l. 210 klée'i. 211 gree. 213 ædher. 215 takuht. 216 di'l. 217 [not used]. 218 ship. 219 slip. 221 fi'r. 222 heer. 223 dhi'r. 224 kuweer wheer. 226 mi'st. 228 swit. 229 breth. 230 fa't.

E- 232 bræk. 233 spik. 234 ne'd. 235 we'v wiiv. 236 fever. 237 bleen. 238 hæædj. 239 seel. 241 reen. 243 plee. 246 kwín. 248 mi'r. 249 wi'r. 250 swi'r. 251 mit. 252 ke'tl [almost (ka'tl)]. 253 næ'tl. 254 lædher. 255 wædher.

E: 257 æædj. 259 wædj. 261 see. 262 wee. 263 eel. 267 iild. 268 [(aalde'st, = oldest, used)]. 270 i. be'li'z, ii. be'le'. 272 æl'm. 273 mæn. 274 bēnsh. 276 the'qk. 277 drensh. 278 wēnsh. 280 eli-v'n. 281 lēnth. 282 st'renth. 283 mere'. 284 thræsh. 285 krēsh. 286 harv. 287 bazem. 288 lēt.

E'- 289 ii. 290 héii. 292 méii. 293 wéii. 294 fid. 296 beliiv. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 hi'r. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bit'l. E': 306 hē'kh. 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 311 tæen. 312 hijer. 314 hæærd. 315 fit. 316 nekst.

EA- 319 gi'p. 320 keer. EA: 322 lækwh. 323 fiukwh. 324 ækjht. 325 waak. 326 aald. 327 bō'l'd. 328 kaal'd. 329 faul'd. 330 hod. 331 [(sæl'd) sold, used]. 332 [(tæl'd) telled, used]. 333 kâf. 334 hæf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 340 iærd. 342 eerm. 345 daar. 346 iæt.

EA'- 347 hid. 348 ei. 349 fiuu. EA': 350 did. 351 lid. 352 rid. 353 brid. 354 shi'f. 355 dif. 356 lif. 357 thoo. 359 niber. 360 tūm. 361 bin. 363 tpij. 365 ni'r. 366 greet. 367 thri't. 368 di'th. 369 slaa. 379 raa. 371 stri'.

EI- 372 ææ'i. 373 dhee. 375 rīz. 376 beet. EI: 377 sti'k. 378 week. 382 dheer.

EO- 383 siv'n. 384 hev'n. 385 enee'th. 386 iou. EO: 388 me'lk. 389 iook. 390 shud. 393 iont. 396 wærk. 397 su'rd. 398 stæerv. 402 la'rn. 403 fæer. 404 stærn. 405 haarth. 406 ierth.

407 faardi'n. 408 níuu. EO'- 409 béii. 411 thréii. 412 shéii. 413 div'l. 414 fle'i. 415 le'i. 417 tpiu. 418 briuu. 420 foor. 421 forte'. EO': 423 théii. 424 rakwh. 425 lækjht. 426 fækjht. 427 béii. 428 séii. 430 frin'd. 431 biier. 432 fōrth. 433 bree'st. 434 bæ't. 435 iau.

436 triuu. 437 triuuth. EY- 438 de'i. EY: 439 træst.

I- 440 wik. 441 siiv. 442 aive'l. 446 ne'in. 448 dhi'. 449 get. 450 tiuuzde'. 451 siuu. I: 452 aai. 454 watj. 455 lai. 457 mækjht.

458 nækjht. 459 rækjht. 460 wækjht. 462 sækjht. 464 kuhatj. 465 sek. 466 [(beern) used]. 467 we'il'd. 471 te'mer. 472 shre'qk. 473 ble'n'd. 474 re'in'd. 475 wan. 476 be'n'd. 477 fe'n'd. 478 gre'n'd. 479 wan'd.

481 fe'qer. 485 thre's'l. 486 iest. 487 iestærdel. 488 iet.

I'- 490 baai. 491 sækjh. 493 dræiv. 494 te'm. 496 æren. 497 ere'iz. 498 wre'it. 499 bit'l. I': 500 le'ik. 501 we'id. 502 faiv. 503 le'if.

504 ne'if. 505 we'if. 506 women. 507 wime'n. 508 me'il. 509 kuhe'il. 511 we'in. 513 wæier. 514 e'is. 515 we'is. 516 we'sdem. 517 iuu.

O- 520 bōu. 521 fu'l. 522 oop'n. 523 hoop. 524 war'l'd. O: 526 koku'h. 527 bokuht. 528 thokuht. 530 wrokuht. 531 dokuhter. 532 ku'l. 533 dal. 534 hu'l. 536 gool'd. 538 ud wad. 539 bōul. 540 hole'. 542 bolt. 545 hop. 547 bæærd. 548 fæærd. 550 wærd. 551 stu'rm.

552 ku'rn. 553 hu'rn. 554 kros. O'- 555 shæ. 557 tæ. 558 læk læk. 559 mædher. 561 blēm. 562 mæn. 563 mænde'. 564 sēn. 566 ædher.

O': 569 bæk. 570 tæk. 571 gæd. 572 blæd. 573 flæd. 574 bræd. 575 stæd. 576 wæd'nzde'. 577 bōu. 578 plūkuht. 579 enūkuh. 580 tiūkuh.

581 sokuht. 582 kuul. 584 stæl. 585 brēm. 586 dæ. 587 dæn. 588 næn. 589 spæn. 590 fææp.r. 591 mææp.r. 592 swææp.r. 593 mæst. 594 bæt. 595 fe't. 596 ræt. 597 sæt.

U- 599 eb'n. 600 lav. 601 fuul. 602 sau. 603 kām. 605 sēn. 606 door. 607 bat'tæp.r. U: 608 agle'. 609 fæl. 610 uu. 611 bælek.

612 sām. 613 dræk. 614 hænd. 615 pæn. 616 græn. 617 sæ'und [Dr. Murray gives (sund), but JGG. got (sū'und) from Selkirk town, and (sə₂'und) from Roxburgh town, where (ə₂) is nearly (æ), but these seem town pron.]. 618 uund. 622 ænder. 625 tæq. 626 hæqer. 629 sæn. 630 wæn. 631 tharzde¹. 632 æp. 633 dæp. 634 thræ'u. 636 [(fæærær) is used for both farther and further]. 637 tæsk. 639 dæst.

U'- 640 kæ'u. 641 hæ'u. 642 dhæ'u. 643 næ'u. 645 dæ'u. 648 uur. 649 thüzent. 652 kud. 653 bæt. U': 654 sh'rud. 656 rüm. 657 brün. 658 dün. 661 shuur. 662 az [never (hæz) as in Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 188, but this may have been an individuality]. 663 hüs. 664 lüs. 665 müs. 666 hæzbent. 667 üt. 668 prüt. 669 æ'нкуuth. 670 bñth.

Y- 673 mæk'l. 674 le'i. 675 dræai. 678 de'n. 679 kark. 680 be'ze¹. 682 le't'l. Y: 683 me'dj. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 báai. 687 flækjht. 689 bæ'd. 690 ke'in'd. 691 me'in'd. 693 se'n. 696 berth. 697 bære¹. 698 merth. 699 wrækjht. 700 wàar. 701 ferst. 703 pe't. Y'- 705 skæai. 706 [replaced by (kuhat fæ) what for]. 707 thertin. 708 háaiær. Y': 709 fáaiær. 711 le'is. 712 me'is.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 737 meet. E. 746 breedh. 750 bææg. O. 761 li'd. 769 móude¹. U. 808 pæt.

III. ROMANCE.

E.. 874 rin.

D 34 = e.ML. = eastern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Lothian and Fife.*

Boundary. Begin just n. of the Liberties of the town of Berwick, and, joining the Tweed, follow it to a spot about 2 s. Inverleithen, Pb., then turn along Quair Water to n. of St. Mary's Loch, and continue along first the e. b. of Pb. and then the e.b. of Lk. to Kirkintilloch, Dm. (18 e. Dumbarton), and to the head of Carron Water. Then suddenly back to ne. and pass just s. of Stirling and n. of Allod, Ce., and Kinross and w. of Cupar, Fi., to fall into the Firth of Tay a little w. of Newport, Fi. (opposite Dundee, Fo.). Of course this boundary is merely approximative, and means that the ne. part divides Sg. and Fi., so that the whole country for some miles on each side of the Firth of Forth is included.

Area. Most of Bw., Ce., Ed., Hd., Kr., Ll., and Pb., or in Scotch parlance the Lothians (Ll., Ed., Hd.) and Fife, whence Dr. Murray's name *Lothian and Fife*. The country included was the seat of government under the Scotch Kings, and was hence the centre of its English Literature.

Authorities. Dr. M.'s DSS. is very scanty on this dialect, because it furnishes "received Scotch," and is hence as well known to a Lowlander as "received English" to an Englishman. But I have made the best use I could of his scattered hints. Next I had 18 sentences for the Lothians and 4 for Fife from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709, at bottom. For the rest see Alphabetical County List under.

Bw. °Chirnside.

Ed. ||Edinburgh.

Hd. °Haddington.

Illustrations.

1. The es. for Edinburgh pal. by JAHM. from dictation of Mrs. C. Murray, a native, p. 683, No. 3. The Hd. cs., which was in io., is almost exactly the same word for word as the Ed. cs., and hence is not given.

2. Melville Bell's Lothian and Fife sentences.
3. The numerals 1 to 12 with 20 from Pb., Ed, Fi., compared with those from Rx. and Ab. from Melville Bell's *Visible Speech*.
4. The Chirnside dt.
5. A cwl. made up of the words thus obtained, and a wl. from Chirnside.

Characters. From these illustrations, especially the last, the following have been deduced.

A- generally (e, è, ee) or according to JAHM. (e') as (te'l, ne'l'm) tale, name. This is quite distinct from the (i') of D 33. There is no fracture in D 34.

A: regularly (a, à) and not (a) as in D 33, nor (AA).

A' regularly (e, ee) the same as A-, though (a, AA, o) are also heard, as (wha, whAA, tood, ròd) who, toad, road.

Æ- tends the same way as A-, as (fedher, weeter dee^l) father, water day.

Æ' is usually (ii), but there are many exceptions.

E' is normally (ii), as *he, me*, and not (éi) as in D 33.

EAL is usually (AA) as (AA, AALd, SAAt) all, old, salt.

EA', EO' normally (ii) with a few exceptions.

I' has two sounds (ái, éi) or (æ'i, E'i), informants differ. (éi) or (E'i) is used before voiceless consonants and mutes.

O' is regularly (yy) inclining to (y₁, ə), and varying as (iu, i) as (skəl, sy₁n, eníukh, fit) school, soon, enough, foot.

U: closed, is regularly (æ) as (græn, æp) ground, up.

U' is always (uu, ù) even in open syllables, and at the end of a word as (kuu, hùs) cow, house, thus differing from D 33.

Among the consonants there is only one form of (kh) used in all positions, (kjh, k^uh) are unknown. At Chirnside initial *ch* is pron. (sh), as (dher)z ez gy₁d shiiz i :shirset az waz ever shóud wi shafts) there is as good cheese in Chirnside as ever was chewed with jawbones. We have a similar usage at Chillingham, Nb., D 32, V v, p. 641.

Mr. Collette, a Fifeman, in Oct. 1880. informed me that he had often heard (aa)z for *I am* from Fife lads. But possibly it was only for *I shall*, which is common. It has however been heard as far north as Dumfries.

LOTHIAN SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH, CORRECTED AS THOSE IN D 33, p. 709.

Here (i₁, a¹, v) are used for (y, ah) and unaccented (ə).

LOTHIAN.

TRANSLATION.

1. hers'l i₁n ba' jər kripi
[kriipi], i₁n bers'l jər teez i₁t dhi
eq'l.

2. ee fikh ! kle'pshiirz 'n
golakhs !

3. dʒəst a¹ rek'l v stenz.

4. hooht, mən ! whæm'l)t æp !

5. sek neeri₁li₁ ne'pi₁tni₁s betz
AA dhi₁t i₁vər v hard o !

6. niver ky'li)z nee kenni₁s.

7. shə)z noo skremi₁t o kynzi
[kyni] bi₁t kana¹ bi fasht !

1. Hustle in by [push forward]
your creepy [stool] and warm your
toes at the angle [fire].

2. Ah faugh ! earwigs and clocks
[beetles].

3. Just a loose heap of stones.

4. Hout, man ! turn it up !

5. Such narrowly niggardness beats
all that ever I heard of ?

6. Never coax is no kindness.

7. She's not stingy of coin[money],
but cannot be bothered.

8. ɐl noo fɛkht ʒi beeth ɛt Jens,
bi₁t a₁l tak ʒi bi Jens₁z.

9. whar i i₁ gaan?

10. she₁z ɛ siv^l widi wamen.

11. ee^l sek a^l pit^l! t₁i sii dhi₁
wii bi₁t laami steket.

12. fre :demideks, dhi idher dee,
ti₁ :d₁pini :diinz ɛ ben^t mi wɛi,
bɛt dil^hhed kuhd aⁱ dɛə, ohr see,
bɛt—whes^l ɛ^lur dhi leev oh^t.

13. kanti karl [kerl] kɛm prii
mi₁ muu.

14. hee, mɛn! kaa dhi₁ ʒɛ^uz
ti₁ dhi₁ nɛ^uz.

15. wha whə^lput dhi₁ laadhi?
hiz fɛdher did wɔz^hd, tɛ mak i₁m
gaq t₁i dhi₁ skəl.

16. hu^uz aa wi i ɛt heem?
gɛiliz^h, thaqk ʒi fer spiirⁿ.

17. gaq ɛwaa^h, ladi, gee tɛ dhi₁
hohrs, see ɛ! ɛ! ɛn shuu i₁m bak
ɛgiⁿ.

18. ɛ braa shərt-gun aa d₁ɛ^upet
wi glaar.

8. I'll not fight you both at once, but
I'll take you by ones [one at a time].

9. Where are you going?

10. She's a civil widow woman.

11. Ah! such a pity! to see the
wee bit lambkin stuck.

12. From Dumbiedykes the other
day

To Jeanie Dean's I bent my way,
But devil^hhead [devil a bit] could
I do or say,

But—whistle over the leave [re-
mainder] of it.

13. Lively fellow, come prove
[make trial of] my mouth [= kiss me].

14. Heh, man! call thy ewes to
the knolls.

15. Who whipped the laddy? His
father indeed was^hit, to make him
go to the school.

16. How is all with you at home?
Gaily [very well], thank you for
speering [asking].

17. Go away, laddy, go to the
horse, say, cl'ck, cl'ck! and shoo
[scare] him back again.

18. A brave [smart] shirt-gown
[bodice] all besprinkled with mud.

FIFE SENTENCES FROM MELVILLE BELL'S VISIBLE SPEECH, CORRECTED AS THOSE IN D 33.

1. ɔd, dhi₁r)z twaa :wɛli
:wɛlisⁿz, ɛn twaa :rɔbi :rɔbisⁿz,
ɛn twaa :d₁jimi :d₁jimisⁿz, ɛn
twaa kɛt læget suuz.

2. ɛr ʒi ɛn, :d₁jini :wɛl^{ms}n?
—whət ɛr ʒi wanⁿ? di i no ken
ɛt's dhi₁ saabi^hth dee?—ɛm
wanⁿ a^l baabi warth ɛ saat ɛn
a^l peniwarth ɛ mæstərht, a^l len i
ɛr [ʒɛr] ket^l, ɛn a^l blaa i ɛr
[ʒɛr] beles, ɛn hiir)z mi₁ mɛdherz
mat₁ t^ll mɛni^hndee!

3. dhi₁r kɛntri kɛzⁿz ʒɛ kiⁿ.

4. ɔd)iv)i(ker)i)mii^h! sek ɛ
bleedherⁿ t₁il!

1. 'Od, there's two Willy William-
son's, and two Robby Robisons,
and two Jamie Jamiesons, and two
cut-lugged [crop-eared] sows.

2. Are you in, Jeanie Williamson?
What are you wanting? do you not
know it's the sabbath day? I'm
wanting a bawbeeworth of salt, and
a pennyworth of mustard, a loan of
your kettle, and a blow of your
bellows, and here's my mother's cap
till Monday.

3. They are country cousins you
know.

5. 'Od-have-a-care-of-me! such
a blethering chiel [fellow].

NUMERALS.

Mid L. compared with south and north L. numerals from Melville Bell's Visible Speech, where they had been written from the dictation of natives, 1, Peebles, D 34, from Mr. G. Elphinstone; 2, Midlothian, D 34, from Mr. Archibald Bell; 3, Fife, D 34, from Rev. D. S. Drysdale; 4, Teviotdale, D 33, from Dr. Murray; 5, Aberdeen, D 39, from Mr. J. Forrest.

	<i>one</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>four</i>	<i>five</i>	<i>six</i>	<i>seven</i>
1 <i>Peebles.</i>	Jen	twee	thrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks	siv'n
2 <i>Midlothian.</i>	Jen en	twōō	khrii	fa'ur	fa'v	seks saks	siv'n
3 <i>Fife.</i>	e'n	twAA	thrii	fæ'ur	fə'v	seks	siv'n
4 <i>Teviotdale.</i>	Jen	twee'	thréi	fóour	fáiv	seks	siv'n
5 <i>Aberdeen.</i>	in	twaa	thrii	fa'u'r	fa'v	sa'ks	séiv'n

	<i>eight</i>	<i>nine</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>eleven</i>	<i>twelve</i>	<i>twenty</i>
1	aa'kht	néin	teen	i'li·v'n	twəhl	twi'nti.
2	eekht	néin	ten'	i'li·v'n	twel	twi'nti.
3	ekht	ne'in	teen	eli·v'n	twel	twinti.
4	aakjht	néin	tæn'	i'li·v'n	twəhl	tunti.
5	akht	ne'in	ten	i·léiv'n	twal	twi'nti.

CHIRNSIDE (8 WNW.Berwick) dt.

Written by Rev. George Wilson, Free Church, Glenluce, or Old Luce (15 w-by-n. Wigton), and palaeotyped by A.J.E. from his explanations and notes. The dialect is "broad and slow."

1. See a *see*, niberz, i sii náu at a)m r'ikht abùt dhat lèt'l wànsh kāmín thre [fre] dhæ skyl dhoner.

2. shy'z gaq'n dùn dhæ ròd dheer thruu dhæ ríd jeet on dhæ w'raq séid o dhæ geet (rood).

3. shyyr eníukh dhæ beern'z geen strekht æp tæ dhæ door o dhæ w'raq hùs,

4. wheer shy'l jib'lz [me'bi] find dhat dræk'n dif wæz'nd fali at's kAAD [at dhæ kAA] :tam.

5. u AA kèn him vèrè wil.

6. wæ'na dhæ Aald sha'p syn lern ær noo tæ dy'd egen, pyyr theq!

7. sii! iz)na dhat truu? [iz dhat noo truu?].

e.MID LOWLAND cwl.

This is made up from the following sources:

E Edinburgh es. in introduction to L., No. 3, p. 683.

L. Lothian sentences from A. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected. The Lothians are the counties of Ll., Ed., Hd., respectively, w., m., and e.

F Fife, ditto.

C Chirnside wl. and dt. by Rev. G. Wilson.

M Words marked Central Scottish in Dr. Murray's wl., in his DSS., of which the parts for D 33 are given on p. 716. Possibly many of these words belong properly to D 35. Probably all the words in Dr. M.'s D 33 list, not here specially marked as different, have the same sound in D 33 and D 34.

The pron. of all these places is presumed to be practically identical, and as I have no means of discriminating them, I put them all together in one list, distinguishing the sources.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 L tak. 5 LE mak. — M te'n [taken]. 19 M te'l. 21 C neem. 25 M me'n. — C greet [roadway]. A: 39 E kām. 41 L thaqk. — C fan [fand, pt. of find]. 49 E hēq'n [hanging]. — L kana' [can't]. 51 E mān. 54 E wāt, F wān;in [wanting]. 56 C' wāash, E wāsh'n [washing]. A: or O: 58 E fe, C thre fe. 59 L laami. 60 M laq. 61 M ama'q. 62 M straq. 63 M thraq. 64 E rāq, MC w'raq. 65 M saq.

A'- 67 L gaq. [gæ imper.], LE gāan, C gaq'n [going]. 70 LC tee. 72 E whaa, L whā. 73 EC see, C soo. 74 EF twaa, C twee. 76 C tood. 77 M leerd [lord of the soil]. 79 E ee'n. 82 E jēns. 86 C jits. 87 EC kleez. 88 C kliid. 89 E bee'th, L beeth. 90 FC blaa. A': 102 E aks, C Aask. 104 C rōd. 110 E noo'. 111 C ookht. 113 E hee'l. 115 EL heem. 122 ii. E nee, L noo. 124 L sten. 125 E onli. 133 M w'ret. 134 E ee'th.

Æ- 138 ELC fedher. 144 L egy'n. 152 C weeter. Æ: 154 E bāk. 160 M eg. 161 E dee', FC dee. 164 E me. — M slekht [sleight]. 169 EC whan, E kichān, C whān. 173 E wyz. 174 C eesh. — M les [less]. 177 E dhat, L dhyt. 179 E kichet. Æ'- 182 M sii. 187 L leev. 189 C wii. 194 E oni. 195 E moni, C mani. 197 C shiiz. 200 C whiit. Æ': 204 L did [indeed]. 205 C thrid. 208 L iver. 214 E nee'dher. — F len [a loan]. 223 E dheer, C dheer. 224 E kicheer, EC wheer, L whar. 227 C wa't. 228 C swiit.

E- 232 C brik. 233 C spik, E spik'n [speaking]. 234 ne'd. 235 wiiv. 244 E wil. 248 E mee'r, C miir. 252 EF ket'l. — M set'l [settle]. E: 256 striket [stretcht]. 261 E see', LC see. — M bed [bed]. 262 E wee', C wēi. 263 L ewaa', C a'waa. 265 C strekht. 270 F i. belus. — M sel [sell]. 271 E tel. — M hem [hem]. 276 E the'qk. 278 C wānsh. — M send [send]. 281 E lenth. 287 C biz'm. 288 M let. — M best [best]. E'- 289 C ii. 290 M hii. 292 EM mii. 293 EM wii, C uu. E': 305 C hāi, M hekh hii [M (hiilan) highland]. 306 hekht. 312 E hiir, F hir. 314 EL hard.

EA- — L neerly [narrowly]. 320 E kee'r. EA: 321 E saa. 322 EM laakh, C laakh. 324 M akht. 326 EC aald. 330 E hād. 335 L aa. 338 ELC kaa. — F saat. 340 E jee'rd. 345 C daar. 346 C jet jeet. EA'- 347 C hiid. 348 M ii, E in [eyes]. — L bet. EA': 350 C diid. 352 C rid. 355 C diif. 357 C thoo. 359 E niber. 364 C sha'p. 366 C grit. 367 C thret. 368 C deeth. EI- 372 E ææ. EI: 378 C week.

EO- 386 L ja'u, C jāu. 387 E niuu. EO: 390 shəd. 394 E jonder, C dhoner. 395 E jaq. 399 E brekht. 402 C lern. 409 M bii. — M frii [tree]. — M k'ni. 411 E khrii [in the phrase twaakhrii two or three, i.e. a few], C thrii. — M trii [tree]. 412 C shii shy, L shē. 413 L dil. 414 M flii. — M flii [to flee]. 415 M lii. EO': 423 MC thi. 424 C rakh. 425 C likht. 426 MLC fekht. 427 M bii. 428 C sii. 435 EM juu [E (jir) your]. 436 C tru. 437 EC try'th. EY- 438 MEC dii. EY: 439 E trast.

I- 446 E nā'in. I: 452 E a', C a. 454 C watj. — L widi [widow]. 458 E nekht, M nekht. 459 C rōkht, M rekht. 460 C wekht, M wakht. 465 E sēk'n, L sek. 466 C shēild. — L yn, F en [in]. 477 C find. 480 EC theq. 482 E e's. 484 E dhe's. — L whas'l [whistle].

I'- 490 L ba'. M bii [by, agent]. 491 M sa'ikh sū. 492 C sēd. 494 E tā'im. — M pē'ip [pipe]. 497 M rā'iz. 498 M w'ra'it. — M blā'idh [blithe]. I': — M dā'ik. 500 E lā'ikli. 502 C fāiv. 503 lēf. 505

[M (wə'ivz) wives]. 506 LC wamen. 508 M mə'il. — M ra'im [rhyme]. 510 ii. ma'. 511 M wə'n.

O- 519 E ə'ur. 520 C bə'u. 524 C wərlɔt, E wərlɔ. O: 531 C dɔkhter, E dɔkhter. 535 E fə'uk. 536 M gɔud. 538 E wad wəd. — M hɔu [hollow]. — L nə'uz [knolls]. — L hɔhrs [horse]. O'- 555 C shy. 557 E tʃy. 559 E mɔdher. 560 L skɔl, C skɔl. 563 L mənɔndee. 564 C syn. 566 E ədher, L idher. O': 570 C tʃyk. 571 E gʃyd, EC gyd. 577 C buu. 578 C pləkh. 579 E eniəkh, C ɛniukh. 580 C tiukh. 586 EF di, L dɔə, [C (dy)d do it]. 587 E dyn. 588 E ɛtərnyn. 594 C byt. 595 C fit.

U- 602 MFC suu. 603 L kəm. 604 E se'mər. 605 C sən. 606 EC door. U: 616 E græn. 629 E sən. 631 E θarzdɛl. 632 C əp. 634 EC thruu. 635 F wərth. U'- 640 MC kuu. 641 EL huu. 643 ME nuu. 645 C duu. 646 M buu. 650 E ə'bùt, C ɛbùt. 651 E wəthùt. 652 L kùhd, C kyd. 653 C băt. U': 658 EC dùn. 663 EC hùs. 667 E ùt. 671 L muu

Y- 673 E mək'l. 674 E ded. 681 E be'znəs. 682 C lit'l lat'l. Y: — L kennys [kindness]. 697 C byri. 700 C waar. 701 C fərst fərst. Y'- 705 C skái. — M hə'id. Y': 709 M fə'ir, C féir. 712 M mə'is, C méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 L laadhi. 736 M las. E. — M pet [pet]. I. and Y. — L eq'l [ingle, fire] — L whə'pət [whipped]. O. — M pɔu [poll, head]. 790 L gun. U. 797 E skweekin. 798 E kuir. 804 EC drək'n. — E həri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 M fe's. 815 E fəks. 820 [L (gə'iliz) gaily]. — M pe'lɪn [paling]. 857 E kee's. 860 M pe'st. — rɛ't [rate]. 862 M se'f. 864 E bikə'z. — M haakhti. 866 C pyyr. E.. 867 E ti. — M derək [direct]. — M pelet [pellet]. — M pen [pen]. — M mend [mend]. — M sent [scent]. — M tent [tent]. — M vent [vent]. — M ventur [venture]. 885 E ve'ri. — pest [pest]. — M test [test]. — M restles [restless]. — M tekst [text]. I.. and Y.. — L sivil' [civil]. O.. 920 E pə'nt, M pe'nt. 925 E və'is. 935 M kɔntre. 938 E kɔrner. — M kuurd [coward]. 947 M be'il. 950 E səpər. 953 F kəz'n. — F məstərht [mustard]. 955 E dūt. — L priiv [prove, try]. — M buuel [bowel]. — M tuuel [towel]. U.. 961 M gruuel. — M truuel [trowel]. 963 E ku'əit. 969 EC shyyr. 970 E dʃyst, L dʃəst. — E bry't [brute].

D 35 = wML. = western Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Clydesdale.

Boundaries. Begin at the s. extremity of the CB. or Celtic Border in Scotland, and proceed along it as far as Glendouglas, between Lochs Long and Lomond. Then skirting first the w. and then the se. side of Loch Lomond to the b. of Sg., run e. across Sg. over the Campsie Hills to join the sharp angle at the w. of D 34, about 12 w. of the se. angle of Loch Lomond. Then go sse. to b. of Lk. near Kirkintilloch, Sg. Pursue the border of Lk. till it reaches Ay., and then cross Ay. to the w., s. of Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Ayr to the sea, separating the Ayrshire district of Kyle on the n. from that of Carrick in the s. Then by the sea coast to Bute again. Of course the b. across Ay. is not very distinct, and the pron. of the n. of this extensive district may be in several respects different from that in the s., which has most literary interest as the land of Burns.

Area. A narrow slip to se. of Ar., the s. of Bt., the n. of Ay., the e. and s. of Dm., Lk. and Rf.

Authorities. Mr. Melville Bell's Clydesdale sentences in his *Visible Speech*, corrected as for D 33 and 34, p. 709. Dr. Murray's notes and Ayrshire Ruth, p. 698, No. 2. Account of pron. in Kyle by Wm. Simson, schoolmaster in Cumnock, given on pp. 681-693 of Wm. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Air," Glasgow, 1811. The above are from printed books. The following are special communications. See Alphabetical County Index under the following names, where ¶ indicates systematic and informants' orthography.

Ay. °Coylton, ¶ Kilmarnock, °Ochiltree.

Lk. °Glasgow.

Rf. °Lochwinnoch.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "1. The Clydesdale dialect [D 35] is distinguished from that of Lothian [D 34] chiefly by its broader vowels. 2. The long (aa) especially is almost, if not quite, (aa) in (twaa, awaa, waak) two, away, wake. 3. It is heard also in the combination -and, where the *d* is regularly dropped, as (laan, haan) land, hand; so 4. (een, méin, fen) end, mind, find. 5. Long *i* becomes broad (ái), (wa'ivz, ba'id, sta'i) wives, bide, stay. 6. The (yy, əə) is scarcely labial (dee, tee, wee, or (dii, tii, wii), etc., being undistinguishable from (dee, tee, wee, or (dii, tii, wii). 7. Short *o* before a consonant has a tendency to be replaced by (a, a'), as in (pat, tap, stap, paritj, drap, banet, af, aft, hap, warlt) pot, top, stop, porridge, drop, bonnet, off, oft, hop, world. This change does not appear in the Early or Middle Scotch, and is probably of Celtic origin. In modern times it has gained a wide currency from being used by Burns in this dialect."

These characters shew the salient points of difference between the n. forms of D 35 and those of D 34. But a comparison of the cwl. already given for D 34 with that given below for D 35 will shew that they do not quite agree for the s. parts of D 35. To take each point separately, as I have numbered them, we find 1. that it is not quite possible to attach a meaning to 'broader vowels' generally; 2. that in the particular instances given, although they all occur in Dr. M.'s Ruth, yet at any rate (twa) is repudiated at Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), where (twee) is used, and that this form is also found at Coylton (5 e.Ayr), though (twaa) seems to have been also heard, as well as at Glasgow. I think the (aa) was due to Mr. Giffen, who represents s Rf. The (waak, wake) was heard by Dr. M. (DSS. p. 77, note) from some "Wast Cuintrie folk," when travelling, but the precise locality of the speaker is not given, and was probably not known. 3. (laan, haan) land, hand, occur at Coylton and Ochiltree, but Dr. M. gives (laan, haan) in D 33, which is nearly the same. I have not got the words for D 34, nor can I compare for *end, mind*, but *find* has the *d* at Chirnside, Bw. The omission of *d* after *n*, as in the pp., is so common that it scarcely becomes a character. 5. Long *i* = (ái) I have continually as "central Scottish" from Dr. M.'s lw., but perhaps he meant D 35 rather than D 34. My own accounts from s.D 35, as Coylton and Ochiltree, give (éi) or (Eí) generally, and (ái) before voiced

consonants, in fact the prevalence of (éi) is very conspicuous; my examples of (ǣi) are from Dr. M. 6. As to the pron. of (yy, ææ) as (ii, ee), this seems to belong to w.Lk. or Rf., that is, to Mr. Giffen, see notes to Tam o' Shanter below, especially v. 89, 122, 143, 183, but on the contrary (yy, ææ) are constantly given from Coylton and Ochiltree. 7. Here I have from Simson, quite independently of Dr. M. or Mr. Giffen, (drap, hap, stap, lapster) drop, hop, stop, lobster, but this use of (a) for O: does not seem to be the rule, on the contrary (o) is more frequent, as (hól, fók, bólt, stórm, kórñ, hòrn, krós) hole, folk, bolt, storm, corn, horn, cross. And Simson gives (a'u) which I cannot further analyse, but which may be (óu, ǣ'u) in (ha'up, fa'uk, ga'ud, ta'ul, ba'ul, ha'u, ha'um, ka'ult) hope, folk, gold, toll, bowl, hollow, holm, colt, where the diphthong is mainly due to a suppressed (l). For myself, I have not been able to ascertain any certain characters by which D 35 as a whole can be separated from D 34 as a whole. But then in these extensive districts there must be much local variety, some notion of which may be obtained from Mr. D. Patrick's Lochwinnoch, Rf., below, and also from the differences given in the cwl. below for the places there named.

Illustrations.

1. Dr. Murray's Ruth, chap. i., for Ay., has been already given in Introduction to Lowland, p. 698
2. Mr. Melville Bell's few Clydesdale sentences, immediately below.
3. Rev. Neil Livingston's dialect test from Coylton (5 e.Ayr) on next page.
4. Tam o' Shanter, from several sources, see the Introduction to it on next page.
5. Cwl. for all D 35, compiled from Dr. Murray's Ruth, and notes, Rev. Neil Livingston's Coylton wl., Mr. J. Alexander's Glasgow wl., Simson's Kyle, and Mr. David Patrick's valuable and complete wl. for Ochiltree.
6. Mr. D. Patrick's notes on Lochwinnoch, Rf.

The three principal wl. by Messrs. Livingston, Alexander, and Patrick, have been of great service to me. Mr. Patrick, who had special opportunities when young of becoming perfectly familiar with the dialects of Ochiltree and Lochwinnoch, took the greatest pains, by long notes and illustrations, to convey the sounds to me. The version of Tam o' Shanter has been executed with much care from several sources, and probably represents Burns's district as well as can be hoped. The notes explain the varieties.

MR. A. MELVILLE BELL'S CLYDESDALE SENTENCES, CORRECTED AS IN D 33, p. 709, at bottom.

CLYDESDALE.

TRANSLATION.

1. a)m gen ʔp dhí₁ :gal'vgí₁t
tə kəʊ ʔpí₁n :sani :makfe'rs'n.
2. wə)l et wər bred 'n bə;ər
dun dhv wə;ər.
3. maa' kəʊshəns! haq v be'ili!

1. I am going up the Gallowgate
to call upon Sandy (Alexander)
Macpherson.
2. Wi'll eat our bread and butter
down the water.
3. My conscience! hang a Baillie!

DISTRICT OF KYLE, Ayrshire, dt.,

Written in io. by Rev. Neil Livingston, Free Church Manse, Coylton (5 e. Ayr),
pal. by A.J.E. from the indications furnished.

1. *see a see, meets, ji sii nuu dhat a)m re'kht ebù't dhàt wii*
ge'rl kàmen fre dhe' skyy'l joner.

2. *shii)z gaan dùn dhe' rood dheer thruu dhe' rid jet on dhe'*
left haan séid o dhe' wéi.

3. *shyyr un'akh [un'akh] dhe' ween he'z geen strakht ap te*
dhe' door o dhe' raq hùs.

4. *whaar shi)l me)bi fe'n dhàt drak'n diif we'z'nt falo o dhe'*
neem o :tames.

5. *wi aa ken)um vera wil.*

6. *wə'ne dhe' aal tɔap shyy'n leern er noo tɔ dee)t egeen,*
pyyr the'q!

7. *lak, e'z)ne it truu?*

TAM O' SHANTER.

In this land of Burns (b. 25 January, 1759, in a small cottage near Ayr, d. 21 July, 1796), an attempt must be made to give the pron. of one of Burns's poems. But Burns is a very difficult writer to deal with. He is the typical modern Scotch poet, yet his writings are generally much more than half ordinary English. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 76) gives the following figures:—

	has different words,	of which the un-English are only
1. A man's a man for a' that	115	18
2. Duncan Gray	117	30
3. Auld Lang Syne	80	24
4. Scots wha hae	100	9
5. The Death of Poor Mailie	461	71
	873	152 = 17·88 p. cent.

"And yet," says Dr. M., "if a countryman of the poet were to recite these poems to a Southern audience, it is not too much to say that not more than three words in a hundred would be heard as the same as the English words with which they are identified in spelling."

And not only are the words chiefly English, but the construction is often merely English. "Scots wha hae," remarks Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 71 note), "is *fancy* Scotch—that is, it is merely the English 'Scots who have' spelled as Scotch. Barbour (1489) would have written 'Scottis at hes,' Dunbar (1475 or Douglas (1474–1522) 'Scottis quhilkis hes,' and even Henry Chatteris, in the end of the xvth century, 'Scottis quha hes.' . . . The vernacular is still 'Scots at hes,' which Burns apparently considered ungrammatical, and therefore shaped the words after an English model. Much of the contemporary Scotch is of this character; it is Scotch in spelling, English in everything else."

Now what was to be done with this English, in the disguise of Scotch or L. In 1848 Mr. Thomas Lang, now of Melbourne, Australia, but then resident at Kilmarnock, where Burns's poems were first published in 1786, and in a house built by one of Burns's heroes, Tom Samson, in sending me a phonetic transcript in the alphabet I then used (explained above in Part IV. p. 1183, adopted the principle of giving the English words in English Scotch (see D 33, p. 715), and the L. words in the local pron. Subsequently on the suggestion of the late

Mr. Carstairs Douglas (then a student at Glasgow, and subsequently a missionary in China), who, with a committee of six other Ayrshire students, carefully reviewed the version, he adopted local pronunciation throughout. The version was published by me in the *Phonetic Journal* for 1848, with a glossary and observations on pron. (pp. 145-152, and 227-229). It was submitted to several other Scotch gentlemen, and finally was pal. with corrections. Afterwards, in November, 1883, Mr. R. Giffen (the well-known statistician), a native of Strathavon (:streeth'n), Avondale (12 w. Lanark), who had revised Dr. Murray's Ayrshire Ruth, chap. i. DSS. p. 239, note 1, had the kindness to go over the whole with me, though he feared that long residence in the s. of England had taken off the edge of his memory of the pron. As thus revised and corrected I now present it as the best I have been able to accomplish. But I am still not satisfied, especially with the treatment of the English portion of the poem. In fact the poem would have to be rewritten to reduce it to vernacular L. of D 35. I have considered it best to follow "the original MS., reproduced by the Photo-Chromolith Process, with an Introduction by Moy Thomas, Esq.," and published by Adams & Francis, 59, Fleet Street, no date (but the MS. was written in 1790), with the exception of four lines following v. 142, here and usually omitted, and not given by Mr. Lang. This original has been printed by side of the pronunciation in smaller type, following its usage of spelling, capitals, and punctuation. The small capitals represent larger handwriting. The words in [] are alternatives written over the preceding word in the MS. The italic *o'*, verse 55, was accidentally omitted in the MS., when making an alteration of *laden wi'* into *wi lades o'*. In the following notes referring to the numbers of the lines, I have endeavoured to explain the varieties of pron. and the difficulties of meaning.

:tam o :shanter.

when tɹapmen bɪlɪz liiv dhv strit,
 ɛn druthi nibɛrz nibɛrz mit.
 az market deez er wiɪren let
 ɛn fok biɡɪn tɛ tak dhv ɡet :
 whéil wi sɪt buuzɛn at dhv napi,
 ɛn ɡetɛn fuu ɛn æqkɛ hapi,
 wi thɪŋk)ne on dhv laq :skɔts méilz,
 dhv mɔsɪz, watɛrz, slaps, ɛn stéilz,
 dhɪt láɪ bitwin ɛs an ur hɛm,
 whar sɪts ur salki sɛlɛn dem,
 ɡedhrɛn hɛr bruuz léik ɡedhrɛn storm,
 nærsɛn hɛr rath tɛ kip ɪt wɛrm.

dhe's truth fan onest :tam o :shanter
 az hii fre :eer jee ne'kht did kanter,
 (aal :eer wham niir v tun sɛrpa:sɛz.
 far onest mɛn, ɛn bɔni la:sɛz).
 o :tam ! hadst dhuv bɛt bin sɛ wéɪs
 az tɛɛn dhái ɛɛn wéif :keets advéɪs !
 shi taal dhi wil dhu wɛz a skɛ'lem
 a blɛdhɛn, blæstɛn, dræk'n blɛ'lem,
 dhɛt frɛɛ novɛmbɛr tɪl :ɔktɔɔbɛr
 jee market deɛ dhu wɛz)ne soobɛr ;
 dhɛt ilkɛ mɛldɛr wiɪ dhv mɪlɛr,
 dhu sat az laq az dhuv had sɪlɛr ;
 dhɛt ɛvrɪ nɛɡ wɛz kaad a shyy on,
 dhv smɪth ɛn dhii ɡat roorɪn fuu on ;
 dhɛt at dhv :lɔordz hus in on :sɛndɛ,
 dhu draɔk wi :kert'n :dʒɪn tɪl mɛndɛ.

TAM O' SHANTER—A tale.

WHEN chapmen billies leave the street,
 And drouthy neebors, neebors meet ; 2
 As market-days are wearing late,
 And folk begin to take the gate ; 4
 While we sit bousing at the nappy,
 And getting fou, & unco happy, 6
 We think na on the lang Scots miles,
 The mosses, waters, slaps & styles, 8
 That lie between us & our hame,
 Where sits our sulky, sullen dame, 10
 Gathering her brows like gathering storm,
 Nursing her wrath to keep it warm.— 12
 This truth fand honest TAM O' SHANTER,
 As he frae Ayr ae night did canter : 14
 (Auld Ayr whom ne'er a town surpasses,
 For honest Men, & bonnie lasses). 16
 O Tam ! hadst thou but been sae wise,
 As taen thy ain wife KATE's advice 18
 She tauld thee weel thou was a skellum ;
 A bletherin, blusterin, drunken blellum : 20
 That frae November till October,
 Ae market day thou was na sober : 22
 That ilka melder, wi' the Miller
 Thou sat as lang as thou had siller : 24
 That every naig was ca'd a shoe on,
 The Smith & thee gat roarin fou on 26
 That at the L—d's house, even on Sunday,
 Thou drank wi' Kirkton Jean till Monday.—

shi prōfesaid, dhat leet ar shyn
dhu wad bi fan dip drund in :dyn,
ar katjt wi waarleks ii dhe merk
bi :a'lowuz aal hantid kerk.

aa! djent'l demz! it garz mi grit
te thiik hu man'i kuns'lz swit,
huu man'i lenth'nd seedi advé'sez
dhe hazben fre dhe wéif despáizuz!

bæt tyi, wer teel:—Jee market
ne'kht,

:tam had got planted anke re'kht,
fast báí an iq'l, bliizin féinli,
wi riimen swats, dhat draqk divéinli;
and at hiz Elbe, suter :djoni,
hiz anshent, trasti, druthi króni:—
:tam lyyd him léik a vara bridher;
dhee had bin fuu far wiks dhigi'dher!
dhe ne'kht dreev on wi saqz an
klater,

en éi dhi jel wəz grə'uən bəter:
dhi lanladi en :tam gru greeshəs,
wi siikret feeverz, swit en preshəs,
dhe suter taald hiz kwiirest storez,
dhe lanlerdz lakh wəz redi kores:
dhe storm adhu't me'kht reer en rəs'l—
:tam didyne méin dhe storm a whəs'l.

:keer mad te sii a man se hapi,
in drund himse'l ama'q dhe napi!
az biiz fli heem wi leedz o trezher,
dhe min'its wiqd dher wéi wi plezher.
kəqz me bi blest, bæt :tam wəz glō'riəs
or aa dhi ilz o léif viktō'riəs.

bæt plezherz ar léik popiz spred,
ju siiz dhe fluur, its bluum iz shed;
ar léik dhe snaa, fa'z in dhe river,
a mōment whéit—dhen melts far
ever;

ar léik dhe borià'lis rees
dhat flit iir juu kan péint dher pləs,
ar léik dhe reenbooz ləvli form,
iva'nishin amē'd dhe storm.

ne man kan tedher téim ar téid.
dhe uur aprotjez :tam mən réid.
dhat uur, o ne'khts blak eertj dhe kii-
steen,

dhat drii'ri uur hi mants hiz biist in.
an sīk a ne'kht hi tuk dhe rood in.
az niir pyi'r sīner wəz abroad in.

dhe wən bluu az t)wəd bla'n its last;
dhe ratlin shuurz rooz on dhe blast;

She prophesied, that, late or soon,
Thou wad be found, deep drown'd in Doon; 30
Or catch'd wi' warlocks in the mirk,
By Alloway's auld, haunted Kirk.— 32

Ah, gentle dames! it gars me greet,
To think how many counsels sweet, 34
How many lengthen'd, sage advices,
The husband frae the wife despises! 36

But to our Tale: ae market night,
Tam had got planted unco right; 38

Fast by an ingle, bleezin finely,
Wi' reaming swats that drank divinely: 40

And at his elbow, Souter Johnie,
His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony; 42

Tam lo'ed him like a very brither,
They had been fou for weeks thegither.— 44

The night drave on wi' sangs & clatter,
And ay the ale was growing better: 46

The landlady & Tam grew gracious,
Wi' secret favors, sweet & precious: 48

The Souter tauld his queerest stories;
The Landlord's laugh was ready chorus 50

The storm without might rair & rustle,
Tam didna mind the storm a whistle.— 52

Care, mad to see a man sae happy,
E'en drown'd himsel amang the nappy: 54

As bees flee hame, wi' lades o' treasure,
The minutes wing'd their way wi' pleasure:

Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
O'er a' the ills o' life victorious! 58

But Pleasures are like poppies spread,
You sieze the flower, its bloom is shed; 60

Or like the snow, falls in the river,
A moment white, then melts for ever; 62

Or like the Borealis' race,
That flit ere you can point their place; 64

Or like the rainbow's lovely form,
Evanishing amid the storm: 66

Nae man can tether Time or Tide,
The hour approaches Tam maun ride; 68

That hour, o' Night's black arch the key-
stane,

That dreary hour Tam mounts his beast in;
And sic a night he took the road in,
As ne'er poor Sinner was abroad in.— 72

The wind blew as 'twould blawn its last,
The rattling showers rose on the blast, 74

dhe spidi glimz dhe daarknes swaled,
luud, dip, an la'q dhe thæner beled.
dhāt ne'kht a tjeild me'kht ænerstaan
dhe dil had biznes on hiz haan !

wil mented on hiz gree miir, :meg,
e beter never liftid leg,
:tam skelpit on thruu dæb an mair,
dispai:zen wæn, an reen, an fair,
whéilz hadin fast hiz gyd bluu banet,
whéilz kryynin æ'ur en aal :skots
sonet ;

whéilz gla'urin run wi aqshes keerz,
lest bog'lz katj him ænaweerz ;
:ke'rk :alowe wæz draa'in nai,
whar geests an hulets ne'khtli kraí.

bái dhe's téim hii wæz kros dhe
fyyrd,

whaar in dhe snaa dhe tjamæn
smyyrd ;

an past dhe be'rks an mik'l steen,
whaar drak'n :tjeerli brak)s nek been ;
an thruu dhe whænz, an bái dhe keern,
whaar hænters fan dhe mærdærd beern ;
an niir dhe thorn abyn dhe wæl,
whaar :mæ'qæz midher haqd herse'l.
bifoor him :dyn poorz aa hiz fædz,
dhe dæblen storm roorz thruu dhe
wædz ;

dhe lekhtninz flash fre pool tæ pool,
niir an moor niir dhe thænerz rool,
whæn glimren thruu dhe groonen triiz
:ke'rk :alowe simd in a bliiz,
thru ilke boor dhe bimz wæ glansen,
an lud risu'nit me'rth an dansen !

inspáir'in baal :djon :barlikorn !
what deendjerz dhuu kanst mak æs
skorn !

wi tipeni wi fir nee iiv'il,
wi æskwibee wi'l fees dhe diivil !
dhi swats se riimd in :tamiz nod'l,
feer plee, hi keerd)ne dila a bod'l.
bat :magi styd re'kht seer astornisht,
tel bái dhe hiil an haan admonisht
shi venterd farwerd on dhe le'kht :
an, wæ'u ! :tam saa an æqke se'kht !
waarleks an wætpiz in a dans—
ne kotiljorn brent níuu fre :frans,
bat haarnpéips, dyigz, straspéi:z an
riilz,
pat léif an met'l in dhe'r hiilz.

The speedy gleams the darkness swallowed,
Loud, deep, & lang, the thunder bellowed : 76

That night a child might understand
The deil had business on his hand.— 78

Weel mounted on his grey meare, Meg,
A better never lifted leg, 80

Tam skelpit on thro' dub and mire,
Despising wind, & rain, & fire ; 82

Whiles holding fast his gude blue bonnet ;
Whiles crooning o'er an auld Scots sonnet, 84

Whiles glowering round wi' anxious cares,
Lest bogles catch him unawares : 86

Kirk-Alloway was drawing nigh,
Where ghaists & houlets nightly cry.— 88

By this time he was cross the ford,
Where in the snaw the chapman smoor'd ; 90

And past the birks, & meikle stane,
Where drunken Charlie braks neck-bane, 92

And thro' the whins, & by the cairn,
Where hunters fand the murder'd bairn ; 94

And near the thorn, aboon the well,
Where Mungo's mither hang'd hersel.— 96

Before him Doon pours all his floods ;
The doubling storm roars thro' the woods ; 98

The lightnings flash frae pole to pole ;
Near, & more near, the thunders roll : 100

When, glimmering thro' the groaning trees,
Kirk-Alloway seem'd in a bleeze, 102

Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing,
And loud resounded mirth and dancing.—104

Inspiring, bold John Barleycorn !
What dangers thou canst make us scorn ! 106

Wi' tippeny, we fear nae evil ;
Wi' usquabae, we'll face the devil ! 108

The swats sae ream'd in Tammie's noddle,
Fair play, he car'd na deils a boddle ; 110

But Maggy stood, right sair astonish'd,
Till, by the heel & hand admonish'd, 112

She ventur'd forward on the light,
And, wow ! Tam saw an unco sight. 114

Warlocks & witches in a dance,
Nae cotillon brent new frae France, 116

But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys, & reels,
Put life and mettle in their heels.— 118

a wənək bəqker in dhi ist
dhe'r sat aal :n'ik, in sheep o bist;
a tuuzi téik, blak, grim en leerd,
tə gii dhēm myyzik wəz hiz tjeerd,
hi skruud dhē pēips en gert dhēm
ske'rl,

tīl ryf en rāfterz aa de'd de'rl.

kofinz styd run, léik op'n presiz,
dhat shaad dhē did in dhe'r last dresiz.
an báí sām diivlish kantrip sle'kht,
itj in its kaald haan haad a le'kht.
bái whattj hiroo'ik :tam wəz eeb'l
tə noot op'n dhē heeli teeb'l,
a mædrerz beenz in djiβet eernz;
twee span-laq, wii, ænkris'nd beernz;
a thif nū-kætīd fre a reep,
wii hiz last gasp hiz gab de'd geep;
fáiv tomahawks, wi bly'd rid ræstīd,
fáiv simitarz, wi mærdēr kræstīd;
a geerter whattj a beeb had straq'lt;
a náif, a feedherz throat had maq'lt,
wham hiz een sən o léif bire'ft,
dhē gree heerz jet stak tyg dhē heft,
wi meer o horib'l an aafe,
whattj in tə neem wad bii ænlaa-fe.

az :tami gla'urd ameezd an kyyries,
dhē me'rth an fæn gru fast an fy'yries:
dhē péiper lud an luder bluu,
dhē danserz kwik an kwiker fluu,
dhē riilt, dhē set, dhē króst, dhē klikit,
tīl ilke keerlīn swat an rikit,
an kyst her dædiz on dhē wark!
an liqkit at it in her seerk!

nu :tam, oo :tam! had dhee bin
kwinz,

aa plæmp an strapin in dhe'r tinz,
dhe'r seerks, instid o kriishi flān'n
bin snaa-whéit siiv'ntin hæner līn'n!
dhe'r briks o méin, máí onli peer,
dhat jins wer plæsh, o gyd blu heer,
ái wad he gin dhēm af máí hærdiz,
far jee bliqk o dhē boni bærdiz!

bæt wíðherd beldemz, aal an drol,
rigwæddi hagz, wad spen a fol,
læ'upen an fligēn on a kramək
ái wænər, de'd)ne tærn dhái stamək.

bæt :tam kent what wəz what fu
braali,
dhe'r wəz jee wənsəm wensh an
waali,

A winnock-bunker in the east,
There sat auld Nick in shape o' beast: 120

A towzie tyke, black, grim, & large,
To give them music was his charge: 122

He screw'd the pipes & gart them skirl,
Till roof & rafters a' did dirl.— 124

Coffins stood round, like open presses,
That shaw'd the Dead in their last dresses;

And by some devilish cantraip sligat,
Each in its cauld hand held a light.— 128

By which heroic Tam was able
To note upon the haly table; 130

A murderer's banes, in gibbet-airns;
Twa span-lang, wee, unchirsten'd bairns; 132

A thief, new-cuttet frae a rape,
Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape; 134

Five tomahawks wi' blude red-rusted;
Five scymitars wi' murder crusted; 136

A garter which a babe had strangled;
A knife a father's throat had mangled, 138

Whom his ain son of life bereft,
The gray-hairs yet stack to the heit: 140

Wi' mair of horrible & awfu',
Which even to name wad be unlawfu'.—142

As Tammie glowr'd, amaz'd & curious,
The mirth & fun grew fast & furious; 144

The Piper loud & louder blew,
The Dancers quick, & quicker flew, 146

They reel'd, they set, they cross'd, they cleekit,
Till ilka Carlin swat & reekit, 148

And coost her duddies on the wark,
And linket at it in her sark.— 150

Now Tam! O Tam! had thae been queans,
A' plump & strappin in their teens! 152

Their sarks, instead o' creeshie flainen,
Been snaw-white, seventeen-hunder linen:

Thir breeks o' mine, my only pair,
That ance were plush o' gude blue hair, 156

I wad hae gien them off my hurdies,
For ae blink o' the bonie burdies, 158

But wither'd beldams, auld & droll,
Rigwoodie hags, wad spean a foal, 160

Loupin & flingin on a crummock,
I wonder did na turn thy stomach.— 162

But Tam kend what was what fu' brawlie;
There was ae winsome wench & walie, 164

dhat ne^lkht enli^sted in dhe koor,
 (laq efter kent on :karik shoor!
 far mani a biist te did shi shot,
 an perisht mani a boni bot,
 an shuk beeth mik'l korn an biir,
 an kept dhe kintra séid in fiir).
 her kati seerk, o :peesli harn,
 dhàt whéil a lasi shii had worn,
 in londjityd thoo seerli skanti,
 it waz her bést, an shii waz vanti.—
 aa! lit'l thokht dhái reevrend grani,
 dhàt seerk shi koft far her wii :nani,
 wi twee pen :skots (t-waz aa her
 ritjiz)

shud ever greest a dans o watjiz!

bæt hiir mái myyz her wiq man
 kuur,
 sík fle^lkhts ar far bijont her puur,
 te siq huu :nani lap an flaq
 (a sup'l djaad shi waz an straq),
 an huu :tam styd, léik jen biwatjt
 an thokht hiz vāri in enri^tjt,
 in :saatan glā'urd an fidjd fu feen,
 an hotjt an blyy wi me^lkht an meen,
 tīl fārst jee keeper, séin anⁱdher,
 :tam tint hiz riiz'n aa dhigiⁱdher,
 an roorz ut: "wil dyn, :kati :seerk!"
 an in an instent aa waz daark:
 an skeersli had hi :magi ralid,
 when ut dhe helish liidjen salid.

az biiz be'z út wi aqri féik,
 whan plānren herdz aseel dhe'r béik,
 az op'n pusiz mortal fooz
 whan, pop! shi steerts bifoer dhe'r
 nooz,

az iiger rinz dhe market krud
 whan "katj dhe thif" risuunz alu'd;
 see :magi rinz, dhe watjiz fale
 wi mani an eldritj skriitj an hole.

aa :tam! aa :tam! dhuu)l get dhái
 ferin!

in hel dhee)l rost dhii léik a herin!
 in veen dhái :keet awets dhái kámen!
 :keet shyn wil bii a weefe wámen!
 nuu, dy dhái spidi atmæst, :meg,
 an wan dhe kii-sten o dhe bre^lg;
 dheer at dhem dhuu dhái teel mee tos,
 a rinēn striim dhe daar)ne kros!
 bæt iir dhe kii-sten shii kəd mak,
 dhe fiint a teel shi had te sheek!

That night enlisted in the core,
 (Lang after kend on Carrick-shore, 166

For mony a beast to dead she shot,
 And perish'd mony a bonie boat, 168

And shook baith meikle corn & bear,
 And kept [held] the Country-side in fear:)

Her cutty-sark o' Paisly harn,
 That while a lassie she had worn, 172

In longitude tho' sorely scanty,
 It was her best, & she was vauntly.— 174

Ah, little thought thy reverend grannie,
 That sark she coft for her wee Nannie, 176

Wi' twa pund Scots, ('twas a' her riches,)
 Should ever grac'd a dance o' witches! 178

But here my Muse her wing maun cour,
 Sic flights are far beyond her power; 180

To sing, how Nannie lap & flang,
 (A souple jad she was, & strang;) 182

And how Tam stood, like ane bewitch'd,
 And thought his very een enrich'd; 184

Even Satan glowr'd, & fidg'd fu' fain,
 And hotch'd, & blew wi' might & main: 186

Till, first ae caper, syne anither,
 Tam lost his reason a' thegither, 188

And roars out—"Weel done, Cutty-sark!"
 And in an instant all was dark: 190

And scarcely had he Maggie rallied,
 When out the hellish legion sallied.— 192

As bees bizz out, wi' angry fyke,
 When plundering herds assail their byke; 194

As open Pussie's mortal foes,
 When, pop, she starts before their nose; 196

As eager runs the market-croud,
 When, "catch the thief!" resounds aloud;

So Maggy runs, the witches follow,
 Wi' mony an eldritch skriech & hollo.— 200

Ah, Tam! Ah, Tam! thou'll get thy
 fairin!

In hell they'll roast thee like a' herrin! 202

In vain, thy Kate awaits thy comin!
 Kate soon will be a woefu' woman! 204

Now, do thy speedy utmost, Meg,
 And win the key-stane o' the brig; 206

There, at them thou thy tail may toss,
 A running stream they dare na cross; 208

But ere the key-stane she could make,
 The fient a tail she had to shake! 210

far :nani, far bifoar dhi rest,
 hard æpe noob'l :magi prest,
 an flu at :tam wi fyryæs et'l,
 bæt lit'l wæst shi :magiz met'l—
 Jee spriq brokht af her meester
 heel,
 bæt left bihi'nt—her een gree teel!
 dhi keerlin klaakht her bái dhe
 ræmp,
 an left pyyr :magi skeers a stæmp.
 nuu, whee dhe's teel o tryth shæl
 rid,
 ælk man an midherz sæn, tak hid :
 whaniir te driqk ji er inklei'nt,
 ar kati-seerks rin in juur méin,
 thiqk, ji me bái dhe djoiz æ'ur
 diir—
 rime'mber :tam o :shanterz miir!

For Nannie, far before the rest,
 Hard upon noble Maggie prest, 212
 And flew at Tam wi' furious ettle,
 But little kend [wist] she Maggie's
 mettle; 214
 Ae spring brought off her master hale,
 But left behind her ain grey tail: 216

The Carlin claught her by the rump,
 And left poor Maggie scarce a stump.—

Now, wha this Tale o' truth shall
 read,
 Each Man, and Mother's son take
 heed. 220

Whene'er to Drink you are inclin'd
 Or Cutty-sarks rin in your mind, 222
 Think, ye may buy the joys o'er dear,
 Remember Tam-o'-Shanter's meare.

Notes to Tam o' Shanter.

The references are to the lines. For brevity TL means Mr. T. Lang, and RG Mr. R. Giffen.

1. *when* (whæn) acc., (whæn) unacc. RG.—*chapman billies*, pedlars; 'chapman' is like the German *Kaufmann*, a trader of any sort, 'billies' used for young fellows, in a good sense.—RG. pron. all his close *a* as (a¹) or even (æ). This was probably due to English habits, and I have not followed it.—*street*, RG. pron. (strit) quite short, not medial, and this was his general habit before voiceless consonants, and as this could not be an English infection, I follow it.

2. *droughty*, thirsty, *neighbours*. RG. pron. something like (dry₁thi), but I leave the (u).

3. *wearing*, RG. kept (ii, r) quite pure, with no glide between. The *-ing* of the part. and vb. noun he did not distinguish, but made (-un) in both cases, compare 103–104 (glansen, dansen), the first a part., the second a verbal noun. It will be observed that Burns himself constantly wrote *-ing* for both participle and noun.

4. *take the gate*, that is, take the street, or leave their shops, *gate* as a doorway is (jet).

5. *while*, RG. objected that this is not L., though *whiles* 83, 84, 85, is so, perhaps (æz) as would be L.—

drinking or tipping at the ale, 'nappy' is said to be ale with a head, *nap*.

6. *unco*, very, according to Jamieson, properly 'uncouth,' i.e. unknown.

7. *Scots* always, not (:skotj).—*miles*, RG. did not pron. (éi), but rather (á'i, æ'i), and, except in the one word *knife*, which he called (náif), always used this sound even before voiced letters, as in *five*. This may have been acquired in England. On the other hand TL. always distinguished (éi, ái) as he wrote them; just as in English Greek we distinguish *ei*, *ai*, the first as the London *i* long, and the second as the Midland or German *ei*.

8. *slap*, a narrow pass between two hills.—*stile*, which RG. did not know, is used as a gap or gangway between walls in the n. of England.

10. *gathering*, or knitting, *her brows*, RG. thought that the original was (niten her bry₁z), but it is not so in the facsimile of the MS.; as to (bry₁) as in (dry₁th) v. 2, I may have mistaken RG.'s intention, as he did not use (y) where it was expressed, see v. 29; and here (y₁) seems improbable, so that I have preserved TL.'s (uu).

12. *wrath* is a school or Bible word only.

13. *this*, RG. said (dhis), not (dhe's), see cwl. p. 744, No. 484, but I retain (e¹) here and elsewhere.—*truth*, I think RG. said (tryth), but it may have been (trith), see cwl. p. 744, No. 437.

14. *night*, TL. wrote (néikht) in all these words, but I think he merely implied, with Mr. Carstairs Douglas, that the vowel was between (e) and (i) as in Mr. Patrick's (e¹) in the cwl. p. 744, No. 458, which I retain.

15. *whom*, an Anglicism, the (wham) being like (wha) in *Scots wha hae*; (dhut, ez) would be vernacular, p. 731c.

16. *bonny*, RG. used full medial (ô), almost long (oo), TL. wrote and said (booni) like our English *bony*, which however would have been (beeni) to a Lowlander.

17. *hadst thou*, this was a mere poetic fancy, *thou* is not used at all in the district, and RG. corrected to (had juu), but as *thou* occurs in the MS. I keep it here and elsewhere; it must however be remembered that it was not vernacular.—*wise*, observe final (s), not (z), see p. 744, No. 515.

19. *well* (wil) as the adv. in both senses, (wæl) as the noun.—*skellum*, a worthless fellow.

20. *a blethering*, boasting, *blustering*, *drunken idler*.

22. *one*, thou wast not sober a single market day.

23. *each*.—*melder*, properly the quantity of corn sent at one time for grinding, here used for the grinding time.

25. *every nag that was driven a shoe on*, that had a shoe driven (kaad) on it. *shoe* is so written by Burns, who makes it rhyme with *fou*, and hence meant it for (shuu), and so Mr. Livingston gives it at Coylton, but Mr. Patrick at Ochiltree has (shææ, shee), the latter being common and given by RG., see p. 744, No. 555.

26. *roaring*, (roo·ren) is more common, but (reeren) was known to RG. Burns writes *roarin* here, but *rair* v. 51.—*fou*, spelled *fow* in Jamieson, =full, drunk, not connected with Fr. *fou*, mad.

28. *Kirkton Jane* is supposed to be the landlady—Jane of Kirkton, the church town, name of a village in parish of Kilmaurs, near Kilmarnock.—*Monday*, RG. had heard (manendæ), but it was not common.

29. *soon*, Burns evidently meant (sun :dun), as he writes *soon*, *Doon*, but

TL. and others gave (shyn). RG. had (sin), Ochiltree gave (shə'n), but often (shin), and Coylton had (syyn), see p. 745, No. 564. RG. continually uses (i, ee) for (y, yy) or (æ, ææ) of others, apparently a local peculiarity, see DSS. p. 239, l. 5.

30. The Doon rises in Loch Enoch, Kb., and passes thirty miles to nw. through Loch Doon, Ay., then along the Carrick b. by Dalmellington, Alloway Kirk, the Old Bridge, and Burns's Monument to the sea, 2 s. Ay.

31. *warlocks*, wizards or male witches.—*mirk*, darkness. TL. used (er) in this and similar words, C. Douglas used (ir), perhaps (e¹) is best.

33. *it makes me weep*.

35. *lengthened*, TL. (lēqth'nd), all the rest (lēnth'nd).

36. *husband*, without the (d) if used at all, but RG. had not heard it.

37. *but to our tale*, RG. as usual said (tee), but (tyy, tææ, tuu) may be heard; (wær) *our*, is used only when unaccented.

39. *ingle*, the fire itself, *ingle nook* is the fireside.

40. *reaming*, creaming, frothy, Ws. réam, cream.—*swats*, newly-brewed ale.

41. *souter*, cobbler, Latin *sutor*.

42. *ancient*, TL. wrote (eenshent).

46. *ale*, the (j) is not prefixed to Ailsa Craig.—*better*, (bæ;ær), with the catch (;) for (t), is also heard. Compare (wan; 'n) wanting, p. 725, No. 2, and (bæ;ær) butter, p. 730, No. 2, also p. 743, Nos. 152, 154.

47. *landlady*, though (laan) land, is said, in landlord, landlady, which are not L. words, (lan) is used.

49. *told*, (d) not to be omitted, RG.

51. *storm*, generally applied to a snow storm, hence RG. thinks (wæn) wind, here and in 52, would be better.—*without*, not (widhu t), but (ædhu·t), RG.—*roar*, here Burns wrote *rair*, and TL. (reer), but none of the C. Douglas committee had heard anything but (roor), and *oar*, Ws. ár, is called (oor). The storm without might roar and rustle.

52. *Tom didn't mind the storm a farthing*; a *quhissel*, *whissle*, *wissel*, German *Wechsel*, change, small change, any coin, however small; 'gone to pigs and whistles' means gone to potsherd and small change, *pig* being the common word for an earthen pot.

54. *among*, RG. says (ema·q) is

emphatic, and (eməˈq) would be used here.

55. *As bees fly home with loads of treasure*; the *of* was accidentally omitted in the MS. when the first writing *laden wi' treasure* was intended to be altered to *wi' lades o' treasure*. The (trezher, plezhər) are suspicious to me, but RG. was certain the last was right, and thought the first was also, and none of the others objected, though the forms must be very modern, compare (plizer, træzer) in D 33, pp. 719c, 720b. The whole passage 53–66 is quite English.

54, 55. *glorious victorious*, English words, the vowel modern.

56. *way*, TL. (wee), in Dr. M.'s Ruth (wə'i), in the cwl. (wei), p. 743, No. 262.

60. *flower*, TL. gave (fləʊr), the cwl. has (fluur), p. 746, No. 893.

61. *river* as a foreign word is apt to be quite (riiˈvər).

62. *or like the snow*, [which] *falls* in the river, a moment white, then melts for ever. The editions read:

Or like the snow-falls in the river

A moment white, then melts for ever,

in which case the plural subject *snow-falls* relates to the singular verb *melts*, which cannot be right. Also if the *snow-falls* were already in the river, they would not be white at all. In the MS. a comma, not a hyphen, is placed between *snow* and *falls*. The sense is then perfect, though the construction is rather harsh; compare a similar one in v. 160.

64. *point*, like my *pint*, never like *point*.

66. *evanishing*, an ultra-foreign word.

68. the hour approaches Tom *must* ride, (maʌn) emphatic.

70. *mounts*, TL. wrote (mæʊnts), C. Douglas corrected.

72. *poor sinner*, RG. pron. (peer sener). Ochiltree gave (pær), Coylton (pyr), and both had (sin), p. 746, No. 866.

73. The wind blew as [if] it would [have] blown its last, see v. 178.

77. *child*, as this is not L., RG. suggested (ween) wean.

79. *grey mare*, (miir) is regular N. and L. form, the (ee) in the s. seems to be a remnant of Ws. *mere*.

81. Tom jogged on at a shaking pace through pool (dæb) and mire.

83. *holding*.

84. *an old Scotch sonnet*, so the MS.,

the editions read *some*, etc., perhaps a later correction; *crooning* is singing over in a low humming tone, properly applied to the hollow moaning of a bull.

85. *anxious*, so the MS., the editions have *prudent*.

88. *howlet* for *owlet*, this is also found in English, the (h) is adventurous.

88, 90. *ford smored*, TL. gave (fyyrd smyyrd), and the cwl. agrees, but RG. read (feerd smeerd) as he generally replaces (æ, yy) by (ee). This seems to be peculiar to his own locality, 10 w. Lanark, see note on v. 29.—*smored* is smothered.

93. *whins*, greenstones, the name given to trap, etc., ragstones or toadstones.—*cairn*, heap of stones.

95. *thorn*, 'tree' simply was first written.—above the well.

96. *Mungo*, a common Scotch first name, after St. Mungo. Compare the living of St. Mungo at Glasgow, and Mungo Park, the African traveller.

97. *before*, RG. prefers *afore*.—*floods*, so RG., the cwl. p. 745, No. 573, has (flyyd).

98. *woods*, TL. had (wudz), which can hardly be right. Dr. Murray's cwl. p. 718, after No. 599, has (wædz), which is true to analogy.

102. *seemed* is not Scotch, RG. preferred *looked* (lækt).

103. *bore*, hole, crack.

104. *loud*, *resounded*, that is, if the words follow analogy.

105. *bold*, without the (d).

106. *twopenny*, ale at 2d. a pint.—*civil* and *devil* have the last (i) distinct.

107. *usquebaugh* or *whiskey* (whaskə), from Gaelic *uis ge-beathar* (ushge-bi-a) water of life, *eau de vie*, distilled from malt, and hence one of the products of John Barleycorn.

110. *devil a farthing*, the *boddle* was a Scotch coin value 2d. Scotch, or ½d. English, and is said to derive its name from a mintmaster called Bothwell (:bødhl). RG. said (nød'l bød'l), which are English corruptions.

113. *forward*, RG. said (fərit).

114. *wow!* in the MS., an exclamation, not related to *vow*, which I find in the printed copies.

117. *strathspeys*, quick highland dances. I take TL.'s pronunciation, RG. had not heard the word in L.

119. *windowseat*, (wənokh) window, (bəqker) large box used for a seat in the window.

121. *towzie tyke*, a shaggytousled dog.

122. *music*, RG. says (*meezik*), using (*ee*) for (*yy*) as before.

123. *he screwed the pipes and made them scream*; *skirl* "to cry with a shrill voice" (Jamieson) is usually applied to the scream of the bagpipe.

124. *roof and rafters all did dirl*, tingle, vibrate, thrill.—*roof*, RG. pron. (*rif*). Here was inserted originally in the MS.:

The torches climb around the wa',
Infernal fires, blue bleezing a',

but these were struck out and the four lines 125–128 written in the margin to be inserted in their place.

125. *like open presses* or cupboards, a very common word in Scotland.

127. *cantraip*, *cantrap*, juggle, charm, spell.—*sleight*, trick, by some magical trick.

128. *each in its cold hand held a light*.

129. *which*, *heroic*, neither word is L.

130. *holy table*, communion table, altar.

131. *a murderer's bones in gibbet irons*.

132. *two*, RG. (twAA), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74.

133. *a thief newly cut down from a rope*.

134. *gab*, mouth.

135. *with blood red rusted*.

136. Here Burns had originally inserted the lines—

Seven gallows pins three hangman's
whi

A raw of weel seal'd Doctors' bottles,
which are scratched out in the MS. The word *whi* . . . was left incomplete.

137. *which* and *babe* not being Scotch, RG. read *that* and *wean* (dhat, wiin).

138. *knife*, here RG. said (*náif*) contrary to analogy.

139. *wham*, a Scottishly written Anglicism.

140. *to*, RG. reads (*tee*).

142. *which*, not L. After this line, which appropriately ends the par., the original MS. contains the following lines which have been cut out in the printed copies, and hence were not phonetically transcribed by TL.:

Three Lawyers' tongues, turn'd inside
out,

Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout,
Three Priests' hearts, rotten black as
muck,

Lay stinking vile, in every neuk.

143, 144. *curious, furious*, RG. pron. (*keeries, feeeries*), see v. 29.

145, 146. *blew, flew*, RG. pron. (*bluu, fluu*), and said he remembered these words by a rhyme on the Glasgow coat of arms, which apparently has a bird sitting on a tree (a trii dhet never gruun, en v bard dhet never fluu). TL. gives the same pron., but it looks as if it should be (*blyw, flyy*). Instead of 'loud and louder,' Burns first wrote 'quick and quicker.'

147. *they reeled, they set, they crossed, they caught hold of each other*; to *cleik, clek, cleek* (tə klik), is to catch or lay hold of, after the manner of a hook.

148–150. *till every old woman sweated and reeked*=smoked, and *cast off her duds*=ragged clothes, on the work, and *linked*=tripped at it in her sark=shift. RG. felt quite sure of the pron. (*seerk*). The editions read *to the wark*.

149. *cast*, RG. (*kist*).

151. *now*, so MS. and printed copies. RG. reads (*oo*).

153. *greasy flannel*, the original Welsh is *gwlanen*, made of *gwlan* wool, so the L. form is more correct than the received.

154. *snow white 1700 linen*, linen with 1700 threads to a yard, and hence very fine.

155–158:

*these breeches of mine, my only pair,
that once were plush of good blue hair,
I would have given them off my buttocks,
for one blink of the bonny birds.*

159–160:

*but withered beldames, old and droll,
shaft-horseys hags, would wean a foal,
—rigwoodie.* According to Jamieson *rigwoodie* (which he considers to be a wrong spelling for *rigwiddie*, both would be pronounced in the same way), literally ridge or back withy or willow, meant originally the rope made of willow withs crossing the back of the horse to keep up the shafts; the word was then applied to the horse itself, which was necessarily thick-set, strong, "one of a durable frame, that can bear much fatigue," also used metaphorically for one of a stubborn disposition as a "rigwiddie body" or person. Also *widdie* was used as a halter, and hence for the gallows, so that "a rigwiddie carlin" is stated to be used in Ab. as "an old wife who deserves to be hanged." Here, how-

ever, it seems to be "possessed of shafthorse properties," as opposite to the light figures of Burns's *queans*, v. 151, and the following phrase, *would spean or wean a foal*, seems to carry on the metaphor. The glossary to the Globe edition of Burns explains the word as "withered, sapless," for which there is no authority in Jamieson.

161. *leaping and flinging* (as in the Highland fling) *on a crook-stick*; the MS. has *crummock*, some printed copies *cummock*, Jamieson gives both forms.

162. *I wonder didn't turn thy stomach*, make you sick.

163. *bravely* = well.

164. *there was one winsom* = comely *wench*, not Scotch, and *handsome*.—"walie, excellent, large, ample; a waly bairn, a fine child," Jamieson.

165. *corps*, which Burns spells *core*.

166. *long after known on Carrick shore*; popularly the n. of Ay. is called Cunningham, the middle Kyle, and the s. Carrick.

167-169:

for many a beast to death she shot and perished = wrecked many a bonny boat.

and shook (the grains from) *both much corn* = wheat and barley.

TL.'s (*shuk*) seems an Anglicism, but see cwl. p. 745, Nos. 569, 570.

171. *Paisley harden*, the refuse of the coarser parts of flax and hemp.

172-3. *scanty, vaunt* = fond of shew. TL. had (*skanti, vaanti*), and perhaps on the analogy of (*haan, laan*) hand, land, (*aa*) would be used in both words, but neither of them is L.—*while* is here English, RG. read (*whan*).

175. *thought*, so in the MS., usually have *kent*.

176. *coft* bought, or *coped*.

177. *two*, RG. says (*twaa*), see cwl. p. 742, No. 74; two pounds Scotch are two shillings English.

178. *should*, so the MS., *wad* is usual, the *have* is omitted before *graced*, as in v. 73.

179. *muse*, not L., pron. uncertain, RG. (*míuz*); *her wing must droop, cower* not L.

180. RG. reads (*ajont*), but *beyond* is in MS.

181. *leapt and flang*, as in v. 161.

182. *supple jade*, TL. (*sup'l djaad*), RG. (*sup'l djeed*), (*sup'l*) follows the

French, and (*səp'l*) is English; on *jade*, see cwl. p. 745, No. 717.

183. *stood*, RG. (*stid*).

184. *very*, the last vowel doubtful, TL. (*vera*), RG. (*veri*).

185-7. *Satan*, RG. (:sectan), *glowered and fidgetted full fain* = very pleased, and *hitched his body from side to side, and blew with might and main, till first one caper, then* = afterwards another.

188. *tint* = lost, from *tine* to lose.

189. *done*, RG. (*din*).

191. *rallied*, recovered.

193. *buzz*, RG. (*biz*).—*fike*, restlessness; *bike*, hive.

196-197. *before*, RG. (*afoor*).—*eager*, RG. (*iiger*), Coylton gives (*eegur*), see cwl. p. 746, No. 827.

199-200. *follow*, RG. (*fals*), TL. (*folo*).—*eldritch*, so MS., TL. had (*eldrit*) at first, and then accepted Carstairs Douglas's (*eldrikh*). Jamieson says: "*elrishe, elriche, elraige, elrick, alrisch, alry*, expressing relation to evil spirits, preternatural, as regarding sound; hideous, respecting appearance; frightful, respecting place; uncouth, in relation to dress; surly, austere, fretted applied to a sore."

201. *fairing*, properly, a present from a fair or market; here, rewarded for your doings after the market.

204. *Kate soon will be a woeful woman* = a widow. RG. reads (*sin*) and (*wumen*), yet (*wamen*) occurs in Ruth, see cwl. p. 744, No. 506.

205. *do*, RG. (*dee*).

206. *win* or gain; *bridge*, RG. (*brig*).

210. *the devil a tail she had to shake*. Burns rhymes as if *make* had its English pron.

213. *furious*, RG. (*feerius*); *ettle*, aim, purpose, design, intention.

214. *knew she*, the MS. has *kend* with *wist* written over, printed copies have *wist*.

215-216. *whole*, safe, untouched; RG. (*ahin't*), her own gray tail.

217-218. *the carlin* = witch, *clutched*, compare v. 147 (*klikit*); RG. (*peer*), see cwl. p. 746, No. 866.

219. *who*, RG. (*whaa*), which Mr. Patrick, of Ochiltree, especially prohibits.

221-222. *you are inclined*, RG. uses (*ji er*), and puts (*t*) at end of (*inkléint*), and omits (*d*) in (*méind*), though it spoils the rhyme.

223-224. *over dear, mare*.

WESTERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

Compiled from

- A Dr. Murray's first chapter of Ruth, given above in Introduction to L., 5 versions, No. 2, p. 698.
 C Coylton (5 e.Ayr), Rev. Neil Livingston's wl. and dt.
 Cl Clydesdale, Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences from his Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 714.
 G Glasgow, Mr. John Alexander's wl., omitting those words said to have rec. pron. as shown in C. and O.
 K Kyle, words from W. Simson, schoolmaster, of Cumnock, Kyle (15 e.Ayr), given in W. Aiton's "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr," Glasgow, 1811, pp. 681-693.
 M Dr. Murray's DSS., p. 239.
 O Ochiltree (11 e.Ayr), Mr. David Patrick's wl.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 CO bèk. 4 CO tak. — A tee'n [taken]. 5 CO mak. 6 O mèd, A mèd. 7 CO sèk [acc.], O sik [unacc.]. — M waa'k [wake]. 8 A he, C heev hiv, O he hi. 9 CO biheev. — K graf [to grave]. 10 CO haa. 11 C maa. 12 CO saa. 13 C naa. 14 CO draa. 15 C aa [O (aafu) awful]. 16 C daan. 17 CO laa. 18 CO keek [applied to oat-cake]. 19 C teel. 20 CO lèm. 21 A nem, CO nèm. 22 CO tèm. 23 CO sèm. 24 CO shèm. 25 O mèn. 26 C ween. 27 C nèv. 28 CO heer, G her. — A gjet [gate=road]. 31 CO lèt. 32 C [often] beeth. 33 CO rèdhur. 35 C aal. 36 C thaa, KGO tha'u. 37 C klaa.

A: 39 A kam, CGO kam. 40 CGO kèm. — K weem [womb]. 41 CO thaqk. 43 CO haan. 44 ACO laan. — O wan [did wind]. 46 C kan'l, GO kan'l. 47 C waner, O waner. 48 CO saq. 49 CO haq. 50 CGKO taqz. 51 AC man, O man. 52 CO wan [adj.], O wan [did win]. 54 GO want, C want. 56 CGO wash. 57 O aaz, C ashez.

A: or O: 58 A fe, CG free, O free fri. 59 CO lam. 60 CKO laq, G laaq, [A (elaq) along]. — bila'q [belong]. 61 CO amaq. 62 CO stroq, O [occ.] straq. 63 CGKO thraq. 64 CGO raq. 65 CO saq. 66 CO whaq.

A'- 67 A gjœq, CO gaq [not (gjaq)] gee, [Cl (gun) going, A (gje'd) goed=went]. — K sleez [sloes]. 70 CGKO tee. 71 CKO wee. 72 C whaa, KO whee [not (wha)]. 73 A see', CG [often], see, CO soo. 74 CK twee twaa, G twaa, O twee [not (twa)], A twaa twaa. 75 C strook, O [rare] streek. 76 CGO teed. 77 ACO loord. 78 CGO aa, C oo. 79 A aan, CO een. — K heeli [holy]. 80 C holidv. 81 C leen. 83 CGO meen. 84 A mee'r, CGO meer. 85 A see'r, CO seer. 86 CO eets, [occ.] oots. 87 CGO kleez. 88 CO kliid. 89 A bee'lh, CGO beeth. 90 CGKO blaa. 91 CGKO maa, G mau. 93 CGKO snaa. 94 CGKO kraa. 95 CO throo, C thraa. 96 CGKO saa. 97 K saal. O sool [rarely (saal)], CG saul. 99 O thraa, C thraan, [occ.] throon. 100 GO saan.

A': 101 CGO eek [oftener (ook)]. 102 A aash, K aks. 104 CO rood. 105 CO reed. 106 CGO bred. 107 CO loof, G leef. 108 CGO deekh, C doo. 109 GO leekh, C loo. — K fee [foe]. 110 O ne ni, C [oftenest] nat. 111 CGO okht [if used, rather (sud)]. 112 C heel. 113 A hee'l, CGO hèl. 115 A hem, CGKO heem. 116 C hum. 117 O jin jee [not (een, ee)], [(A elen, K eelen) alone]. 118 CKO been. 121 CGKO geen. 122 i. CGKO neen, ii. A naa, CKO nee. 123 CGKO neethen. 124 CGKO steen. 125 CO oonli [if used]. — K reep [rope]. 126 CO oor. 127 CGO heers. — ree'z [rose, did rise]. 128 [CGO (dhee) used]. 129 CO geest. 130 CO boot. 131 O goot, C [often] geet. 132 CGO het. 133 CO reet. 134 CO eeth. 135 CGO kleeth.

Æ- 138 CGO fedher. 141 CO neel. 142 CO sneel. 143 CO teel. 144 A'egjen, C egèn, O agin. 145 C sleen. 146 C meen. 147 C egèn, O agin

[again]. — A feerli. 149 O bliiz, C bleez. 150 CO liist. 152 CGO water, Cl wa:er. 153 CGO se:urdi [very common].

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 CGO thak thik. — K rak [wreck]. 158 CGO efter. — K hatt [haft, handle]. 161 A dee¹, CO dee. 163 CO lee. 165 A sed, CO seed, O sid. 166 C meed. 167 C deel. — K smaa [small]. 168 C tåle. 169 A kuhæn, CGKO whan [interrog.], O whæn [relative]. 170 CO herst, O heerst, G hervest. 171 A baarle, CG -i. 172 GO gress, CO [occ.] gers. 173 A waz, O wez, C [often] waz. 174 CO èsh. 175 CO fast. 176 O a heem [at home]. 177 A dha't, O [as a conjunction only, never as a relative], at, èt. 178 C nat. — K rat'n. 179 CG what, O whit. 180 C bath. 181 C path, O peth.

Æ'- 182 CO sii. 183 CO tiitj. 184 CO liid. 186 CGO briidth. 187 C liiv, O lii. 188 [CO (ne'ker) used]. 189 CGO wii. 190 O kee, C kii. 191 CO heel. 192 CO miin. 193 CO kliin. 194 CKO oni. 195 K mani, CO mani. 196 CO war wer, C weer. 197 CO tpiiz. 199 C bliit. 200 CO whiit. 201 CO heedh'n. 202 CO hiit.

Æ': 203 CO spiitj. 204 CO diid. 205 CGO thrid. 206 CO red. 207 CO niid'l. 210 CGO kléi. 211 CO gree. 212 CGO whéi. 213 CGO eedher. 214 A nee'dher. 215 O tokht [in school reading only], C takht. 216 CO deel, [A (delt, dealed)]. 217 A ðlk, C iitj. 218 CO shiip. 219 CO sliip. 221 CO niir. 222 CO heer, G her. 223 A dheer dher. 224 A kuchaar, O whaar, C wheer. 225 CO flesh. 226 CGO meest. — K wars'l [wrestle]. 227 CGKO wat. 228 CGO swiit. 229 CO breeth. 230 CGO fat.

E- 232 CGO brek. 233 CO spiik, A spik. 234 CG ne'd. — K wadher [weather]. 235 CO wiiv. 236 CGO fiver. 237 C tpiibleen. 238 C hedj. 239 CKO seel. 240 O leen, C léin. 241 CO reen. 242 C tweeen. 243 O plee. — K wal [a well]. 246 i. ii. CO kwün. 247 CO ween. 248 CGO miir. 249 CGO wiir. 250 CGO swiir. — Cl et [eat]. 251 CO miit. 252 CO ket'l. 253 CO net'l. 254 CO ledher. 255 O wadher, C wedher. — O be:er [better].

E: — K wab [web]. 257 C edj, O eedj. 258 C sedj. 260 CO lee. 261 CO see. — K wadin [wedding]. 262 A wa'i, CGO wéi. 263 A ewaa. 264 CO eel. 265 CO streekt, GO strakht, O straakht. 267 C iild, O il. — K twal [twelve]. 270 i. CO belis, ii. O belí. 272 CO el'm. — K whalp [whelp]. 273 ACO men. 274 O binsh, C bintj. 276 A theqk, C thiik, O théiqk. 277 C driitj. 278 C wintj. — A een. 280 CKO eliiv'n. 281 CGO lenth. 282 CGO strenth. — K penerth [pennyworth]. — K rau [a wren]. — O ken [ken, know]. — K girn [grin]. 283 CO meri. 284 GO thresh, C thrash. 285 C [often] kras kars. 286 O hero here, C haro. 287 C bez'm, GO biz'm. — K wast [west]. — K whatsten [whetstone].

E'- 289 A ji, CO jii. 290 O hii hi. 292 ACO mií. 293 CO wii [O never 'u]. 294 CO fiid. 295 CO bred. 296 CO biliiv. 297 K talo. 298 O fiil [but gen. (fin' find)], C fiil. 299 CO griin. 300 A kip, CO kiip. 301 CO hiir. 302 CO miit. 303 CO swiit.

E': 305 CO hiikh. 306 CGO he'kht. 308 CO niid. 309 CO spiid. 310 CO hiil. 311 AC ten. 312 CO hiir. 313 CO hark'n. 314 A hard, CO hard. 315 C fiit. 316 CO nekst, O [rarely] niist.

EA- 317 C flái. 319 CO geep. 320 CO keer, G ker. — K shaa [to shew].

EA: 321 A saa, O saa. 322 CO lakh. 323 CGO fokht. 324 O eekht ikht [never (akht)], C akht, G eekht. — K kaaak [chalk]. 325 CO waak. 326 AC aal, C aald, O aad. 327 CO baald, C baal. 328 C kaald kaal, O kaad. 329 CG faald faal, O faad. 330 CO haad. 331 K saald, CO [use (selt, sold)]. 332 CGO [use (telt, told)], O [rarely] taal. 333 CGO kaaaf. 334 CGO haaaf. 335 CGO aa. 336 CGKO faa. 337 CGO waa. 338 Cl koo, AK kaa. — K sa'ut [salt]. 340 CO jeerd. 342 CO eerm, G erm. 343 CGO warm. 345 CO daar, G der. — O w'raat [a wart]. 346 O jet [not (jeet)], C geet.

EA'- 347 CO hiid. 348 CGO ii. 349 C fiuu. — O skruumús [shrew-mouse]. EA': — K rak [rick], O re'k. 350 CGO diid. 351 CO liid. 352 C riid, O rid. 353 A brid, CO briid, Cl bred. 354 CO sheef. 355 CGO diif. 356 CO liif. 357 CO thoo [not (dhoo)], O the. 359 CGO niiber.

360 C tiim. 361 CO biin. — A egjenst [against]. 362 C slee. 363 CO tjeep. — A iir [year]. 365 AC niir, O ner'. — K na'ut [neat cattle]. 366 CO greet. 367 O threet. 368 A deth, CGO deeth. 369 CO sloo. 370 CO raa. 371 CO stree.

EI- 372 G éi. 373 ACO dhee. 374 C nee, O na. 375 C reez, O réiz. 376 CO beet. EI: 377 CGO steek. 378 CGO week. 379 C heel. 381 C sween. 382 CO dheer, dhær, G dher.

EO- 383 CGO siiv'n. 384 CGO hiiv'n, C hiv'n. 385 C biniith bineeth, O enooth. 386 CGO ja'u. 387 CO níu. EO: 388 C me'lk, O [rarely] malk. 389 CO jok. — K siler [silver]. 393 CO ejont. 396 K wark. 397 C sword, O sward soord. 398 CGO sterv. 399 CGO brèkht. — C O fardhær [farther]. 400 CO eernest. 402 CO leern. 403 CGO faar. 404 CGO staar. 405 CO herth [only in (herthsteen) hearthstone]. 406 A jærth, O je'rth je'rd, C eerth. — A si'ster [sister]. 407 CGO faard'n.

EO'- 409 CO bií. 411 CO thríi. 412 A shíi, CO shíi. 413 CO diiv'l diil, G diivil. 414 CG flii. 415 CGO líi. 416 CO diir. 417 CGO tja'u. 418 CO bruu. 420 CO fa'ur. 421 CO forti.

EO': 422 O sik [only feverish, not ill in general, nor nauseated]. 423 CGO thii. 424 CGO ra'ukh. 425 CGO le'kht. 426 CGO fekht. 427 CO bií bi. 428 CO sii. 429 O fiint [only in such phrases as (fint v heet) devil a bit, *hait* = atom]. 430 CGO friin, O frend [A (frinz) friends]. 431 CO biir [when used, generally (jel) ale]. 432 CO fort. 433 CGO briist. 434 CGO beet [meaning excelled, only]. 435 CO juu ji [not (jo)]. 436 CO truu. 437 O trath [often nearly or precisely (trith)], C [often] tryyth.

EY- 438 CGO dii [A (diit) died]. EY: 439 CO træst [O gen. (lip'n)].

I- 440 CO wik. 441 C siiv, O si [in composition as (me'lsi) milksieve]. — A gin [given]. 442 C évi. 443 O fréidi. 446 O náin. 448 C thær. 449 CO get. 450 O [old] teezdi [giving way to (tíuzdi)]. 451 CGO shuu.

I: 452 CIKO a, C ái. 454 CO watj. 455 C lái, O léi. 457 CGO me'kht. 458 A nekht, CGO ne'kht. 459 CGO re'kht. 460 wækht. 462 CGO se'kht. 463 A tel. 465 CO sik, CG sitj. 467 CO wéil. 468 CO tilder [but rare now]. 470 A hem, O him. — O sklim [climb]. 471 CGO timer. 472 C shriqk. 473 CO blin. 476 CO bin. 477 A fæn, CGKO fin. 478 CO gran. 479 CO wæn, G win, C wáind. 480 O théiq. — O réiq [ring]. — O bréiq [bring]. — O séiq [sing]. — OK rin [run]. — O le'p [lip]. — K kírñ [churn]. 484 CO dhe's, G dhee. — A kest [kissed]. — K rashez [rushes sb.]. 485 G this'l, O thras'l. — K girs'l [gristle]. 487 C je'sterdi, O jesterdi. 488 CO jet. 489 A et. — O wat [wit].

I'- 490 O béi [acc.], bi [unacc. of place], baa [of agent]. 491 CGO se'kh. — A ba'id [abide]. 492 A sá'id. 493 CO dréiv. 494 CO téim. 496 CO eern ern, G ern. 498 CO réit.

I': 500 CO léik [like]. 501 CO wéid. 502 CO fáiv. 503 CO léif. 504 CO néif. 505 A wa'if, CO wéif. 506 A wæmæn, CGO women. 507 CO wimen. 509 A kwe'el, CO whéil. 510 ii. máa'. 511 CO wéin. 513 CO weer, G wer. 514 CO éis. 515 CO wéis [not (wéiz), see *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 17]. 516 O whéit. 517 C júu.

O- 519 A æ'ur. 520 CGO ba'u. 521 CO fòl. — K staa [stolen]. 522 CO op'n, K eep'n. 523 A hoop, O ha'up. — K smoor [smother]. 524 CGO worl [occ. (warlt)], M warlt.

O: 526 CG kòkh. 527 CGO bøkht. 528 CGO thøkht, A thookht. 529 CGO brokht. 531 A dookhter, CGO dokhter, K dokhter. 532 CO kòl. 533 CO dæl. 534 CO hòl. 535 A fòk, K fa'uk. 536 CGO guuld, K ga'ud. 537 O mùlz maalz [earth, especially grave]. C ma'uld. 538 O wad wid, C wud, A wad. — K ta'ul [told]. — K ha'u [hollow]. 539 CGO ba'ul. 540 C hòli. — K ha'um [holm]. 542 CO bòlt. — K ka'ult [colt]. 544 A dhæn, K dhan. — KM drap [drop]. — M krap [crop]. — M tap [top]. 545 MO hap, C hop. — A stop, KM stap. — K lapster [lobster]. 547 O bærd, C byyrd buurd. 548 O færd, C fyurd. 549 C hord. 550 O wård. 551 CGO stòrm. 552 CGO korn. 553 CGO hòrn. 554 C kros.

O'- 555 O shæ [often nearly (shee)], C shuu shee. 557 O tæ, C tuu, A tee'. 558 CO lak. 559 A mi'dher, CO midher. 561 O blæ'm, C blyym. 562 O

mə'n mìn, C myyn. 563 CO mǎndi, O [rarely] mǎnǎndi. 564 O shə'n [often] shǎn, C syyn. 565 CO nooz. 566 A iǰdher, CGO idher.

O': 569 O buk biǎk. 570 AC tak, O tuk, [very rarely] tǎk. 571 A gǝiǰd, OG gǝ'd, O gid, C gyyd. 572 OG blǝ'd, KO blǝd, C blyyd. 573 C flyyd. 574 C bryyd. 575 O stǝ'd, C styyd. 576 KO wǎnzdi, C wenzdi, G wenzde. 577 C ba'u bǎkh. 578 C pla'u plǎkh, O plu u pi u pǎkh. 579 CO ɛnǎkh, C ɛnokh. 580 CO tǎkh, CG takh. 581 CGO sǝkht. 582 OG kǝ'l, O [often nearly (kǝl)], C kyyl. 583 O tǝ'l [often nearly (tǝl)], C tyyl. 584 GO stǝal, C styyl. 585 O brǝ'm, C bryym. 586 GO dǝ [and when emphatic (dǝv)], C dii. 587 O dǝ'n dǝn, C dǝn. 588 C nyyn, K nǝn. 589 O spǝ'n spǝn, C spyyn. 590 GO flǝr, C flyyr. 591 GO mǝr, C myyr. 592 O swǝr, C swoor. 594 GO bǝ't, C byyt. 595 GO fǝ't, C fit fat. 596 GO rǝt, C ryyt. 597 GO sǝ't, C syyt.

U'- 599 O ɛbǝn ɛbǝn, C ɛbyyn. 600 O :lǝv [as a family name, otherwise (lǝv)]. 601 CG fuul. 602 O su, CG suu. 603 CO kǝm. 604 K sǝmer. — K hǝni [honey]. 605 AO sǝn. 606 CO door. 607 CO bǝter, OCl [slovenly] bǝ;ɛr. — K nǝt [a nut].

U: 608 O ǝgli. 609 O fu, C fuu. 610 O u [w sometimes sounded]. 611 C bǝlek. 612 CO sǝm. 613 O drǝqk. 614 CO ha'un. 615 CO pǝn, G pand. 616 CO grǝn, G grǝnd. 617 CGO sǝn. 618 C wuund. 619 CO fǝn, G fǝnd. 620 CO grǝn. 621 O wǎn. 622 O ǝner, C [often] ɛner. 625 O tǝq. 626 O ha'uqɛr [not (huqɛr)]. 628 O nǝn. 629 O sǝn, K sǝn. 631 CO thǝzdi, O [formerly (fǝrzdǝ)]. 632 CCIO ǝp. — ǝpɛ [upon]. 633 CO kǝp, K kap. 634 CO thruu. 635 CO wǝrth. 637 C tǝsk. 638 CO bǝsk [applied to fish-hooks]. 639 C dǝst.

U'- 640 CGO kuu. 641 CGO huu. 642 CO dhuu [seldom used]. 643 ACGO nuu. 644 CO duu. 646 CGO buu. 647 CG uul. — O huulet [owlet]. 648 OCl wɛr, CGO uur. 649 CGO thuuzɛn. 650 A ɛbɛrt. 652 CO kud. 653 ACO bǝt.

U': 654 O skruud. 655 OC fǝl. 656 OC ruum. 657 CGO brǝn. 658 CCIOG dǝn. 659 CGO tǝn. 660 CGO buur bǝr. 661 CGO shuur shǝr. 662 AO ǝs, C [often] ǝz. 663 CGO hǝs. 664 CGO lǝs. 665 CGO mǝs. 666 C [often] hǝzbent. 667 CGO ǝt. 668 CGO prǝd. 669 O a'uqkɛ, C ǝkuuth. 670 O [rare] bǝrth, C buudh. 671 CGO muuth. 672 CGO suuth.

Y- 673 ACO mǝk'l, C mǝk'l. 674 O did. 676 CGO lii. 677 CO drǝi. 678 CO dǝn. — O kiq [not (kiq kǝiq)]. 679 CO kǝrk, K kirk. 680 C bizi, O [(thraq) used]. 681 O biznes. 682 CGO lǝ't.

Y: 683 CO mǝdǝ. 684 GO brǝ'g, C brǝdǝ. 685 CO rǝ'g. 686 CO bǝi. — CO bǝ'g [to big=build]. 687 CGO flǝ'kht. 690 O kǝn. 691 CO mǝin, A mǝ'in. 693 CO sǝn. 694 CO wǝrk. 696 C bǝrth. 697 O bǝri, C byri. 698 C mǝrth. 699 CGO rǝ'kht. 700 CGO wǝar. 701 CO fǝrst. 702 A wy. 703 CO pǝ't. 704 C vik's'n.

Y'- 705 CO skǝi. 706 O whǝi [when used, but ordinarily (whǝi wǝi) what way]. 707 O thǝrtiin. 708 CO hǝir. Y': 709 CO fǝir. 711 CO lǝis. 712 CO mǝis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — O skrǝib [crab apple]. — K krǝbit [crabbed]. — K sabath [sabbath]. 713 CO bǝd. 714 CO la'd, A lad laad. 715 C pad. 716 C ad'l. 717 CO dǝaad. 718 CO tred. 719 C tadpol. 720 C fǝg. 722 CO dreen. 723 O dǝiri, C dǝeri. 724 O belt [in (belt-hiiddit) bald-headed], C baal. 725 C seel. 727 CO dǝam. 728 C sham. 729 CO freem. 730 CO kanter. 731 CG wanten. 733 C skeer. 734 CGO dern. — O bǝrɛ [barrow]. — O sklaash [clash]. 735 CO smash. 737 C mǝt. — A grǝt [did greet, wept]. 738 C preet. 740 CO weev. — K bǝa [bawl]. 741 C meez. 742 CO leez.

E. 743 C skriim. — A ween [a wean, child]. — A dǝe'rth [dearth]. 744 CO miiz'lz. 745 CO tǝit. 746 CO breeth. 747 O endeevɛr [but consciously a 'lang-nebbit' word, if used]. — A gritin [greeting, weeping]. 749 A lǝft. 750 CO beg. 751 C pert.

I. and Y. — O pǝ'k [pick]. 754 CO pǝ'g. — O whǝp [whip]. 756 C

shre'mp. — O pin, K prin [pin]. — O réiqk [rink for curling]. — K tiqklér [tinker]. 758 C gerl. — O pe'shmól [pismire]. 759 CO te't.

O. 761 CO leed. 762 CO ookem. 763 C room. — K lokh [loch=lake]. 767 CO néiz. 769 O ma'udí, ma'udiwarp, C modíwárt. — K pa'u [poll, head]. — K skra'u [scroll]. 771 CO tond. 772 CO benféir. 773 C dąki. — M banet [bonnet]. 774 CGO pa'uni. 775 C buubi. — O nřak [not (niuk) nook]. 777 CO shop. 778 G afærd, C afyyrd. — M paritj [porridge]. — KM pat [pot]. 781 CO bodher. — O klřakh [not (klřukh) clough]. — K ma'ult [moult]. 783 C puultri. 784 CO ba'uns. 785 C luundy. 786 C duus. 787 C suus. 789 C ra'u. 790 CGO guun.

U. 792 C skwab'l. — C kwéi, G kéi [quey, quy, quoy, quyach, quoyach, querek, quyok, a cow 2 years old]. 793 O hag. 794 O dřag, G dřug. — O be'l [bull]. 799 O skal. 803 CO dřamp. 805 CO krądz. 806 C řas. 807 CG pus. 808 ACGO pat, CK pít.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 809 CO eeb'l. 810 CO fees. 811 A ple's, CO plees. 812 O lees — K klaat [caught]. 813 CO beek'n [rare]. 814 CO mees'n. 815 CO faks. 816 CO fed. 817 C radish. — CO peel [pail]. 818 CO eedj. 819 CO reedj. 821 C dilei. 822 CO méi. 823 C bee, G béi. 824 O tjeír, CG tjeer. 825 C waf. 826 CO iig'l. 827 C eegur. 828 C eegv. — Cl be'ili [baillie]. 829 C gven. 830 CO treen. 831 C distreen. 832 C [rare] meer. 833 CGO peer. 834 C sheez. 835 CGO reez'n. 836 CO seez'n. 837 C lash. 838 CGO treet. 839 C beel. — K haat [halt]. 840 CO [rare] tjaamer, G třamer. 841 CO tjans. 842 C plaqk. 843 O bréiush, CG breensh. 844 O trensh, C trentj. 845 O aanshent, C onshent. 847 O déindjv, C deendjv. 848 CGO tjéindj. 849 O stréindj. 850 CO dans. 851 C aant aanti. — K kabten [captain]. 852 O eepren [not (eepern)]. — K babbist [baptist]. 853 O bargin, C -en. 854 CO baryl. 855 CGO karet. 856 CO peert, G part. 857 CO kees. 859 CO tjees. 860 CO peest. 861 CO teest. 862 CO seef. 863 C tjeef. 864 C bikAAZ. 865 CO faat. 866 GO pær, C pyyr.

E.. 867 CO tií. 868 C djee. 869 CO viil. 870 CO bíuti [O said only of a handsome woman]. 871 CO egrii. 872 CO tjiif. 874 O réin, C reen. 875 GO fent, C feent. 876 CGO denti. 877 CO eer. 878 C selvri. 879 O feemel. 880 CO eksamp'l. — Cl konshens [conscience]. 881 CO sens. 882 CO panzi. 883 CO dandilřen. 884 O prentis. 886 C fréir. 887 C klerdji. — CO feer [a fair]. 888 AC sart'n. 889 C siis. 890 CO búist. 891 CO fist. 892 CO neefv. 893 CGO fluur. 894 CO [rare] diseev. 895 CO [rare] riseev.

I.. and Y.. 898 O náis. 899 CO niis. 900 CO pree. — O pil [not (pil) pill]. 901 O fáin féin. 902 O máin, C méin. 903 O dáin déin. — K oparıen. 904 O váiřlet. 906 O viiper véiper. 907 C tréis. 910 CGO dřist. 912 O řais.

O.. 913 CO kootj. 914 CO brootj, G brotj. 915 CO stáf. 916 iq'n. 917 CO roog. 918 C fiib'l. 919 CGO eintment. 920 CGO péint. 921 GO akwa'nt, C akwe'nt. 922 CGO bash'l [not (bash'l)]. 923 O móist. 924 O tjeis. 925 CO véis. 926 CGO spéil. 927 CO traqk. 928 CGO ans. 929 C kiukember. 930 CO léin [if used]. 931 O dřagler, CG dřugler. 932 C ema'unt. 933 CO fránt. 934 C buunti. 935 A ki'ntřa', CO kintřu kintřa. 936 C font. 937 CO kók. 938 CO kórner. 939 CO kloos. 940 CO koot. 941 GO fæl, C fyyl. — K stib'l [stubble]. 942 CO batřer [not (batřer), usually fleshv]. 943 O tatj, C tity. 944 CGO eluur. 945 CO vuu. 946 C méil. 947 CGO béil. 948 CGO búl [in case of carpet balls in use at teaparties, but (ba'ul) for a bowl at a (ba'ulen grin) bowling green]. 950 CO saper. 951 CO káp'l. — A tårn [turn]. 952 i. CGO kuurs. 953 CO kizin. 954 CGO kashen. 955 CGO duut. — K va'ut [vault]. 956 CO kaver. 957 O emplói. 958 C fréi. 959 O kenvee kenvéi.

U.. 960 CO kií. 961 O gruul. 962 C miuuz. — A wét [wait]. — A dřadı [judge]. 963 O kweet. 964 CGO shuurel. 965 CGO éil. 966 O frřt frřt, C frřyt. 967 O shřt shřt, C shřyt. 968 CGO éister. — A ruult [ruled]. 969 GO shřer, C shřyr. 970 O dřřst dřřst, C dřřst. 971 O flřt flřt, C flřyt.

LOCHWINNOCH (:ləkh·enĭakh), 6 sw.Renfrew, Rf.

From Mr. David Patrick, old spelling Lochquhinzeoch.

The whole intonation is different from 30 miles s., but agrees with adjoining n.Ay. parishes. "More modulation passing from high to low, tone stronger, sounder, coarser, more vulgar, yet fuller and pithier than in Ochiltree. Pron. broader."

Vocabulary different from Ochiltree:

- O (benféir), L (taan'l) bonfire.
- O (minenz), L (gætiz) minnows.
- O (gəd'l), L (gin'l) dip for trout with the hands below stones and cavities of rock.
- O (huusits, déikis), L (spĭagz, spragz) house and hedge sparrow.
- O (kokwiid), L (kaluuri) a kind of weed.
- O (piin), L (loz'n) pane or lozenge of glass.
- O (séiboz), L (iqenz) onions.
- O (lóupit), L [flap] leaped.

Old forms used at L (hant'l, laqsem, taal, kaa), many, late, told, quoth. Use of (tuu, dhe) thou in L, unknown, at O. L (what's at?) what's that, L (duun i gæet) down the street. L (enoth athoort), O (abləə, ekros) below, across. L (haaf thrii) half-past two o'clock, etc. L (twal, twəl uurz) twelve o'clock, German usage. L (dhe sel o't, dhe hid o'er, dhe beenz o'm), the self of it, the head of her, the bones of him. L (je, jin) one, never (ee, en). They find the e. dialect strange.

A few words follow.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A: 43 haan. 44 laan. A'- 72 whaa. 74 twaa [tendency to (kwaa)].
 Æ: 179 what. E: — twal [tendency to (kwal) twelve]. EO': 435
 je, ja [not ji], as (heest je, bigaan) haste you, begone]. I: — saks [six].
 O: 538 wad.

D 36 = s.ML. = southern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's
Galloway and Carrick.

Boundary. On the n. the s. b. of D 35, on the e. the w. b. of D 33, elsewhere the sea-coast.

Area. The s. of Ay. or Carrick, w.Df., Kb., and Wg. or Galloway.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 239) and Alphabetical County List under * vv. AJE., || systematic, ° informants' orthography.

Ay. ° New Cumnock.

Df. ° Tynron.

Kb. ° Kirkpatrick Durham.

Wg. * Stranraer, || Glenluce.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 239) mentions that *the* is contracted into (ii) especially after (i) for *in*, as (i,ii) in *the*, as in Cs. Also that final consonants are lengthened, or doubled "even more strikingly than in Cs.," so that *gang* becomes (gan'), and that *his*, *her* are contracted to simple *s*, *r*, as (hi kan gan' tel)z feedhur) he can go to his father. In taking down the cs.

from Stranraer, already given (No. 4, p. 684), I observed none of these points. Having been hurried, I might easily have failed to observe all but the omission of *th* in *the*. This, however, was not the case, and as I had my Cs. specimen the same evening, I think I should have been struck by this similarity.

I have been able to get a tolerably extensive wl. from Glenluce, Wg., and Kirkpatrick Durham, Kb., but I find that there is no decided point in which D 36 differs from D 35 and D 34. While therefore accepting Dr. M.'s district, I must express my own feeling that D 36 is a mere variety of D 34, closer indeed than D 35. In fact this district was conquered by the English language at a much later period than the others. The names of places in Df., where the b. of D 33 and D 36 occurs, are sharply Gaelic on the w. and English on the e. Hence it was to be expected that the mode of speech adopted would be in fact the language of the L. literature.

Under these circumstances I do not draw up a brief set of characters for D 36, but refer to the following wl. as containing, however defectively, all that I have been able to collect.

Illustrations.

1. The cs. from Stranraer already given, *suprà* p. 684, No. 4.
2. The pronunciation of Burns's *Duncan Grey* as taken from the lips of a New Cumnock man, but it is perhaps not a characteristic specimen of Carrick, D 36, as distinct from Kyle, D 35.
3. Two wl. from Glenluce and Kirkpatrick Durham, which however I have had to interpret with considerable difficulty at times, and the words extracted from No. 1, above.

BURNS'S SONG OF DUNCAN GREY,

written by A.J.E. in his extended Phonotypic Alphabet of 1847, from the dictation of John Love, of New Cumnock, Ay. (18 ese.Ayr), and published in the *Essentials of Phonetics* that year, pp. 171-177, and now transcribed in palaeotype. This was my first attempt to write dialect from dictation, long before this book was thought of; the first for this book are given on pp. 275, 276, 277. It can certainly be only approximatively correct, but I leave it unaltered. I have been told *Ailsa* should be (:èl'sə) without prefixed (j).

:dæqkan :gree kam hiir tæ wuu on bláith jyl nekht when wii wer fuu.	Duncan Grey came here to woo, On blythe yule night when we were 2 fou,
:magi kjæst her hid fu hikh, lukt asklent an æqke skjikh, gert pœær :dæqkan stæan abikh.	Maggie coost her head fu' high, Look'd asklent and unco skeigh, Gart poor Duncan stand abeigh. 5
:dæqkan flitjt an :dæqkan preed, :meg wæz dif az :jelza :kreeg. :deqkan sekht beeth uut an en, graat hez iin beeth bliirt an blen, spaak o loopen áur a len.	Duncan fleech'd, and Duncan pray'd; Meg was deaf as Ailsa Craig, 7 Duncan sigh'd baith out and in, Grat his een baith bleer't and blin', Spak a lowpin o'er a linn. 10

tə'im an tʃaans aar bət a tə'id,
 slekhted ləv ez seer tə bə'id.
 shal ai, lə'ik a fyl, kwə hii,
 fər a haakhti hezi dii?
 shii mee gee tə—:fraans fər mii!

huu et kəmz let dəktərz tel,
 :meg grēuu sik—az hii grēuu heel
 səmtheq en her booz'm reqz,
 fər riliif a sek hii breqz,
 and oo, her iin, dheə spaak sek
 theqz!

:dəqkan wəz a laad o grees,
 :magiz wəz a pitios kees,
 :dəqkan kud na bii her deeth,
 swelin piti smœærd hez reeth
 nuu dhee)r kruus an kanti beeth.

Time and chance are but a tide,
 Slighted love is sair to bide, 12
 Shall I, like a fool, quoth he,
 For a haughty hizzie die?
 She may gae to—France for me! 15

How it comes let doctors tell,
 Meg grew sick—as he grew well, 17
 Something in her bosom wrings,
 For relief a sigh she brings;
 And O, her een, they spak sic things! 20

Duncan was a lad o' græ,
 Maggie's was a piteous case, 22
 Duncan could na be her death,
 Swelling pity smoor'd his wrath;
 Now they're crouse and canty baith! 25

Notes to Duncan Grey.

1. (wu) should, I think, be (uu),
 compare (uu) for *wool*.

2. *fou* were full, had had our supper,
 not *drunk*, see *Tam o' Shanter*, p. 732,
 v. 6 and note.

4. *looked askant and very shy.*

5. *made poor Duncan stand aside.*

6. (flitit) *begged in a flattering
 cajoling manner.*

7. Ailsa Crag, a basalt rock in the
 Firth of Clyde, 10 w. Girvan, Ay.,
 1098 ft. high, 2 m. in circuit, inac-
 cessible except on w. side, abounds in
 sea-fowl, goats, and rabbits, has a

ruined castle at the top. This should
 not have prefixed (j) I believe, see
 D 35, but be pron. (:else).

8. *Duncan sighed both out aloud
 and silently,
 wept his eyes both bleared and blind,
 spoke of leaping over a waterfall.*

17. *hale*, spelled *heal*, in the copy I
 then used, the Globe ed. of Burns,
 printed in the right hand col., has *well*,
 which comes to the same thing.

24. *smothered his wrath
 now they are brisk and jolly both.*

SOUTHERN MID LOWLAND cwl.

From the following sources.

G Glenluce (:glenlyv,s) (15 w. Wg.), from the numbered wl. by Rev. G. Wilson,
 for Glenluce and the Rhinns, or Rhynns, of Galloway, the long and narrow
 peninsula w. of Luce Bay, Wx.

K ne.Kb., by Rev. W. A. Stark, Kirkpatrick Durham (4 n. Castle Durham),
 numbered wl.

S Stranraer, Wg., words from the cs. pal. by A.J.E. from dict., printed on p. 684.

T Tynron, Df. (5 wsw. Thornhill), notes and lw. by Mr. James Shaw, school-
 master, Aug. 1868, but the words he principally gave belong to Lk., Rf.,
 Ay., and Df., that is, principally D 35, where they agree with what is there
 said.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 G beek. 4 GK tak. 5 S maak, GK mak. 17 G laa. 21 S neem.
 34 S last. 36 G tha'u. A: 39 G ka'm, K kæm. 40 G keem. 41 G
 thanqk, K theqk. 43 G han, K haan. 44 G lan, K laan. 49 S haq. 54

S wönt [?(want)]. 56 GK wesh. A: or O: 58 GKS free. 60 S laq. 64 S raq, K wiraq raq. 65 GK saq. A'- 67 S gan [going]. 72 S whee. 73 K see, GS see. 74 S twaa, K twee twaa, G twaa tiu. 78 SK een, G aən. 79 G een. 81 ii. S loonin. 82 jens. 84 S meer. 85 GK seer. 87 SGK klees. 88 GK kliid. 89 S beeth. 94 S kraa. 97 GK saal. A': 101 GK eek. 102 S aks. 106 GK breed. 109 GK leekh. 110 ii. S noo. 111 S okht, GK akht. 113 GKS heel. 115 S hem, GK heem. 117 S jee. 118 GK been. 122 ii. S nee. 124 GK steen.

Æ- 138 S fadhər, G fedhər, K feedhər. 141 GK neel. 144 S ɣe'n. 150 S liist. 152 GK water. Æ: 154 S bak. 158 S efter. 161 GKS dee. 165 S sed. 169 GKS whan. 170 GK heerst. 172 G gres gers [with strong (s)], K gres. 173 G waz, K wəz. 175 S fast. 177 S dhat. 179 S what. Æ'- 182 G sii. 186 G briith. 187 G leev lee. 191 G heel. 192 G miin. 193 G kleen. 194 S oni. 200 G whit. 202 G heet. Æ': 204 S did [indeed]. 205 GK thiid. 209 S never. 212 GK whéi. 213 S edhər. 214 S needhər. 215 GK takht. 218 GK shiip. 223 S dheer. 224 GS whar, K whaar. 226 GK meest. 227 GKS wat. 228 G swit. 230 G fat.

E- 236 GK fiver. 240 G lain leen, K léin. 243 G plee. 244 S wil. 248 GK miir. 249 GK wiir. 250 GK swiir. 251 G miit, K [occ.] meet. 252 S ket'l. E: 256 S strikʏt [stretched]. 261 SGK see. 262 GK wéi. 263 S bwaa. 265 G straakht, K straakht, S street. 271 S tel. 276 S theqk. 278 S wensh. 281 GKS lenth. 282 GK strenth. 283 K miri. E'- 290 G hij, K he. 292 G mi, K me. 293 SG wi. 301 S hiir. E': 312 S hiir. 314 S hard. 316 G nkst, K nist.

EA- 317 GT féi [frighten]. 320 S keer. EA: 321 S sa. 322 S lakh. 326 S al. 330 SG had, K həd. 333 GK kaf. 335 GS aa, K aa. 337 G waa, K waa. 338 S kaa. 340 S jard. 342 GK er'm. 343 GK war'm. 345 GK dar. EA'- 347 G heed, K hid. 348 GK ii, GS iin [eyes]. 349 S fiu. EA': 350 G diid, K did. 352 G riid, K rid. 355 G diif, K dif. 357 S thoo, G thoo. 359 S nibər. 368 GK deeth. 371 GK stree. EI- 372 G ɛj, K éi. 373 S dhee. EO- 383 G seev'n, K siiv'n. 384 GK hii'n. 386 GK ja'u. 387 S níu. EO: 388 G me'lk, K malk. 394 S jonər. 395 S ɟəq. 396 GK wark. 398 G steerv, K sterv. 399 S brekht. 402 GK lern. 405 GK herth. 406 GK ərth, G ɟərth. EO'- 411 GS thrii. 412 G shee, KG shii. 413 G diivil, K diiv'l. 414 G fiu. 415 GK lii. 417 GK tja'u. EO': 422 S sik. 423 G thi. 424 G rakh. 425 G le'kht, K lekht. 426 GK fekht. 428 GK sii. 430 S trin, G friin, K friind. 433 G briist, K brist. 434 S bet. 435 S juu. 437 S trəth. EY- 438 GKS dii. EY: 439 S trəst.

I- 440 S wik. 443 GK fréide. 446 S néin. 448 [(G dhe'r, K dhee) used]. 450 GK [occ.] téizde. I: 452 ST a. 454 G watɟ. 455 ST lai. 457 S nekht. 459 G rikht, K rekht. 460 GK wekht. 465 S seken. 467 GK wéil. 469 S wal. 475 GK wand. 477 GK fən. 480 S thiɟ theq. 481 GK ɟiqər. 484 [S (dhe) used]. 485 G thəs'l, K thrəs'l. I'- 490 GK báí. 494 S téim. 496 G ɛr'n, K ɛer'n. 498 G [gen.] w'rét, K vrét. I': 500 S léik. 502 G fáiv. 504 GK néif. 505 GKS wéif. 506 GK wəmen. 507 GK wiimen. 510 ST méin. 511 T wéin. 515 GK wéis.

O- 519 S ɔur. 520 GK ba'u. 524 S wərl. O: — T la'u [low, a flame]. 529 G brókht, K braakht. 531 S dokhter. 535 S fook. 536 G guuld, K ga'uld. 537 G ma'ul. 538 S wud wed. 550 S word. — T ta'u [tow from hemp]. O'- 557 S ti. 559 GK mīdhər. 562 GK mɟn [the (y) was probably not pure here and elsewhere, but rather (y)]. 563 GK mənənde. 564 GK syn. 566 S edhər. — T grəu [to grow]. O': 571 S ɟəd ɟad, GK ɟyd. 572 GK blyd. 578 GK pliuu. 579 S eniukh, G enja'ukh, K eniukh. 580 GK tiukh. 581 G sóukht, K saakht. 582 G kyyl. 583 G tyyl. 586 S doo'nt [don't]. 587 S dīn. 588 S nīn. 589 GK spyn. 590 G flyyr, K fluur. 592 GKS suur. 594 G byt, K bit. 595 GK ɟit. 596 G ryt. 597 G syt, K sət.

U- 601 G fiuul. 602 GK suu. 604 S səmer. 605 S sən. 606 S door. U: 609 S fuu, G fu, K fəl. 610 G uu. 612 S sɟm. 614 G ha'und. 616 S gran. 617 GK suun. 619 S fən [pt. (fan)]. 625 S taq. 626 GK haqər.

— G a'un [to own=grant, confess]. 631 S dhærzde. 632 S æp. 634 S thruu. U'- 640 GK kuu. 641 GKS huu. 643 GK nuu. 646 G buu, K ba'u. 651 S ædhu't 652 GK käd. U': 658 S dun. 659 GK tun. 663 S hus. 667 S uut. 671 GK muth.

Y- 673 S mak'l. 674 S did, G de'd. 677 S drái. 679 GK kirk. 680 K bæsi. Y: 684 G brig. 686 G báí. — GK big [to big, build]. 687 GK fikht. 690 GK kéind. 691 GK méind. 694 GK wærk. 701 S ierst.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 GK lad. 717 G djaad. 724 G beld, K baal. 727 G djaam. 736 S lasi. E. — S pet [pet]. I. and Y. — S tef [tiff]. — S beg [big]. — S whandj [whinge]. O. 778 G afyrd, K afuurd. 781 S bodher. 783 G pa'ultri, K puutri. 790 GK gun. 791 S bóí. U. 798 S kwiir. 804 S drak'n. 805 GK krädz. 808 GK pit.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 S faks. 822 K méi. 823 K béi. 835 S rez'n. 845 G aanshent, K ansh'nt. 848 G tjéindj. 857 S kees. 864 S bika'z. E.. 867 S tii. 874 G re'in, K réin. 885 S vera. 887 G klerdji, K kleerdji. 890 S biist be'st, G beest, K bist. 895 GK riseev. I.. and Y.. — T krái [to cry]. 901 ST féin. 910 G djeest, K djiist. O.. 916 GK iqin. 926 G spóil, K spéil. 928 GK ans. 939 GK klos. 941 S fəl, G fyl, K fil. 942 G botjer, K batjer. 947 SG bóil, K béil. 950 S sapper. 952 i. GK kuurs. 953 G kyzin, K kiz'n. 954 GK kashin. 955 S duut, GK dut. U.. 960 K kii. 963 S kwéit, G kwee'it. 965 G óil, K éil. 966 GK fryt. 968 G óister, K éister. 969 S shær shá'uur, G syyr. 970 S djist djest, GK djyst. 971 GK flyt.

D 37 = n.ML. = northern Mid Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Highland Border.*

Boundaries. On the w. and nw. the CB. or Celtic Border, on the s. the n. b. of D 35 and D 34, to the Firth of Tay. Afterwards through Fo. to the Grampians. In his Map Dr. Murray took the b. to lie to the w. of Dundee, and e. of Forfar, and afterwards to be indeterminate to the Grampians. But he subsequently informed me that he considered the line to lie too much to the e., and that the town of Forfar properly belongs to the NL. or D 38. I therefore draw the b. between D 37 and D 38 from just a little w. of Dundee northward, just e. of Glammis and Kirriemuir, and w. of Clova, by the valley of the Esk to where the CB. strikes the s. b. of Ab. To determine the b. accurately would require much more examination than has hitherto been made, or is likely to be made.

Area. A small portion of nw. Fi., of w. Fo. and of w. Sg., and a strip on the e. and se. of Pr. It is a district in which English is asserting itself against Gaelic to such an extent that the CB. has receded westward within living memory.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 239; Dr. Alexander Laing's dt. for Newburgh-on-Tay, a *virâ voce* dt. from three students of Whitelands from the neighbourhood of Perth, and a wl. written from their pron. of words in the novel *Enga*, constitute all I could collect.

Characters. The small amount of information which I have obtained is clearly insufficient to determine the characters of this extensive region, which would require minute examination. Dr. Murray merely says (DSS. p. 239): "In the Highland border,

along the se. of Pr., we find (1) *ɜ* regularly pron. as (æ) in (hæl, mæl, mælk, sælk) hill, mill, milk, silk. (2) *Ea*, which in more Southern dialects is (i), here remains (ee) as (breed, heed, meel) for (brid, hid, mil) bread, head, meal. (3) The article *the* is commonly contracted into (ii), especially after *in*, as in (i)ii) in the." I presume (1) relates to these particular words only, and as such they were confirmed, see following cwl. No. 469, by the Whitelands students, but *kill* is not (kæl), and *silk*, *milk* are EO words, while *hill*, *mill* are Y words. Of course after *w* we get (wæl, whap) will, whip, but that is general. As regards (2) there is also a mixture of classes, *bread* and *head* being EA' words, the first was not given by my students, and the second, though they pron. it (hèd), was written *heid*=(hid) in *Enga*. *Meal*, when it means an 'eating time,' is an Æ' word, and when it means 'flour,' an E word, and I have not the pron. of these words in other districts, nor do I know which of the two is here meant. (3) The Whitelands students and Dr. Laing did not leave out *th* in *the*.

The cwl. I am able to give is so brief and imperfect, and relates to such a small e. portion of the whole district, that I do not feel justified in drawing any conclusions from it as to the characters of the whole district, and refer to the wl. itself.

Illustrations. Dr. Laing's and the Whitelands students dt., and the cwl. from Enga.

NORTH-WEST FIFESHIRE dt.

Test by Rev. Dr. Alexander Laing, Newburg-on-Tay (8 wnw.Cupar), Fi., in io., pal. from his notes by AJE.

1. soo ɐ sái, la'dz, i sii nuu dhut a)m ríkht ɐbùt dhàt lasi kəmɪn fe dhɐ sky'l dhonder.

2. shy)z ga'n dheer thruu dhɐ ríd gèt on dhɐ left ha'nd séid o)dhɐ rood.

3. shyyr enakh dhɐ beern)z gèn strekht ɐp tɐ dhɐ door ɐ)dhɐ raq hùs,

4. whaar shi)l léiklɪ find dhat dræk'n def wiz'nd feli ɐ)dhɐ niim ɐ :tamɐs.

5. wi ʌ ken)'m veri wíl.

6. wɐ)nb dhɐ ʌald tʃap shy'n leern)ɐr noo tɐ dyy ít ɐgen, pyyr thiq!

7. luk, i sii ít)s truu!

Notes.

1. *say*, especially marked as Greek ai, English aye.

2. *way*, called (wéi), implies direction only.

3. *straight*, the alveolar (tɹ) were specially noted, but it seemed to me that there was a misconception, so I merely note the fact here.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH dt.

palaeotyped 21, 22, 23 June, 1881, by A.J.E., from the dict. of Miss Miles, native of Manchester, but 13 years in Perth, Miss Pollar, of town of Perth, and Miss Kidd, native of Crieff, who had lived 18 years at Errol, all three students at Whitelands Training College.

1. *soo* ái sêi, mèn, juu sii nuu dhàt à)m rəkht abuu't dhàt wii làsi kàmen fee dhv shy'l dhonder.

2. shii)z gec'en [gAAN K.] dun dhv rood dheer thrù dhv rəd gı̄t [JET] on dhv left hānd séid o dhv wêi.

3. shær enakh [enokh, K.] dhi beern hez gèn [geen K.] strəkht æp ti)dhv doovr o dhv ràq hùs,

4. whaar shi)l mē)bi fend dhàt drək'n dèf wı̄z'nd feli o dhv nèm o :tombs.

5. wi AA ken)em veri wil.

6. wəl dhv Aald)'n noo sy,n leern er noo tɐ dii)t vge'n, pyy,r theq !

7. lùk iz)t no tru u ?

Notes to Perth dt.

1. *so* (*soo*) in this sense, but (see mək'l) so much.—*I* (háı téid) high tide, distinguished as in Edinburgh.—*say*, *way*, and *side* in (2) seem to have the same diphthong differing very slightly from received *i* in *wide*, but shading more towards (êi). Never heard *marrow* or *mate*; but (màn, mē'n) *man*, *men*, are used.—*thou* for *you* is never used.—*that* (at) is never used for (dhàt).—*wee*, when (little) is used, it is called (læt'l).—*lass*, but (kween) is still used for woman in a good sense, heard at Methven (5 wnw. Perth).—*coming*, the participle ends in (-en), verbal sb. (-en), (woshen on v woshen dêi), thus (lóupen) leaping is used.—*from*, a grandfather of Miss K. used (free), not (three) for *from*.—*school* (skili) is a slate pencil.—*yonder*, but they say (jonderz dhv màn, jon màn óvvr dheer).

2. *red* (rəd) has a tendency towards (ə), almost (rəd), but not (rād).—*hand*, the (d) remains in the sg., but is lost in the pl. (hānz).—*side*, see *say*, par. 1.—*way*, see *say*, par. 1.

3. *enough* (enəkh, eniu) are used as sg. and pl.—*bairn*, (wi'n) is also used for little child.—*wrong*, (w'r-) has been heard from old people, but not (vr-) in *write*, *wright*, *wrong*. This makes a decided difference between D 37 and D 39, if not D 38.—*house*, (h) is never omitted; (həz, hɛz) are both used for us.

4. *where*, (wh) always clear, not (kw); and still less (f), and this is another difference between D 37 and D 39.—*find* (fend, fənd), pr. and pret.—*deaf* sounded very like (di,f).—*wizened*, although *shrivelled* is not used, (shrab) shrub is said, so there's no difficulty about (shr-).—*name*, (nèm, neem, ni'm) all used.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF PERTH cwl.,

from "Enga, a Novel," by the author of Harbour Bar, 1880, in which the scene is apparently laid at Essie, Essey, or Eassie, Fo. (7 wsw. Forfar), just within the b. of D 37. I extracted the following words, and then got the three students of Whitelands (see Perth dt. above) to pronounce them to me. The writer was evidently well acquainted with the dialect, and I have thought it best to give the words first as printed in the novel, but in italics, and then as pronounced by the students, prefixing a † to the latter when it apparently differed considerably in pron. These words from *Enga* are not otherwise marked.

P words from the Perth dt.

N words from the Newburgh dt. introduced for comparison.

S words given by the students, but not found in 'Enga.'

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 4 *tak* *tàk*. 5 *mak* *màk*. 21 *neme*, †*neem*, P *nèm*, N *niim*. A: — *fand* *fand* [pt. of find]. 43 *hans* *hànz* [pl.], P *hand*, N *ha'nd*. A or O: 58 *frae*, †*fee*, PN *free*. 60 *lang* *làq*. 64 *wrang* *vrag*, PN [w'] *ràq*. A'- 67 *gane* *gèn*, *gyaun* *gieng*, *hi* *gàqz* *hiz* *leen* [he goes alone], P *gee'en*, PN *gaan*, PN *gèn*, P *geen* [gone]. 73 PN *soo*. 74 *twa* *twaa*. 79 *ain* *een*. 82 *anes*, †*jens* *ens*. 84 *muir* *meer*. 85 *sair* *seer*. 86 *aits* *eets*. 87 S *kleez*. 88 *claidh* *kled*. 89 *baith* *beeth*. 93 *snaw* *snaa*. 97 *sowl* *soo'l*. A': 104 PN *rood*. 111 *ocht* *okht* [owned], *ood* [owed]. 113 *hale* *heel*. 115 *hame* *heem*. 117 [(jen) is not used, only (en), see No. 82]. — *alune* *el'èn* [alone]. 122 i. *none*, †*nen* [*nône* has not been heard], ii. *nae* *nee*. 134 *aith* *eeth*.

Æ- 138 *fayther* *feedher*. Æ: 156 *gled* *glè'd*. — *gither* *gedher* [gather]. 158 *æfter* *æfter*. 161 *day* *déi*. 169 *fan* *ian* [vulgar but common], *whan*. 170 *ha'est* *hee'st*. 173 *wast* *wast* [wast]. 177 *that* *dhàt*, PN *dhat*. Æ'- 194 *ony* *oni*. 200 *fite*, †*whét*. Æ': 209 *niver* *niver* *neer*. 221 *afceerd* *feerd* [afraid]. 224 P *whaar*, N *whaar*. 226 *maist* *meest*.

E- 244 *weel* *wil*. E: 261 P *séi*, N *sái*. 263 *awa* *əwa* [compare P (wèi)]. 265 P *strekht*, N *s'trekht* [? dentals]. — *twa* *twel*. 273 P *men*. 280 *elieven* *telev'n*. E'- — *kep* *kep* [used for catch, or catch in the hands, applied in *Enga* to a catch water among rocks]. E': 305 *haich* *hái* *hilondz* [highlands]. 306 *heicht* *kikht* *hekht*. 314 *heerd*, †*hard*, †*he'rd*. 315 *fit* *fit*.

EA: 322 *lach* *làkh*. 326 PN *aald*. 328 *cauld* *kaald*. 330 *hoald* *haud* *hàd* *ha'd*. 335 PN *aa*. 336 *fa'* *íaa*. 341 *marrow* *marì*. 342 *airm* *eerm*. — *hairm* *heerm* [harm]. 345 *daur* *daar*. 346 *gate*, †*giut*, P *jet*, N *gèt*. EA'- 347 *heid* [implying (hid)], †*hèd*. EA': 352 P *red*, N *rid*. 355 PN *dèf*. 359 *neebor* *niiber*. — *lòse* *lòs* [loose]. — *naut* [cattle, not heard], 368 *deith* [implying (dith)], †*dèth*. EO- 383 *sieben* [implying (siv'n)], †*sev'n*. 384 *hierven* [implying (hiv'n)], †*hèv'n* [(hiv'n) not common, but heard]. EO: 394 PN *dhonder*. 396 *wark* *wark*. — *fermer* *feermèr* [farmer]. — *hert* *hert* [heart]. EO'- 415 *lee* *lii*. EO': 425 *licht* *lèkht*. 426 *fecht* *fecht* [pt. (fokht)]. 428 PN *sii*. 429 *fient* *fint*. 430 *freend* *frind*. 435 P *juu*, N *i*.

I: 462 P *ái*. — *weedow* *widi* [widow]. — *dicht* *dekht* [dight, common in the sense of wiped up, cleaned up]. 458 *nicht* *nekht*. 459 P *rekht*, N *rikht*. 460 *wecht* *wèkht*. 462 *sicht* *sekht*. 469 *ull* *al* [*il* is generally (al), as (salk malk mál) silk milk mill, of which the first two belong to EO and the last to Y]. 471 *timmertuned* *tím'erty'nd* ["having a harsh, unmusical voice," *Jamieson*, (*timertjerd*) is also used]. 477 P *fend*, N *find*. 487 *yestreen* *dhestrin* [yesterday evening]. I'- — *forbye* *forba'i*. 492 PN *séid*. — *wite* [to blame, ? (wáit) not heard]. 498 *vritin'* *ráiten*. I: 500 *licly*, †*láikli*. 506 *wumman* *wamen*. 507 S *wimèn*.

O- 519 *ower* *ouer*. — *thole* *thool* [suffer, endure, a common word]. 523 *houp* *hóup* [has been heard, but (hop) is more common]. O: 528 *thocht* *thokht*. 535 *fouk* *fóuk* *iòk*. 538 *wud* *wəd* [not (wəd)]. 541 S *wani* [and similarly] *shani* *dani* [won't shan't don't]. 550 *woord* †*ward*. O'- 555 S *shy'* [pl. (shy'n)]. 557 *tae* *tee* *tii*. 559 *mither* *míthèr*. 560 PN *sky'l*. 564 *sune* *shy'n*, P *sy'n*, N *shy'n*. O': 571 *gude* *gy'd*. 572 S *bly'd*. 574 S *bry'd*. 578 *pleugh* *plàkh* [sb.], *plu* [vb.]. 579 P *enokh*, N *enàkh*. 586 P *dii* [*div ye ken* (di i ken)]. 587 *dòne* *dun* †*dy'n*. 591 *muir* *muyr*. 595 *fat* [not a fit further (noo e fat far)]. 596 S *ry't*. 597 S *sy't*.

U- — *wud* *wəd* [wood]. 603 P *kamen*, N *kàmin* [coming]. 605 *són* †*san*. 606 P *duuer*, N *door*. U: 614 *hound* *hóund*. 619 S *fand*. — *wunner* †*wy'nder*. 629 S *san*. 632 PN *əp*. U'- 640 *coo* *ku* [pl. (kái)]. 643 *noo*, PN *nuu*. 645 *doo* *duu*. 648 *oor* *uur*. 650 *about* *əbùt*. U': 658 *doon*, PN *dùn*. 659 *toun* *tùn*. 663 *hoose*, PN *hùs*. 667 *oot* *ùt*.

Y- 673 *muckle* *mak'l*. 679 *kirkyerd* *kerkjærd* [churchyard]. 682 P *lat'l*. Y: — *freit* [implying (frèt)], †*frekht*. 699 *vricht* *rekht* [(w) old]. — *speer* *spiir* [to inquire]. 700 *waur* *waar*. Y': 709 *feier* *fáir* [(féir) highland].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 714 N la'd. — *caller* *kaler* [fresh, applied to fish, vegetables, and the morning air]. — *saumon* *samen* [salmon]. — *hantle* *hant'l* [many, applied to peas, called (piiz) from the garden, and (peeze) from the field]. — *ger gert* *gar gârd* [make made]. — *shawlie* *shaaali* [meaning not noted]. — *dawtie* *daati* [dearie]. E. 749 PN left. O. 774 *powney* *póuni*. — *dowie* *dóui* [dull]. — *cknowledge* † *noledɪ* [(kn) occurs as an old form in (knéif) knife]. 804 PN *drak'n*.

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 820 *gey* *gêi* [in the sense of rather considerably]. 833 *pairt* *peert* [paired]. — *maister* *mē'ster*. — *me'em* *me'm* [ma'am]. — *dambrod* *dambrod* [draught board, *dames draughts*]. — *marry* *mēri* [marry]. — *gyarden* *gjeerd'n*. — *heeste* *hist* [haste, vb.]. 866 *puir* *pyr*. — *ill-faured* *el-faard* [ill-favoured, bad-looking]. E.. — *trevel* *trev'l* [meaning only to walk, not to go on a journey]. — *tremmle* † *trēm'l*. 885 *verra* † *veri*. — *hoor* *ūr* [hour]. I.. and Y.. — *envy* *envái* [vb. but (en·vi) sb.]. 903 *dinner* *dēnēr*. — *minute* *minit* [minute of time, old]. — *speeritless* *spiritleś*. O.. — *roond* *rùnd* [round]. — *bonnie* *boni* [bonny]. — *coont* *kùnt* [count]. 935 S *kēntri* [students]. — *positeef* *positive*. — *coort* *kùrt* [court]. 952 i. ii. *coorse* *kùrs*. U.. 963 *quete* *kweet*. 969 P *shær*, N *shyyr*.

D 38, 39, 40 = NL. = north Lowland,

constituting Dr. Murray's North-Eastern Group (DSS. p. 237).

The peculiarities are most fully developed in D 39. The one character of (f) for (wh), runs with more or less completeness through all of them. They form the whole mainland of Scotland that lies e. of the CB., and from the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, to Cs.

D 38 = s.NL. = southern North Lowland, = Dr.
Murray's *Angus*.

Boundaries. On the w. the e. b. of D 37, already discussed, p. 751. For the n. b. begin where the CB. intersects the Grampians and go e. along the b. of Fo. and Ab. to Mt. Battock on the w. b. of Kc. (19 w. Stonehaven), and then sweep to the e. to about Skateraw on the coast (5 ne. Stonehaven), running from 4 to 6 m. south of the Dee. This line I take from Dr. M.'s map, and I have had no means of verifying it.

Area. The greater part of Fo. to the e., and of Kc. to the sw., from the Forth of Tay to the Grampians, the ancient Angus and Mearns, the ancient names for Fo. and Kc.

Authorities. Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 238, and see Alphabetical County List under

Fo. ° Arbroath, ° Brechin, *° Dundee.

Kc. ° Glenfarquhar.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says with regard to D 38 :

“In the dialect of Angus, s. of the Grampians, (1) the consonantal peculiarities of the *North-Eastern* group are still found, but (2) the vowel system is more like that of the Central Scottish (D 34–37), English *oo* being (y) as in *good* (gyd).

(3) The *ɪ* or *y* (*i*, *e*) of other dialects is often widened into *ǣ* (*æ*) as (*hæm*, *tæl*, *hær*, *mælk*), etc., for *him*, *till*, *her*, *milk*. (4) *D* between vowels is sometimes softened into (*dh*) as (*ladhiz*) *laddies*."

This is all the information he gives. On this we may observe:

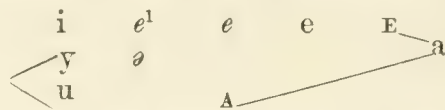
1. That the great consonantal peculiarity of (*f*) for (*wh*) is, according to Mr. Ross, native of Glenfarquhar, confined to the following words: *who*, *when*, *where*, *what*, *whose*, *which*, *whether*, *how* used for *why*, (*fa*, *fe'n*, *faar*, *fat*, *fus*, *fæl*, *fodher*, *fuu*), with the substantives 'weasel wheel,' or rather 'quhitred or -et, whorl' (*fäteret*, *foorl*), and, so far as Mr. Ross knows, in no other sb. or in any vb. Hence the dialect is distinctly separable from D 39, where no such limitation occurs.

2. That *good* according to Mr. Ross is not (*gyd*), but (*gæd gjæd*), as in (*blæd*, *flæd*, *stæd*, *stæl*, *flær*) *blood*, *flood*, *stood*, *stool*, *floor*, but that the D 39 (*gwid*) is also heard. These (*æ*) were very distinctly given in two different manners, and I get (*flæd*) from Ba.

3. Seems to be the appreciation of the (*i₁₁*) as (*æ*), and the people in D 38 distinguish the two sounds, or believe they do so; thus in the Glenfarquhar wl. we have (*m_{i₁₁}lk*), but the Brechin wl. has (*mælk*); they are no doubt identical sounds, of which more hereafter.

4. Of this I have no other example.

The phonesis of this D 38, which is certainly transitional between D 34 and 39, presents some peculiar points of difficulty. Mr. Ross, who has taken great pains to indoctrinate me with them, uses a vowel triangle, which I give as a trigram and represent thus:



He says that (*e*) "is the English long *a* in *same* only without the vanish; (*e¹*) is nearer (*i*) in quality; (*e*) as in *there*, (*E*) a shade broader." One of the most peculiar vowels is here not placed, he says of it, "*ɜ* is my mark for *sit*, *fit*, *pin*, etc., an ugly thick sound compared with the English, but very extensively used in Scotland," that is, in NL. only. "An Englishman says *süt*, *füt*, *pün* (*sæt*, *fat*, *pæn*) as his nearest approximation. *ǣ* on the other hand I must have used for an obscure unaccented vowel, I should think, as in *äliven* *eleven*. *Perhaps the difference is more in accent than in quality.*" This vowel in transliterating Mr. Ross's wl. I shall represent by (*i₁₁*) to distinguish it from (*i₁*), and to retain the NL. appreciation of it, as a kind of (*i*). Mr. Ross says it is nearly the English *u* in *pun*, *but*, and "lies between *i* in *pity*, *a* in *gnat*, and *u* in *nut*," by which he probably means (*i*, *a*, *æ*), "and there is a sort of jerked drop of the jaw in producing it." Dr. M. in transliterating Mr. Anderson's Arbroath cs., p. 684, has generally represented this sound by (*e*), which he also uses for his own *y* in D 33, but occ. by (*E*, *y*, *ə*). In the two dt. given below I find I use (*e*) in *right*, *coming*, *going*, (*fe*)=*from*, *find*, *thing*, *is*, but (*e'*)—which cannot be right, as fractures do not seem to be

recognised—in *gate*, and used (v) in *enough*, *him*, but I have (i) in *wizent*. I cannot think that the vowel is the same in all positions, and when unaccented as in (wi₁₁ra'q), it is rather (v). More upon this difficult vowel in D 39, p. 767.

Another difficulty arises for (e¹ e e). Mr. Ross was kind enough to classify a number of words, and I give the classification.

1. (e) English *there*, “only it seems to me that an Englishman begins his *there* with a slender sound, and then makes a broad vanish towards *r*. In Scotch the sound is uniform from beginning to end.” I add the numbers in the cwl. Long in 3 *bake*, 7 *sake*, 8 *have*, 9 *behave*, 23 *same*, 32 *rather*, 108 *dough* = *daigh*, 140 *hail*, 146 *main*, 163 *lay*, 166 *maid*, 170 *harvest* = *hairst*, 210 *clay*, 222 *hair*, 243 *play*, 248 *mare*, 260 *lay*, 722 *drain*, 729 *frame*.

2. (e¹) “The sound is slenderer than the English *ā* and shorter with no vanish.” In 19 *tale*, 40 *comb* = *kaim*, 73 *so*, 115 *home* = *hame*, 121 *gone* = *gane*, after 151 *seat*, after 348 *beat*, 500 *like*, 838 *treat*, etc.

3. (ee¹) “Same sound as 2, but long.” In 71 *wae*, 161 *day*, 211 *gray*, 221 *feard* = *afraid*, 261 *say*, before 340 *beard*, 402 *learn*, after 825 *pay*, etc. “But in *Arbroath day*, *say*, are pron. even broader than No. 1” (DEE, SEE).

4. (i) “The sound is *ee* short.” In 118 *bone*, 315 *feet*, 571 *good* = *gweed*.

5. (æ) “Sound of *u* in *bat*.” In 464 *which* = *fūl*, 571 *good* = *gyūd*, *flood*, 616 *ground*, 805 *curds* = *cruds*, 928 *ounce*, 935 *country*, 954 *cushion*, 956 *cover*.

6. (o) “Sound, the well-known Scotch sound, nearly *eu* in the French *peu*.” Although to my ear it is more like (y₁), I give (o) as in D 33. In 594 *boot*, 596 *root*, 597 *soot*, 966 *fruit*, 970 *just*.

7. (oo) “Same sound, but long.” In 557 *too*, 586 *do*, 591 *muir*, 969 *sure* = *sheur*, before 969 *cure*.

8. (éi) “almost as in English, but it does not please a fastidious English ear; it seems to be *āy*, *a* being as in *man*,” this would make it (æ'i) or (e'i), but I retain the (éi) to harmonise with Mr. Clarke's indications, below. In 246 *ii*, *quean*, 690 *kind*, 691 *mind*.

9. (ái) “The sound is *ay* where *a* is the short of *a* in *father*.” In 677 *dry*, 686 *buy*, 705 *sky*, after 760 *try*, before 900 *cry*, etc.

10. (áai) “The sound, very long, is *āy*, *ā* as in *father*, not as in *fall* as you will sometimes hear it elsewhere.” In 212 *whey*, 262 *way*, 502 *five*, after 505 *thrive*, after 911 *strive*.

11. (éi) “This is an Aberdeen sound, found with us in a few words. It seems to be *ey*, *e* as in *met* or *slenderer*. It is likest the English *a* in *wave*, etc., when there is a vanishing glide (ee'j), but is not the same.” Hence I use (éi) as in D 33. In 235 *weave*, 450 *Tuesday*, 708 *hire*, 709 *fire*.

“The series of sounds I [Mr. Ross] think is this :

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. (ee'j) wave, same, etc., as in English with vanish. | |
| 2. (éi) weave, fire, tire, see No. 11 | } First Group. |
| 3. (éi) kind, mind, No. 8 | |
| 4. (ái) sky, dry, No. 9 | } Second Group.” |
| 5. (áai) five, whey, etc., No. 10 | |

I have left the second element of these diphthongs as pure (i) as in D 33, but Mr. Ross says, “The second component of the diphthong is not so clear in Scotch as in English. It is a duller sound, except in [the last] No. 3, of which we have only a few words.” If this is correct, we should read (éi, éi, ái, áai), or something like it. These four (a'i) sounds are very curious and peculiar. But the marked features are (e¹, i₁₁), the former being heard by Englishmen as (i), and the latter often as (e, æ). The absence of (aa) in contrast with ML. usage is also conspicuous. The Brechin wl. apparently gave (aa) in some cases, writing *aw*, but this seems to be only the NL. fashion of symbolising (baa).

For the consonants both (kh, kjh) occur according to the preceding vowel, but I do not find (kwh) except as an occasional initial. Mr. Ross indicates (t, r, d, r) in some cases, and says that (t, d) also occur independently of (r),

but he gives no instances. As regards the use of (f) for (wh) in provincial words, Mr. Melville Bell thinks that the real sound is (fh), that is, (f) complicated by the raising of the back of the tongue nearly into the position for (kh). In that case the difference between (wh, fh) or (kwh, fh) would be slight, consisting almost entirely in interposing the action of the teeth. The initial (wr-) is used with the help of an auxiliary vowel written (*i*₁₁), but sounding (v). But in the Arbroath cs. it is (vr-).

Illustrations.

1. Arbroath. A cs. written by Mr. Anderson and pal. with some hesitation by Dr. Murray, given in the Introduction to L., No. 5, p. 684.

2. Dundee. A dt. written from dict. by AJE.

3. Glenfarquhar. A dt. pal. by AJE. from the indications furnished by Mr. Ross.

4. A wl. chiefly from Mr. Ross, of Glenfarquhar, with some words by Mr. Guthrie of Brechin, and, for comparison, the words from the Arbroath cs. as interpreted by Dr. Murray.

TWO INTERLINEAR dt.

D Dundee, pal. June, 1881, by AJE. from dict. of Miss Begge, student at Whitelands Training College, but 16 years (almost all her life) at Dundee.

G Glenfarquhar pal. by AJE. from the writing and description of John Ross, Esq., native, who gave the following wl. for the same place.

These are placed in juxtaposition to shew how the indications agree with the vv. Observe particularly the different appreciations of (*i*₁₁) in (1) right coming from, (2) going gate, (3) enough to, (4) find wizened, (5) him, (6) will her, (7) is.

1. *Dundee.* soo v see, nibərz, ji sii nu dha't a)m rekht
Glenfarquhar. soo v see¹, si₁₁rs, je sii nuu et ái)m ri₁₁kjht

D vbuut dha't wi làsi kəmen fe dhi sky₁l dhonder.
 G vbut dhat li₁₁t'l lasi kəmi₁₁n fi₁₁)dhv skjəəl jəndər.

2. D shi)z ge'en diin dhv ròd dheer thru dhv rid ge't on dhv
 G shv)z ge'i₁₁n dun dhv wái dheer thráu dhv rid ji₁₁t o)dhv

D left han séid dhv wái.
 G left haand se'id i₁₁)dhv rod.

3. sher vnukh dhv bèrn)z gen strekht əp ti dhv dər
 shær i₁₁njukh dhv li₁₁tl)i₁₁n)z gee'n strakht əp ti₁₁)dhv door

D v dhv ràq hùs,
 G i₁₁)dhv wi₁₁ra'q hus,

4. D fàr shi)l léikli fen dha't drək'n dif wiz'nd feli
 G faar shv)l me)be¹ fi₁₁nd dhat drək'q de'f wi₁₁z'nt fele

D kàd :tomes.
 G i₁₁)dhv ne'm v :tam.

5. D wi à kèn)em re'el wil.
G we aa kèn hi₁₁m vera wil.

6. D wəl)ni dh)àld tɔap sɔ₁n lèr'n)er noo ti di)t vgen,
G wi₁₁nə dhə aald tɔap shəən lèr'n) i₁₁r nee' tɔ dii)d vge'n,

D pèr theq!
G pəər thi₁₁q!

7. D lùk, es)t nò truu?
G luk, i₁₁z)'n)t truu?

Dundee Miscellaneous Notes and Phrases by Miss Begge.

1. (ju dhət kenz) you that know, always so used as in Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 212 and p. 71, note 1.
2. (ái)v dind) I have done, never heard dōne. *thou* not used, (a)m hi₁z wi₁r ji₁r dheer).
3. (à)z dheer) never used.
4. (lái, not (lig), fowls (lee), but fowls are called (hénz) of both sexes. (pət dhə hénz, tɔik'nz, dùn pliiz) put the hens, chickens, down please.
5. (gi)t ti hez), not (həz), give it to us.
6. (àld ən leem) old and lame.
7. (tak)s heem wi ji) take us home with you.
8. (ái see, làdiz, rən vwa ən plè jerselz) I say, lads, run away and play yourselves, reflective verb.
9. (wi hà)nə oni v dhem) we have not any of them. (wi)v tɔ gàq) we have to go.
10. Verbal noun and participle, are not distinguished (-en) is used in both.
11. (a)m den, dy₁n) I have done.
12. (shan)t) not much used, (shanə) might be used, but is not so generally, (dɔ)nə méind) don't mind=remember.
13. (hi)z tɔ dii dhə dee) he's to die to-day. (dhə nuu) just now, (dhə dee, dhə morning) this day, this morning.
14. (get) gate not heard.
15. (fan fàr) when where, commonly used even by children.
16. *find* is sometimes heard without (d), as (ái fan) or (fand), but (ái)v fənd).
17. *shr-* initial presents no difficulty, (shrimps) is said.
18. (veri) not (vera) very.

Notes by Mr. Ross to the Glenfarquhar dt.

1. *sirs*, final (s) not (z).—*you* (juu) emphatic.—*lassy*, wench is wi₁₁ntɔ.
—*from*, (feɪ, freeɪ) emphatic, bi) unemphatic.—*school*, some old people said (skwiil).—*yonder* is not (dhonder), though *yon* is (dhon).

2. *she* is emphatic: conjugation of the vb. *to be*, lái am, jə ar, e¹ iz, wə ar, jə ar, dhə ar).—*going*, pres. (geɪ), inf. (geɪ), pret. (ged), pp. geɪn, go away (geɪ waa).—*hand*, the (d) pronounced, but not towards Aberdeen.—

side, the *i* in *fire* is (éi), slenderer than in *side*. “I have heard (sé'id) for *scythe*.”—*road*, “we have just one sound of *o* long and short, intermediate between English *o* in *toll* and *a* in *tall*.”

3. *sure*, this is referred to French *eu*, and I merely conjecture that it is (æ) rather than (œœ), but it is perhaps more probably (y₁), compare D 33.—*enough*, plural (enjuu').—*little one has*; usual conjugation of *have*, (ái)v, (v)v, (hi)z, (w)v, (v)v, (dh)v, emphasised (v hi₁₁v, v hi₁₁v, e¹ hi₁₁z, w v dhv hi₁₁v), negative (v hi₁₁)nə, e¹ hi₁₁z/na, wv hi₁₁nə, etc.

4. *she'll*, emphatic (v wi₁₁l, v wi₁₁)nə).—*maybe*, the word *chance* is not used; they call *lance* (lans).—*find* pp. (fan) without *d*.—*drunken*, this assimilation of final *-en* to the preceding consonant is also found in (oop'm, li₁p'm,

:eek'qhíd) = open, lippen, Aikenhead, etc.—*wizened*, no words beginning with *shr-* exist in the locality, *shriek*, *shred*, *shrill* become (skritj, skrid, ski₁₁rl).

5. *we*, they say (i₁₁t)s mii, i₁₁t)s juo, i₁₁t)s hi₁₁m, i₁₁t)s hi₁₁z or (i₁₁t)s os), but this “I think was an attempt at fine speaking. When a Scotchman wants to be emphatic, or gets angry, he tries to speak English.”—*ken*, (k) is pronounced before (n) sometimes with the interposition of (i₁₁) as (ki₁₁néif), and sometimes with a change of (n) to (q) as (kqok).

6. *won't*, (v di₁₁)nə, v di₁₁v, dii v ken dhat? éei di₁₁v; fat's v dæ? = I don't, I do, do I know that? aye, do I; what shall I do?—*learn* they use *teacher* (tiitj₁₁r), but *master*, *domine* (me'sti₁₁r, domi₁₁ni) are the L. words.

Notes by Mr. G. Clarke, M.A., of the West End Academy, Dundee, in June, 1876.

i not before a consonant is (ái) as (ái mái), before a consonant is (éi) as (méin); five (fáiv) is an exception, but (néin) is correct; bible (béib'l) confirms the rule, though the consonant is not in the same syllable. Observe *hire* = (héir), but *higher* = (háir).

Dundee school boys have a lazy negative formed by an inspired *f*, as (if), but sometimes the tongue is raised

into the position of an imperfect *n* or (t), that is, about (rh_o), and the suction takes place through the whole passage, quasi (r_ohf).

The region of (f) for (wh) begins in the country region about Dundee, and extends beyond the town of Aberdeen. [He should say beyond the county of Ab., for I have it in Arbroath, Fo., and Wick, Ct.]

GLENFARQUHAR CWL.

(11 w-by-s.Stonehaven, Kc.), from wl. by John Ross, Esq., M.A., Rector of the High School, Arbroath, Fo., native. “The inhabitants have till lately (1877) been subject to very little change and intermixture. My (Mr. Ross's) own ancestors had been in the glen for 300 years at least. The glen is divided from Deeside, Ab., by a mountain range taking 3 or 4 hours to cross. The language in the main, both in words and pron., is the same as prevails both in Angus and Mearns,” old names for Fo. and Kc. Thus the Angus and Mearns Synod contains the presbyteries of Meigle (e.Pr., 5 ne.Cupar Angus), Forfar, Dundee, Brechin (all three Fo.), and Fordoun (10 sw.Stonehaven, m.Kc.). Mr. Ross has taken great pains with this wl. and with the explanations appended and the correspondence which ensued. He considers the difference between Glenfarquhar and Errol (e.Pe.) less than between the former and Deeside.

B is prefixed to a few words given by Mr. James Guthrie, of Brechin (ne.Fo.), and added to words pron. in the same way as at Glenfarquhar.

A is prefixed to words from the Arbroath cs., and added to words in the other lists which have the same pron.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tak. 5 mak A. 7 seek. 8 heev [or (hi₁) when written *hae*]. 9 biheev. 10 haa. 12 saa. 13 gnaa [(g) pronounced]. 15 aa [the

vowel (AA) is not used]. 16 daan. 17 laa. 18 keek. 19 tē^l. 20 le^lm. 21 ne^lm, A neem. 22 te^lm. 23 seem. 24 she^lm. 25 men. 28 heer. 30 keer. 31 le^lt. 32 beedh, B baadh. 33 reeder ree-. 35 aal. 36 thaa. 37 klaa.

A: 39 kam. 40 ke^lm. 41 thaqk. 43 haand. 44 laand. 46 kan^l. 48 saq. 49 heq. 50 teqz. 51 man A. 53 kan. 54 wi₁₁nt, A want. 55 e^lsh. 56 we^lsh, AB wash. 57 as. A: or O: 58 foo fi₁₁, A fire fe. 59 lam. 60 laq. 61 ɛmoⁿ. 62 straq. 63 thraq. 64 wi₁₁ra^q, A vraq. 65 saq.

A'- 67 ga ge^l [A (gjeed) goed, went; (gje^ln) going]. 69 naa. 70 taa te^l. 71 we^l. 72 taa, A faa. 73 soo si₁₁ se^l su, A sec. 74 twaa A. 75 strook. 76 ted. 77 leerd [as owner of the soil]. 78 ɛn, A een. 80 hool^ldi. 81 leⁿ, A leen. 82 A ens. 83 meen min. 84 moor, A meer. 85 soor. 86 ee^lts. 87 kle^lz, A kleez. 88 kliid. 89 be^lth, A beeth. 90 blaa. 91 máu. 92 [ken] used]. 93 snaa. 94 kraa A. 95 thraa. 96 saa. 97 sául. 98 knoon [(k) pron.]. 99 throon. 100 saan.

A': 101 eek ook. 104 rood. 105 red. 106 bred. 107 loof. 108 deekh. 109 leekh. 110 A noo. 111 okht, A ɔkht. 112 hee^l. 113 hool, A heel. 114 mool. 115 he^lm, A heem. 118 bin. 121 geⁿ. 122 i. niin. 123 nothiq ne^lthiq. 124 stiin. 125 onli, A onli. 126 oor. 127 he^lrs. 128 dhe^ls. 129 ge^lst. 130 bot. 132 het. 133 wi₁₁ro^t [(werɔt) would perhaps better convey the sound to an Englishman]. 134 oth e^lth. 135 kloth kle^l th.

Æ- 138 faadi₁₁r faadher. A fadhər. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 144 egeⁿ, A agen. 146 meen. 147 [(harnz) used]. 148 feer. 149 blee^lz. 150 best. — se^lt [seat]. 152 wat^ler. 153 se^lterde^l.

Æ: 154 A bak. 155 thak, B thik. 157 [(korbi) used]. 158 eftər, A e^lftər. 160 eg. 161 dee^l [(dee] in Arbroath], A dee. 163 lee. 164 mee^l, A me. 165 sed. 166 meed. 167 dee^l. 168 talə. 169 kwɛi₁₁n ["the (kh) quite marked," yet in a later list (fi₁₁n) and afterwards (fɛn) was admitted with (i)], A fən fan. 170 heerst. 171 bee^lr. 172 gi₁₁rs. 173 wi₁₁z, A wyz. 174 ash. 175 fest. 177 A dhat a^lt. 179 fat A. 180 baath.

Æ'- 182 si. 184 lèd. 187 lee^lv. 188 [(ni₁₁kjɛr) nicker, used]. 189 wéi. 190 kéi. 191 he^l. 192 miin. 193 klin. 194 oni, A oni. 195 mani. 196 wi₁₁r. 197 tpiiz. 200 kwɛi^t. 201 heedhⁿ. 202 he^lt.

Æ: 203 spiik. 204 did. 205 thrid. 207 nid^l. 210 klee. 211 gree^l. 212 kwɛáai, B whéi. 213 A eedhər. 214 A needhər. 215 takht. 218 shiip. 219 sliip. 220 A shepard. 221 fee^lr [(fee^lrd) feared afraid]. 222 heer. 223 dheer, A dheer. 224 faar A. 226 me^lst. 227 wat, A wit. 228 swéit. 229 bre^lth. 230 fat.

E- 232 brak. 233 spiik, A spik. 235 wéiv. 236 fi₁₁ver. 238 hɛdɪ. 239 se^ll. 241 rɛⁿ. 243 plee. 244 A wil. 246 i. kuⁿiin, ii. kuéin. 248 mee^lr. 249 wee^lr. 250 swee^lr. 251 miit. 252 ket^l, A ket^l. 253 ni₁₁t^l. 254 ledhər. 255 wedhər.

E: 256 A strikyt [stretched]. 257 ɛdɪ. 258 seg. 259 wadɪ. 260 lee. 261 see^l [in Arbroath SEE, A (seeⁿ) saying], A see. 262 wáai. 263 A əwaa. 264 ɛ^l. 265 strakht, B streekht, A strekht. 267 iild. 270 i. belus, ii. beli. 271 A tɛl. 272 elm. 273 men, A men. 274 bi₁₁ntɪ. 275 [(sti₁₁qk) used]. 276 thi₁₁qk, A theqk. 277 [druk] used]. 280 ele^lvⁿ. 281 li₁₁nth, A lenth. 282 stri₁₁nth. 283 mi₁₁ri. 284 thrash. 286 harə. 287 bi₁₁z^m. 288 lat.

E'- 289 i. 290 hii. 292 mü. 293 wii, A wi. 294 fiid. 296 biliiv. 298 fiil. 299 griin. 300 kiip. 301 hiir. 302 miit. 303 swiit.

E': 305 hiikjh. 306 hi₁₁kjht. 308 niid. 309 spiid. 310 hiil. 311 ten. 312 hiir A. 314 bard A. 315 fit [pl., for sg. see 595]. 315 niist, A nikst.

EA- 319 [(gaaf) used]. 320 keer, A keer. EA: 321 saa, A saa. 322 lakh, A laakh. 323 fokht. 324 akht. 325 waak. 326 ald, A aald. 327 baald. 328 kaald. 329 faald. 330 had A. 331 sat. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 334 haf. 335 aa [very long], A aa. 336 faa. 337 waà. 338 kaa. — bee^lrd [beard]. 340 jeerd, A jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 345 daar. 346 gi₁₁t.

EA'- 347 hiid. 348 ii A. — be^lt [to beat]. 349 fiáu A. EA': 350 diid. 351 led. 352 red. 353 briid. 354 she^lf. 355 de^lf. 356 le^lf. 357 thoo, A thoo. 359 niiper, A nibər. 361 biin. 363 tɛp. 365 niir naar. 366 gréit. 367 thre^lt. 368 de^lth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 stree^l.

EI- 372 éi, A faai. 373 dhæ. 375 reez ree'z. 376 be't. EI: 378 we'k, A week. 380 A dhəm.

EO- 383 se'v'n. 384 he'v'n. — téir [to tire]. 385 eneth. 386 jáu B. 387 A nuu. EO: 388 mi₁₁lk, B malk. 390 sād A. 392 A jon. 393 wæ'nt. 395 A jæq. 396 wi₁₁rk. 397 suurd. 398 sterv. 399 A brekht. 402 lee'rn, A leern. 403 far. 404 star. 405 herth B. 406 jerd. 407 fardi₁₁n. 408 níu.

EO'- 409 bií. 411 thrii A. 412 shii A. 413 diiv'l. 414 fií. 415 lii. 416 diir. 417 tjáu. 418 bruu. 420 fáur. 421 forti.

EO': 422 A sik. 424 rokh. 425 li₁₁kjht. 426 fekjht. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 friind, A frind. 431 biir. 432 foort. 433 briist B. 434 bet. 435 juu A. 436 truu. 437 truuth, A truth. EY- 438 dii A. EY: 439 t₁rast, A trast.

I- 440 wiik, A wik. 441 si₁₁v. 442 éivi. 444 stéil. 446 néin, A nə'in. 448 [(dhee' used)]. 449 gi₁₁t. 450 tǽizde'. 451 shuu.

I: 452 éi. 453 A kwek. 454 wi₁₁tj, B watj. 455 léi, A lai. 457 mi₁₁kjht. 458 ni₁₁kjht, A nekht. 459 ri₁₁kjht. 462 si₁₁kjht. 463 A tál. 464 fál [which, as an interrogative only]. 465 si₁₁k, A sek. 467 wéild. 470 A ham. 471 ti₁₁mer. 473 bl₁₁nd. 474 ránd. 475 wi₁₁nd. 476 bi₁₁nd. 477 fi₁₁nd. 478 gr₁₁nd. 479 wéind. 480 A theq. 481 fi₁₁qer. 484 A dhes. 485 thi₁₁s'l. 487 ri₁₁sterde'. 488 ji't. 489 A et.

I'- [for the 4 sets of sounds here concerned, see Introduction to D 38, p. 757]. 491 si₁₁kjh. 492 séid. 493 dráiv. 494 táim, A tǽim. 495 A whə'inən. 496 éirən. 498 wi₁₁réit [the (wi₁₁) strikes an Englishman as (wə)]. 499 biit'l.

I': 500 le'k, A lek. 501 wéid. 502 fáav. 503 léif. 504 knéif [(k) sounded]. 505 wéif. — thráav [thrive]. 506 æ'men. 507 wiimen, B wæ'men. 508 méil. 510 A méin. 511 wéin. 514 éis. 515 wéiz. 516 wi₁₁zdem.

O- 519 A ə'ur. 521 fool. 522 oop'n. 523 háup. 524 waarld.

O: 527 bokht. 528 thokht B. 530 wi₁₁rókht. 531 dokhter, A daakhter. 532 kool. 533 dæl. 534 hol. 535 A fa'uk. 536 gáuld. 537 muuld. 538 A wəd wad. 539 bául. 541 A wəl noo. 542 bolt. 545 hap. 548 fərd. 550 wi₁₁rd, A wərd. 551 storm. 552 korn. 553 hoorn. 554 kros.

O'- 555 shæ. 556 tæ. 557 tæ, A tyy. 558 luk. 559 mi₁₁dher. 561 bləm. 562 mən. 563 mənende'. 564 shæn. 565 nooz. 566 A idhər.

O': 569 buk. 570 tuk. 571 gad grad gvid, A ggyd. 572 bled. 573 fləd. 575 stəd. 577 buu. 578 plu plukh. 579 enjukh A [sg.], enju [pl.]. 580 tiukh B. 581 sokht. 583 tul. 584 stal. 585 brəm. 586 dæ, A denə [don't]. 587 dən, A dyn. 588 nən, A nyn. 589 spən. 590 flar. 591 mæər, B miur. 592 A swoor. 594 bət. 595 fi₁₁t [sg., for pl. see 315]. 596 rət. 597 sət, B sat.

U- 601 fül. 602 suu B. 603 kam A. 604 A semər. 605 son [distinctly stated to have (o)], A sən. 606 door, A door. 607 bæ'tər.

U: 601 agli. 609 fuu, A fal. 610 uu. 612 sām, BA. 615 B pænd. 616 grand, A græn. 617 suund. 618 uund. 619 A fənd. 622 ənder. 625 tæq. 627 A sände. 629 sən [and hence differing from 605]. 630 wən. 631 tharzde', A fyrrzde. 632 əp A. 633 kəp. 634 thráu, A thruu. 637 tæk. 639 di₁₁st.

U'- 640 kuu B. 641 fuu [used also for why] A. 642 [not used]. 643 nuu A. 646 B buu. 647 ul. 648 uur. 651 A wəthuut. 652 kəd.

U': 655 fül. 656 rüm. 657 brün. 658 dùn A. 660 buur. 661 shuur B. 662 B hi's. 663 hüs BA. 664 lüs. 665 müs. 667 üt A. 668 prüd. 669 ənkù-thi. 671 muu. 672 sùth.

Y- 673 mak'l [(æ) but with lips more protruding, not (i₁₁) as in some parts] A. 674 A ded. 676 lii. 677 drái, A dráai. 678 di₁₁n. 679 ki₁₁rk. 681 A beznes. 682 li₁₁t'l. Y: 683 mi₁₁dj. 684 brí'g. 685 ri₁₁g. 686 báí. 687 fi₁₁kjht. 689 [(hig) used]. 690 kéind. 691 méind. 693 si₁₁n. 695 hark'n A. 696 bi₁₁rth. 697 bəri. 698 mi₁₁rth. 699 wi₁₁ri₁₁kjht. — spiir [speer]. 700 waar. 701 fi₁₁rst, A ferst. 703 pi₁₁t. Y'- 705 skái. 707 thertii'n. 708 héir. Y': 709 fáir. 711 léis. 712 méis.

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 714 lad, B laad, A ladhi. 715 pad. 717 djad B. 719 [(páui₁t) pow-head, used]. 720 fag. 722 dreem. 723 déiri B. 724 bald. 725 se'l. 727 djam. 728 sham. 729 freem. 730 kanter. 731 wantun B. 734 daarn. 735 smash. 737 mee't. 740 weev. 741 meez. 742 B lezi. E. 743 B skreem. — ween [wean, little one]. 744 [(n₁rlz) used]. 745 tje't. 746 bree'th. 747 endee'ver. 750 beg. I. and Y. 754 pi₁g. 759 fi₁t. — trái [try]. O. 761 lood. 764 B kad'l. 767 nóis A. 771 foond. 772 B boonféir. 774 páuni B. 777 shop. 778 afærd. 780 B djois'l. 781 AB badher. 783 pualtri B. 785 B luundj. 789 ráu. 790 gun. U. 792 skæb'l. 793 hag. 794 djag. 797 A skwiik'n. 798 A kuir. — bæi [bull]. 800 skæl. 801 ram. 803 djamp. 804 A drak'n. 805 kradz B. 806 fæs. 807 pus. 808 pet, B pi₁t.

III. ROMANCE.

A. 809 e'b'l. 810 fè's. 811 plè's. 812 le's. 814 me's'n. 815 BA faks. 816 fèd. 818 eedj. 819 reedj. 821 diléi. 822 méi B. 823 béi. — pee' [to pay]. 824 tje'r, B tjeür. 825 wef. 826 eg'l B. 827 e'gur. 828 eegv, B eegiu. 830 B t'reen [?]. 833 B péür. 835 ri₁z'n, A rez'n. 836 si₁z'n, B seesi₁n. 838 tre't, B treet. 840 tjamer. 841 tjans, B tjAans. 842 plaqk. 843 brantj, B brentj. 844 tri₁ntj. 845 anshent, B Aanshent. 847 deendjer. 848 B tjiindj. 849 streendjer B. 850 dans, B daans. 851 B anti. 852 apren. 853 bargi₁n. 855 kari₁t. 856 peert B. 857 ke's, A kes. 859 tje's. 860 B pèst. 861 te'st. 862 sef, A sef. 864 bika's B, A bikaz. 865 faat B. 866 pær, B peer.

E. 867 tii BA. 869 ve'l, B veel. 870 biäuti. 871 egrii. 872 tjiif. 874 re'n. 875 fi₁nt fant, B fènt. 876 di₁nti. 877 eer. 879 B feemeel. 880 eksamp'l, B eksaampl. 881 si₁ns. 882 B paausi. 883 B dandilaïen. 885 A verø. 888 A sert'n. 890 be'st, A beest. 891 fe'st, B feest. 892 niif, B neve. 893 fluur B. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I. and Y. 897 dili₁kjht B. 898 néis. 899 niis. — krái [cry]. 900 pree. 901 féin, A fæ'in. 902 méin. 903 déin. 904 véilet. 905 réi'et. 906 véiper B. 910 djoist, B dja'ist. — stráaiv [strive]. 912 réis.

O. 913 kotj. 914 brotj. 916 i₁qi₁n B. 917 roog. 918 fiib'l. 919 éintni₁nt, B éint-. 920 B péint póint, A pæ'nt. 921 akwa'nt B. 922 bæsh'l. 923 móist. 924 tjóis, B tjeis. 925 vóis, B véis. 926 spóil, B spéil. 927 træk. 928 aus B. 930 B léin. 932 emu'nt. 933 frant. 934 buunti. 935 kãntre'l. 938 A korner. 939 klos, A klos. 940 kot, A kot. 941 fæi, B ful, A fyl. 942 båtjer. 943 tæti. 944 eluuv. 945 vuuv. 946 móil. 947 bóil, B héil, A bæ'l. 948 bul. 949 muuld. 950 sæper A. 951 kap'l. 952 i. kurs B. 953 kazi₁n, B kyzi₁n. 954 kashi₁n, B kïushi₁n. 955 dùt. 956 kaver. 957 emplóoi. 959 konvói.

U. 961 gruuv, B gruul. 963 kwéit, A kwa'iet. 964 sæt, B shuuet. 965 óil, B éil. 966 fræt. 967 B shuut. 968 óisti₁r, B eister. — kær [cure]. 969 shær, A syyr. 970 djæst, A djyst. 971 flæt.

D 39 = m.NL. = mid North Lowland = Dr. Murray's *Moray and Aberdeen.*

Boundaries. On the s., the n. b. of D 38. On the w., the CB. or Celtic border as far as the town of Cromarty. On the e. and n. the sea-coast.

Area. All Ab., Ba., El. (or Moray) and Na. except the sw. portions (which are w. of the CB.), with the extreme e. of Cr.

Authorities. Printed sources: Dr. Murray's DSS. p. 237 and 241, Rev. Walter Gregor's Glossary to Ba. in Trans. of Philol. Soc. 1866, Mr. Melville Bell's sentences from *Visible Speech*, the novel *Johnny Gibb of Gashetneuk*, and the same author's *Sketches of Life among my ain Folk*. The last two are

admirable specimens of dialect writing, and should be read by every one who wishes to understand the nature of the dialect and its speakers. Cheap editions are published by Edmonston and Douglas, Edinburgh. The site of Gashetneuk is in the fictitious parish of Pyketillim, but we find that it was only half a day's journey from Turriff on the Doveran; that Culsalmond, m.Ab. (8 se.Huntly), was familiar to the characters, as also the Strathbogie district containing Huntly, and that it was about halfway between Marnock, Ba. (on the Doveran, 11 e.Keith), and Kintore, Ab., which would bring it near to Rayne (12 se.Huntly), At any rate the dialect perfectly corresponds to this neighbourhood.

In Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 396-7, art. Parish of Duffus, county of Moray (otherwise Elgin), "by a friend to statistical inquiries," there is an account of the pron. of the east coast of Moray, shewing that, except in intonation, it is the same as that of Ab.

Manuscript sources: Keith, Ba., the Rev. W. Gregor's cs. as pal. by Dr. Murray, and his wl. with notes and phrases as pal. by A.J.E. from his dict.

Buchan, Ab., or the district n. of the Ythan and e. of the Doveran, a complete num. wl. by Dr. Findlater, formerly editor of Chambers's Cyclopædia, native, where he lived to 20 years old, and which he has frequently visited since.

Cromár, or the low part of the Marr district, containing Coull, Migvie, Logie, Coldstone, Tarland (5 nw.Aboyne, 30 w.Aberdeen), and part of Tulloch, about 12 m. long and 4 m. wide. A careful alphabet of sounds by the late Mr. Innes, of Tarland, who was acquainted with phonetics, and wrote the pron. in a modification of my Ethnical Alphabet (read before the British Association in 1849), with explanations written according to the 9th ed. of Mr. Isaac Pitman's *Phonography*, with which I am familiar, was accompanied by very carefully written examples. The MS. was kindly given me by Mr. T. H. Ridge, for whom it had been written about 1864, as a contribution to a phonographic magazine, to give an idea of the language and pron. of that district. The whole of the examples are given and fully considered below, together with Mr. Innes's explanation of his alphabet. I had also the advantage of hearing a great part of this read to me in 1883 by Jane Morrison (a servant of Sir Peter Lumsden, mentioned to me by Mr. E. L. Brandreth, brother-in-law to Sir P. L.), who had arrived four days previously from her native place, Tarland, never having been previously in London.

For such an extensive and remarkable district these sources of information are very few, but so far as they go they are first-rate. No doubt there are many varieties, some of which are pointed out by Rev. W. Gregor in the preface to his Ba. Glossary, and I have no information for EL, Na., and Cr., but the examples and cwl. given must convey a tolerably complete idea of the dialect.

Characters. The following is Dr. Murray's account (DSS. p. 237):

"(1) The most prominent distinction of the North-eastern dialects [my NL.] is the use of *f* for *wh*, and of *er* for *ur*, as in "fat's vrang," what's wrong? (2) This peculiarity is current from the Pentland Firth [n. of Cs.] to the Firth of Tay, and the dialect is most typically represented in Ab. and the district to the nw. toward the Murray Firth. (3) Here the 12th vowel (*æ*, *y*) of the Central and Southern dialects [p. 711] loses its labialisation, so that long English *oo* (in centre and s. of Scotland *ui*) is represented by *ee*, as in *do*, *boot*, *roof*, here *dee*, *beet*, *reef*; short *oo* by *i*, or the high mixed wide vowels (*x*, *y*) *moon*, *stool* (*mīn*, *myn*, *stil*, *styl*). (4) The back consonants *k*, *g*, affect a preceding or following *oo*, changing *koo*, *ook* into *kuee* *kuei*, and *yook*, as in *good*, *coal*, *school*, *book*, general Scottish *guid*, *cuil*, *scuil*, *buik*, here *gweed*, *queel*, *squeal*, *byook*. (5) The sound of *eō*, in the s. *cuo* (*ku'*), is often changed to *cwey* (*kwa'i*, as *cweyte*, *cweyle* (*kwa'it*, *kwe'il*, for *coat*, *cool*. (6) As the *ai* (*ee*) of the other dialects corresponding to Eng. *ō*, also often sinks into *ee*, thus *bone*, *stone*, Central Sc. *baene*, *staene* (*been*, *steen*), here *been*, *steen* (*biin*, *stiin*), the long *ee* is a prominent feature of the dialect. (7) But this latter change is not found all over the district; and the Rev. Walter Gregor, in the preface to his "Dialect of Ba.," distinguishes three dialectal varieties within the area, in the lower or coast variety of which *stone* and *bone* are *steen*, *been*, while in the middle they are *stēhn*, *bēhn* (*sten*, *ben*) and *meal*, *peats*, *fear*, *bear*, etc., *mail*, *pait*, *fehr*,

behr (mel, pets, feer, beer). (8) The short u (ʌ) of the other dialects often becomes i (e, y) as in mother, son, bull, full, here *myther*, *syn*, *byll*, *fyll*, often with the vowel long. (9) The long aa (aa) of the South of Scotland is often replaced by ai as *gayn*, *aicht* for *guan*, *aawcht* (gaan, aakicht) going, ought. (10) The hard g is strongly palatalised, so much so that I have often found it difficult to distinguish the pronunciation of *geng* or *gyang*, *go* (gjeq, djeq) from *jeng* (djeq). (11) In the coast districts there is also a strong tendency to substitute d for th in *fadder*, *mudder*, *widder*, etc., for *father*, *mother*, *weather*."

On this we may remark :

(1, 2) That the use of (f) for (wh) is limited in D 38, and that in D 38, *wrong* is rather (w'raq), while in D 40 it sounded to me like (rwaq) or labialised (r), and in neither as (vraq). (3) In *moon*, *stool*, the oo is not short, and I do not find the peculiar (x, y) referred to in any of my authorities. Also, it is not absolutely correct to consider (ii) as merely delabialised L. (ə, y₁); it is something different, and it is doubtful whether the sound was thus obtained. (4) The (kw, gw) certainly occur, and so does (biuk, tiuk, biukh, tiukh) book, took, bough, tough, but the phenomena seem to be entirely different. (6) These refer to the treatment of A':, the corresponding treatment of A- has been overlooked, and the reduction to (biin, stiin) is by no means general, although it is an old joke to say that in Aberdeen people fall on the *steens* and break their *beens*. (7) The last words, *meal*, etc., are none of them of the same category as *stone*, *bone*; Mr. G.'s words are, "*meal* becomes *mehl*; *peat*, *peht*; *beast*, *beht*; *beat*, *beht*, etc., in the middle district [of Ba.], while these words retain their English pron. in the lower. The inhabitants of the lower district [or coast of Ba.] twit those of the middle on their pron., and throw in their teeth the words *meal*, *peats*, and *kail*, as if pron. *maile*, *paites*, and *kaile*." The last word seems to be a mistake, it is (kjel) in Cromár. But taking Dr. M.'s words *meal*, flour, is Ws. *melu*, *peat* is of unknown origin, *fear* is Ws. *fær*, and to *bear* is Ws. *beran*, so that they have no connection with *stone*, *bone*, Ws. *stán*, *bán*. (8) Here again the analogy is imperfect, *mother* is an O' word, *son* an U- word, *bull* unknown, and *full* an U: word; I also do not understand the long vowel. (9) These indications are imperfect, see Nos. 67 and 78 in the following cwl. (10) I found (djan) going was admitted by Mr. G. (11) Observe that (d) is the original letter in all these words, Ws. *fader*, *módor*, *weder*. Hence it is the ordinary pron. which has substituted (dh) for (d), and not the dialectal, which has replaced (dh) by (d).

The most striking points to a stranger in the *vowels* are, the absence of (AA), which is familiar in ML., so that Dr. M.'s (daatherz) p. 701, l. 3, is an error; the use of (ii, i) for O'; the strange way in which (e¹, e, ə) are treated and written as one vowel i, fully considered below, p. 767; and the singular substitution of (ái) where we use (ee) in many words without perceptible rule or principle. As this seems to have escaped Dr. Murray, I give all the instances I have found referring them to the original vowels. The italics indicate words from *Johnny Gibb* in the original spelling.

PECULIAR USE OF (ái, á'i, e'i).

A: *wyme*, wame, womb. (wə'it) I wot.

Æ: (déi) day.

Æ' (kéi) key, (táitjɐr) teacher, who however does not 'teach' but (liirnɜ). (wháit) wheat, with an exceptional use of (wh) about Keith, but some say (fáit). (swáit) sweat. (wái, wáit) weigh, weighed.

E. (spáik) speak, but Æ' (spitj) speech. (wáiv) weave. (plái) play, as used by old people. (ku'áin) quean, used for a woman without offensiveness. (séi) say, old people. (wái) way, the usual pron. (á'ildjɐr) a church elder, of which (eljɐr) is the more common pron.

EA' *gryte* (gréit) great.

EI (wáik) *wykness*, weak, weakness.

EO' (thái) thigh, rec. pron., but many dialects have the more regular (thii).

I (stéil) stile, for which several other dialects have the more regular (stiil). (tə'izdɜ) Tuesday. (áivi, grandii·vi) ivy, ground-ivy, but J.M. used (á'i) in both cases.

O *quile*, coal.

O' *hive*, hoof.

ENGLISH—*swye*, sway.

ROMANCE—*chyne*, chain. (tjáindj) *cheenge*, change. (konváiv) convey. (gjá'ili) gaily, quite. (wə'it) *wyte*, wait. *viakle*, vehicle. (ráin) *ryne*, the rein of a horse. *kwite*, coat. *jilein*, sending to gaol.

To these I have not added Johnny Gibb's *deykn*, *seyrn*, deacon, seven, because J.M. pronounced them with (deek'n, sev'n), but perhaps (déik'n, séiv'n) may also be said.

Among *consonants* the use of (f, vr-) for (wh-, wr-), and the variation of the guttural, as (kh, kjh), according to the preceding vowel, are most striking.

PRONUNCIATION IN CROMAR.

As the pron. in Ab. is very peculiar, and Mr. Innes has analysed it with great care, I give his elements numbered, and with brief observations, or none when my transcription from his characters to pal. appears certain, as confirmed vv. by Rev. Walter Gregor and Jane Morrison, reserving the observations on Nos. 19 and 20 till the end.

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS. 1, 2 (ii, i). 3, 4 (ee¹, e¹). 5, 6 (ee, e). 7, 8 (aa¹, a¹). No. 7 heard only from old people, No. 8 always before (q), and generally, not always, before (h, d, g). 9, 10 (aa, a). 11, 12 (oo, o) "between English *au* in *caught*, and *o* in *note*." 13, 14 (oo¹, o¹) "it lies as to quality between English *goat* or *good*." 15, 16 (uu, u). 17 (æ). 18 (y₁) seems to be deeper than (y). 19, 20 (i₁₁, y) considered hereafter. 21 (ái) in *sighed*, *tied*, the second element in these L. diphthongs appears to be (i, u) rather than (i, u), which do not occur. 22 (á'i) *side*, *tide*, generally conceived as (éi, e'i). 23 (áe) "deep open diphthong, composed of Nos. 9 and 5, used in *aye* yes, and *I* pronoun." 24 (iu, iuu). 25 (á'u) "composed of Nos. 8 and 16, or perhaps in some people's mouths of Nos. 8 and 18," (á'y₁), which would resemble the Dv. (æ'y₁) in its second element.

CONSONANTS. 26 (j). 27 (w). 28 (h) "before *w*, as in *when* = (hwen), it is almost the same as the guttural No. 37," but in fact (wh) does not occur in the dialect. 29, 30 (p, b). 31, 32 (t, d). 33, 34 (tj, dj) assumed as = (tsh, dzh). 35, 36 (k, g). 37 (kh), "when it takes the higher sharp palatal sound in the *y* position, (j) is attached (kjh)." The voiced (gh) is not heard. 38, 39 (f, v).

40, 41 (th, dh). 42, 43 (s, z). 44, 45 (sh, zh). 46 (l). 47 (r) "always trilled, whether initial or final." 48, 49 (m, n), which when vocal are marked ('m, 'n). 50 (q). After (k) Mr. Innes always writes (q) in place of (n), as (kqif) for *kneef*=active, alert. 51 (j), in (tj dj, kj gj, lj nj). "The (lj) is now very rare, and (tj, dj) I have heard only from people who themselves or their parents have come from Gaelic-speaking districts. The pron. of this district has nothing of the Gaelic intonation, but 15 miles west of us, about Balmoral," which is 16 sw. Tarland, and 18 wsw. Aboyne, "Gaelic is still spoken by old people, and the English spoken is very different from ours," i.e. rec. sp.

The crux of the D 39 pron. consists in Nos. 19, 20, here transcribed (*i*₁₁, *y*) and both usually written *i*. We have already encountered the difficulty in D 38, but there they had not been distinguished as they are by Mr. Innes. The following are his explanations: 19. (*i*₁₁) "Obscure sound in *sir*, *her*, *fit*, not the English *i* in *fit*, but a deeper sound, something between *net* and *nut*. It is the vocal heard in *butt'n* prolonged into a vowel." 20. (*y*) "This is near to but distinct from No. 19. The final *a* in *idea* is this sound in careless colloquial conversation. The English *i* in *fit* is the best substitute for this sound. It has as nearly as may be the value attached to *ē* in the Ethnical Alphabet," which I there defined as "the natural vowel, an obscure murmur," and would be most like (v). Mr. M. Bell used the equivalent for (*y*) considered as the sound in *houses*, *goodness*, in his writing of the Buchan Ruth, chap. i., given in the introduction to L., p. 698. I have therefore used (*y*) for No. 20 in this transliteration, but I have used the new symbol (*i*₁₁), a doubly deepened (*i*), for No. 19, to keep it separate, and in the Cromár example by Mr. Innes I have carefully distinguished (*i*₁₁, *y*) as he did. But he is not quite consistent, as will appear by the subsequent examination.

1. The following words have both (*i*₁₁) and (*y*); *there*, dh*i*₁₁r dhyr; *of*, a, have (*i*₁₁, *y*); *the* (dh*i*₁ dh*y*); *so* (s*i*₁₁, s*y*); *no*, *do not* (n*i*₁₁, d*i*₁₁n*i*₁₁, d*i*₁₁n*y*); *ye* (j*i*₁₁, j*y*) and (*i*₁₁n, *y*n); *was* (w*i*₁₁z, w*y*z, w*e*z), *but* (b*i*₁₁t, b*y*t).

2. The following unaccented initials are spelled both ways, *a* in *assure*, *about*, *among* (i*11*s*i*₁₁r, i*11*but, *y*but, i*11*moo', *y*moo'); *a* in *again*, *amends* has only *y* (y*g*j*e*₁₁n, *y*m*a*₁₁n*z*).

3. In the termination *-er* I find (*i*₁₁) in *better*, *younger*, *father*, *mother* (bet*i*₁₁r, *ʃ*a*q*i*11r, fa*a*d*i*₁₁r, m*y*d*i*₁₁r), but on the other hand (*y*r) in *gathering*, *ever*, *older*, *tother*, *cankered* (ga*a*₁₁d*y*r*y*n, *y*v*y*r, a*a*₁₁*y*r, t*y*d*y*r, ka*q*k*y*r*t*), which I find accented in (s*i*₁₁r, th*y*r*d*, w*y*r*d*, *ʃ*y*r*d) *sir*, *third*, *word*, *yard*.*

4. The following have generally unaccented (*i*₁₁), but sometimes (*y*), as (ma*k*i₁₁n, moorn*e*₁₁n, stop*i*₁₁t, part*i*₁₁t, l*ʃ*oo'₁₁m*y*n*z*, stock*y*t, *y*nta'₁₁*y*t) *making*, *morning*, *stopped*, *parted*, *limbs*, *stocked*, *intended*.

5. In accented syllables the following have (*i*₁₁) (li*11*t'₁₁, ri*11*st, ni*11*k*j*ht, bi*11*t, wi*11n, i*11*t, wi*11*t*ʃ*, pi*11*th, ri*11*p, li*11*k*j*ht, skr*i*₁₁mt, :bi*11*li*11z, *ʃ*i*11*st*y*r*d*e, i*11*l, ri*11*p*i*₁₁t, l*ʃ*a*ke*em*i*₁₁nee, d*i*₁₁st, t*i*₁₁l, sh*i*₁₁n*z*, f*i*₁₁t, li*11*t, hi*11*p, dhi*11*s) *little*, *rest*, *night*, *light*, *bit*, *win*, *it*, *witch*, *pith*, *reap*, *light*, *serimpt*, *Billies*, *yesterday*, *ill*, *rippit*=*row*, *confusion*, *luckie-minnie*, *dust*, *till*, *shins*, *fit*, *let*, *hip*, *this*. And the following have (*y*); (y*l*k*j*i, k*y*b'₁₁l, *g**y*n, s*y*b*y*t, d*y*g*y*d*y*r, d*y*d, n*y*v, d*y*q*k*j, m*y*d*i*₁₁r, h*y*d h*e*₁₁d, *y*d*y*r, t*y*n) *ilka*, *kibble*, *gin*=*if*, *snubbed*, *together*, *did*, *neave*, *drink*, *mother*, *had*, *other*, *when*.**

This analysis shews that the separation is not complete. We must therefore have recourse to vv. which is rather hazardous, because such complex differences generally require a very long while to hear with certainty, and my opportunities of hearing natives were necessarily few and short, in fact I heard only two,

Rev. W. Gregor, of Keith, and Jane Morrison of Tarland, and perhaps Mr. Innes might have objected that both were much more modern than the time he aimed at illustrating, 1780.

Now, first, Rev. W. Gregor sent a cs. in writing, which was transliterated by Dr. Murray, and has been given among the cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, No. 6. To this Mr. G. added the note (p. 695*d*): “*i* has several sounds, one sound in *fill*, *mill*, another in *wint* (want), and a third in *fin* (when) *hinmist*. The sound in *fill*, *mill*, *him* comes nearest to the sound of *yes*, *yet*=*i^e*; the sound in *wint* may be represented by the sound of *i* in *window*. In *fin* the sound comes nearest to the sound in *pin*.” Dr. Murray conjectured that (fee’l, mee’l, hee’m, wənt, fyn) might be meant. In actually hearing Mr. G. read his wl. I wrote (re’kjh̥t, me’lk, we’l, dhe’ls, se’v, fe’qur, fe’n, se’k, we’k, fe’lk) for right, milk, wild, this, sieve, finger, find, such, week, which; but (wənt, thrəs’l, wəɾɿ) want, thistle, witch, where (ə) ought possibly to be (ɶ), though I distinctly heard (ə). The author of *Johnny Gibb* has also *wunt*. This implies two sounds (*e*¹) answering to Mr. G.’s *i^e*, and (ə), but leaves the third sound unexplained, which may be (*y*), and this does not very perceptibly differ from (*e*¹).

In observing Jane Morrison, when only four days from Tarland, Mr. Innes’s (*i*₁₁, *y*) seemed to be identical, but I was unable to analyse the sound I heard from her. It struck me occasionally as (*i*, *i*², *e*, *e*², *ɶ*, *ɶ*), but most frequently as (*e*, *ɶ*). This would seem to imply that there are at least two accented sounds approaching, if not coinciding with, (*e*, *ɶ*), and an unaccented sound (*ɶ*), which cannot be considered generically distinct from unaccented (*ɶ*).

Now I think that if an Englishman were hearing for the first time the Welsh words *dyn*, *dynion*, man, men, pronounced in North Wales, he would hear (d̥i:n, d̥ən̥jɔ:n), instead of Dr. Sweet’s (d̥ryn, d̥əhn̥jɔ:n). Of these vowels Dr. S. says: (ɾ) “is the most difficult of the North Welsh vowels for South Welshmen as well as Englishmen. It is advanced from the normal high mixed position towards (*i*), with which it is confused farther south;” and (əh) “occurs long only as the name of the letter *y*, in which it sounds deeper than the E. vowel in *sir*, being apparently more retracted, but the difference is very slight. Quite distinct from our vowel in *but*,” by which he means (ɶ) (Trans. Philol. Soc. 1882–3–4, ‘On Spoken North Welsh,’ p. 415). The phenomena in Ab. and North Wales seem to me entirely similar, though far from being identical. In both we have an (ii) vowel verging to an (ə) vowel. And in South Wales this verging is neglected. In North Wales the same letter *y* is employed for two sounds decidedly resembling the two we get in D 39. In D 39 there is a persistence of the use of *i* to represent two or three different sounds, which are considered as varieties of the same. And it may possibly happen somewhere in D 39 that, as in South Wales, they really form but one sound. As Mr. Melville Bell heard the Buchan Ruth, he only distinguished one sound (*y*).

Illustrations.

1. Keith es., by Rev. W. Gregor, pal. by Dr. M., above, in the Introduction to L., No. 6 of the 8 es., pp. 683, 684, 695.

2. Buchan, Ruth, Chap. i., from Dr. Murray, after Mr. Melville Bell, above, in the Introduction to L., No. 3, p. 698.

3. Cromár, three examples by Mr. Innes, the first pal. from the dict. of Jane Morrison only, the second and third transliterated from Mr. Innes's spelling, and the second also pal. from dict. of Jane Morrison.

4. Ab. sentences from Mr. Melville Bell's Visible Speech, corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

5. Notes and phrases obtained and pal. from Rev. W. Gregor, while dictating his cwl. No. 6.

6. General cwl. from Rev. W. Gregor, Dr. Findlater, Buchan, Cromár, and Bell, Jane Morrison, and *Johnny Gibb*.

CROMÁR EXAMPLES

written by Mr. Innes in his variation of my Ethnical Alphabet, p. 764*b*, and transliterated in the way explained on p. 766*d*. The first short example written by Mr. Innes before he had completed his alphabet is given only as read to me by Jane Morrison. The second longer example is given interlinearly (1) as transliterated from Mr. Innes, (2) as read to me by Jane Morrison, (3) in Mr. Innes's translation. Jane Morrison read to me from the ordinary spelling, not from my transliteration of Mr. Innes, which she could not have understood, hence where she agrees with Mr. Innes she confirms him; where she disagrees it may be only that her pronunciation is much younger, for Mr. Innes aimed at giving the sounds of about 1780; and especially with regard to Mr. Innes's (*i*₁₁, *y*) it gives my own appreciation of what I heard as explained, p. 768*c*. The third example is the continuation of the second; but as it was not read to me by Jane Morrison, I give it only in my transliteration of Mr. Innes's spelling, in parallel columns, with Mr. Innes's own translation.

FIRST EXAMPLE. *The Meeting.*

"Suppose that two men meet in a fair, who have not seen each other since they left an Aberdeenshire parish school, say 50 years ago [that is, about 1816]. We shall name them John and Thomas," *J.* and *T.* in the headings.

FROM JANE MORRISON'S DICTATION.

J. wíl, :tam, fat wái ar je?
on fuu hee ji bin dhes laq tá'im?

T. a, nee dhat el, :djok, fat
wái ar ji jerse:l? en fuu)z jer
wá'if en dhe let'l enz?

J. dhe wer aa bràli fen ái kam
ewaa. ái hì)ne sin je dhes laq
tá'im. di je má'in, men, fan wi

TRANSLATION.

J. Well, Tom, what way [=how]
are you? and how have you been this
long time?

T. Ah, not that ill [=very well]
Jack, what way are you yourself? and
how's your wife and the little ones?

J. They were all gaily [bravely]
when I came away. I haven't seen
you this long time. Do you mind

ist te fekjht kámen fe dhe skwil?
en fuu dhe me'ster skelpet)s dhe
nisht dee?

[=remember], man, when we used to
fight coming from the school? and
how the master beat us the next day?

T. braali di)i má'in dhat,
:djok. en ái haard et dhe me'ster
diit a twalvmanth sá'in past en
lent'n,¹ en wez ne vere wil of or
hi ded dii.

T. Bravely do I remember that,
Jack. And I heard that the master
died a twelvemonth since past in
spring, and was not very well off ere
he did die.

Note. ¹ Mr. Innes wrote *lent'en*, which J.M. did not know, but Jamieson has
"*lentryne*, *lentyre*, *Lent*, still used to denote Spring," the original meaning
of *Lent*.

SECOND EXAMPLE. *Yule-tide*.

"A piece in the conversational dialect of the end of the last century as
I [Mr. Innes] had it from an old person. The names are fictitious, but the
circumstances are such as frequently happen on such occasions.

"Dialogue between a Laird [=proprietor] and his Tenant Farmer, illustrative
of the Dialect, Manners and Customs of the Rural Districts of Aberdeenshire,
about 1780." The Laird calls upon his tenant about New Year's day [old
Christmas and old style New Year's Day are still celebrated here] and salutes
him, saying [not in the dialect], "A happy new year to you, John. What sort
of a Christmas have you had?" The whole of the second and third examples
is a reply to this question, so that there is no proper dialogue.

C. Transliteration of Mr. Innes's writing.

J. Jane Morrison's pron.

T. Translation by Mr. Innes, on which a few notes are given, p. 775,
referring to the paragraphs into which I have broken it.

1. C *Mr. Innes*. y wiil, si₁₁r, li₁₁t'l oo)t. dhí₁₁r)z
J *Jane Morrison*. a wil, mèster, let'l ó)t. dheer)z
T *Mr. Innes' Translation*. Oh well, sir, little of it. There's

C li₁₁t'l wyrd y jil biiz dh₁₁r is)ty bií.
J let'l werd o jiil bisá'id dher ist te bií.
T little word of Christmas besides there used to be.

2. C áae)v siin dhe tá'im f₁₁n wii w₁₁d)y had'n fo'r₁₁tin
J áai)v siin dhe táim fen wii wed v had'n fo'r₁₁tin
T I-ve seen the time when we would have holden fourteen

C deez oo)t. naa, naa! dh₁₁y fo'k)s nee si₁₁ herte yz)d₁₁y
J dee'z ó)t. na naa! dh₁₁e fo'k)s nee si herte es dhe
T days of it. No no! the folk's not so hearty as they

C is)ty bií.
J ist t₁₁ bií.
T used to be.

3. C i₁₁ máae jaqí₁₁r deez dh₁₁y w₁₁z li₁₁t'l ri₁₁st dhí₁₁ ni₁₁kht
J en máai joqer deez dher wez let'l rest dh₁₁e nek₁₁jht
T in my younger days there was little rest, the night

C *yfoo'r* jil, bi₁₁t ylkje bo'di tráait faa wyd win
 J *vfoo'r* jil, bet elki bo'di tráait faa wed wen
 T before Christmas, but every person tried who would get

C first ty dhy wal y dhy moorni₁₁n. áae kjen ni₁₁
 J ferst te dhy wa'l en dhe moornen áí kjen ne
 T first to the well in the morning. I know not

C gyn)t ma'd oone o'dz, bi₁₁t dhi₁₁ mest y fo'k thokht
 J gen)t me'd oni odz, bet dhe me'st v fo'k thokht
 T if it made any difference, but the most of folk thought

C i₁₁t gjái yn lake.
 J et gjái en lake.
 T it rather fortunate.

4. C yn sá'in dhyr wyd y bin dhy teri₁₁bli₁₁st gaa'dyryn
 J en sá'in dher wed v bin dhe tereblest gedheren
 T And then there would have been the terriblest gathering

C y dhy moorni₁₁n ty dhy soo'ynz yt yvyr jy saa. en
 J en dhe moornen te dhy soo'enz dhut evur je saa. en
 T in the morning to the sowans that ever you saw. And

C dhem i₁₁t dyd ny dryqkj ut dhyr soo'ynz wyz shuur ty
 J dhem et did ne driqk ut dher soo'enz wéz shuur te
 T them that did not drink out their sowans was sure to

C hee bá'ilz e heerst.
 J hee bá'ilz en heerst.
 T have boils in harvest.

5. C áae)z i₁₁sii'r jy dhy aa got e gwid brakfi₁₁st i₁₁
 J áai)z enshuur je dhe aa got v gwid brakfest en
 T I shall assure you they all got a good breakfast of

C dryqkjen soo'ynz yn y faq af i₁₁ dhi₁₁ jil kja'bykj.
 J driqken soo'enz en v faq of v dhe jil kjàbek.
 T drinking sowans and a slice off of the Christmas cheese.

6. C yn ylkji bee'st ybu't dhy tun got y ri₁₁p i₁₁ koorn, y
 J en elki bist abùt dhe tùn got v rep o koorn, en
 T And every beast about the farm got a reap of corn, and

C dhy wá'iner á'us got dhi₁₁ glá'iek shef.
 J dhe wá'iner óks got dhe glá'iek shef.
 T the wainer ox got the glyack sheaf.

7. C yn gyn deel₁₁kjht aa dhi₁₁ jaq tpiilz ga'dyrt ty dhy
 J en gen deelekjht aa dhe jaq tpiilz gá'dherd te dhe
 T And by daylight all the young lads gathered to the

C lá'i y :maamoo'r ty dhy baa, yn áae kan tel Ji₁₁ dhee
 J lá'i e dhe park te dhe baal, en áai kan tel je dhe
 T lea of mamore to the foot-ball, and I can tell you they

C skri₁₁mt i₁₁t ap. dhyr wyd ny bin y drá'i heer
 J skrempt et ap. dher wed ne bin e drá'i st'ik
 T scrimpt it up. There would not [have] been a dry hair

C i₁₁po'n)z.
 J epo'n)z.
 T upon us.

8. C yn fá'ilz dhyr wyz le'kj ty by dushts y dhy tel y dhy
 J en fá'ilz dher wez le'kj te bi dushts et dhe t'el en dhe
 T An whiles there was like to be blows in the tail of the

C tulji, fen twaa met yt hyd one gram'l at ydhyr.
 J bæn'l, fen twaa met et hed one gram'l.
 T struggle when two met that had any ill will at each other.

9. C áae má'in az wil)z thoo t)wyr Ji₁₁styrde, i₁₁poo'
 J áai má'ind ez wil az thoo et wez jesterde epo'n
 T I mind as well as though it were yesterday upon

C dhi₁₁ ri₁₁pi₁₁t i₁₁t làq :djo'n :sha'qks en :dje'mi :bris
 J dhe repet dh'et la'q :djo'k :sha'qks en :djem'i :bris
 T the row that long John Shanks and James Bruce

C reezt at dhi₁₁ :baa jil moornin ekhty twaa.
 J reezt et dhe :baal jil moornen akhte twaa.
 T got up at the Football Christmas morning, 1782.

10. C dhat wyz dhy jiir y)dhy let heerst, fyn wi wez
 J dhat wez dhe jiir e)dhe let heerst, fen wi wez
 T That was the year of the late harvest, when we was

C shee'ryn ymoo' dhi₁₁ snaa efti₁₁r t)wez niir jil
 J sheeren aməq dhe snaa èfter et wez niir jil
 T cutting the corn among the snow after it was near Christmas

C yn dhy me'l wyz as blak)s di₁₁st.
 J en dhe mii'l wez ez blak)s dest.
 T and the meal was as black as dust.

THIRD EXAMPLE. *The Fight.*

ORIGINAL.

11. *yz áae wyz seei₁₁n :dʒo¹n :sha¹qks wyz on uur sá¹id, yn :dʒy¹mi :bris wyz ypo¹)dhy tyd¹yr sá¹id.*

12. *wii hyd kaat dhem twáaiz, yn dhy baa wyz niir ut dhy thyr¹d tá¹im, fyn :dʒe¹mi :bris kjep¹i₁₁t :sha¹qks, yn gjaa hi₁₁m i₁₁ fyzlyt yn dhy shi₁₁nz wii¹z fi₁₁t, ti₁₁l dhi₁₁ blid kam thrá¹u)z hoo¹z.*

13. *sá¹in :sha¹qks hii ap wii¹z hand i₁₁n gjaa :bris y sklafi₁₁rt yn dhy lag wii¹z ste¹kjyt nyv, ti₁₁l)t rá¹q ygje¹n.*

14. *:bris hii seez ti₁₁l i₁₁m : “áae wyd le¹kj ty kjen fat ji₁₁ min by jon, jy ygli i₁₁l-ynta¹nyt sklá¹ip, for a₁₁m nee ty bii á¹urge¹n wy juu, nar one fuul há¹ipyl le¹kj jy. a)l mee)be gar ji₁₁ wi₁₁s i₁₁t ji₁₁ ha¹d ny kam si₁₁ faar fee jyr mydi₁₁rz hi₁₁p dhi₁₁s moorn₁₁n.”*

15. *:sha¹qks spakap baal, y sa¹d : “je shaa¹rger le¹kj, i₁₁l-dyzá¹int vrat¹, jy hee nid ty by snybyt, jy bin styqkjyn for jyr li₁₁kjs dhi₁₁s fá¹il. fat dyd jy min by taki₁₁n ap jyr fi₁₁t i₁₁n gjii¹yn mii y dhy shi₁₁nz ? a)l lee¹rn jy fa ty tyg wii¹ : gjyn jy plee as mak¹’l, a)l tarn jyr ljoo¹mynz ty dhy min, yn mee)be gjii jy jyr haarnz he¹m wii¹ jy ty kreesh jyr broogz.”*

16. *:bris hii wyz y kzyb¹l stamp oo i₁₁ tjili, yn wil herti₁₁t, yn hii seez : “dhyr)z meer wyn ii jyr tpikjs nor dhyr)z pi₁₁th ii jyr brikjs ! trá¹i jyrse¹l.”*

17. *dhy baa wyz stopi₁₁t nuu, yn wii aa ga¹dert run dhe twaa rampeedjys raski₁₁lz, yn :sane :fá¹it gee¹z yn-bá¹i, yn seez ty*

TRANSLATION.

11. As I was saying, John Shanks was on our side, and James Bruce was upon the t’other side.

12. We had driven them twice, and the football was nearly out the third time, when James Bruce met Shanks and gave him a smart blow along the shin bone, with his foot, till the blood came through his hose.

13. Then Shanks he up with his hand and gave Bruce a sclafferd along the ear with his clenched fist, till it rang again.

14. Bruce he says to him : “I would like to know what you mean by yon, you unseemly ill-intended slype, for I’m not to be insulted with you, nor any foul hanger on like you. I’ll perhaps make you wish that you had not come so far from your mother’s hip this morning.”

15. Shanks stuck up ball and said : “You lean undergrown like, ill-designed wretch, you have need to be checked, you (have) been ripe for your punishment this while. What did you mean by taking up your foot and giving me in the shins ? I will learn you who(m) to meddle with, if you do as much, I will turn your legs to the moon, and perhaps give you your brains home with you to grease your shoes.”

16. Bruce he was a well-built stump of a little man, and well hearted, and he says : “There’s more wind in your cheeks than there’s ability in your breeches ! try yourself.”

17. The football was given up now, and we all gathered round the two quarrelsome rascals, and Alexander White goes in about, and says to them, says he, “What’s all this

dhym, seez hii, "fat)s aa dhi₁₁s
i₁₁burt :bi₁₁li₁₁z ? jy)r spá'ilyn
dhy plee aadhgyg'dyr, yn meer
nor dhat jy)r maki₁₁n i₁₁ belbá'iz-
mynt y dhy leev oo)z, yn fərbá'i
aa dhat, dheer)z :tybi :blak, dhy
á'iljyrz wá'if, y dhy door á'urbá'i
dheer lyy,kyn at)s, yn gjyn jy
di₁₁ ni₁₁ drop i₁₁t wii)l by aa te'n
ty dhy :seshi₁₁n i₁₁ sãndi₁₁, ylkji
be'n (bee'n) oo)z."

18. :bris wyz y pakhte tjape,
yn y bite gwid wyd oo)z sá'iz, en
seez hii : "di₁₁ ni₁₁ jii barn jyr
muu i₁₁moo' ydyr fo'ks kjel ær
dhans j)il mee be get dhv ra'dyn
streekj jyrse'l. had ut bá'i yn
lat mii at i₁₁m, for a)l hee yma'nz
oo i₁₁m yfoo'r ii by twaa uurz
aalyr. a)l faal i₁₁m æp le'kj v
djokti₁₁lá'igj."

19. dhys het :sha'qks blid á'i
war, yn hii lá'ust on i₁₁m wii)z
tæq, yn hii seez : "trá'i dhat,
jy i₁₁ltæqt ka'qkyrt shaard. a)l
leern jy ty kjer e beti₁₁r hæq tæq
ii jer he'd. jyr faadi₁₁r wyz y
rygljn, yn jyr mydyr wyz y
wi₁₁tj, yn jyr lakkee-mi₁₁nee
wyz y thif."

20. sá'in uur best baami₁₁n
gjee'z yn bá'i, yn seez : "dhyr)z
nee is trá'yn ty peert dhi₁₁ twaa
fashi₁₁s kqeevz, for dhi₁₁)r beedh
gjaan ti₁₁ :wi₁₁lee :æni₁₁rsi₁₁nz jil
dhv ni₁₁kjht, y dhy wyd by siir
to fá'il dhe fe'st. dhy wyd bi₁₁
fest y ydher as siir)z taatez. lat
dhym dænt i₁₁t ut ii-nuu' dji₁₁st
y feer shak yn dhy best man
ii'myst, yn my₁₁gynykh ty dhy
njoo'mest."

21. wiil fyn dhy saa i₁₁t dhy
wyr ty win ti₁₁l ydyr, dhy wyr
ny sy kqif on)t, byt fytyvyr dhy
gyd ti₁₁l)t wy vi₁₁r yn dhy fi₁₁rst
wali₁₁p i₁₁t :bris gjaa :sha'qks,
gart i₁₁m dyrd ty dhy gran ti₁₁l)z
hed pleet kqip on i₁₁ ron, yn)z
a'lbyk jarki₁₁t on i₁₁ kqoorli'k

about, lads? you're spoiling the play
altogether, and more than that you're
making a world's wonder of the rest
of us, and besides all that, there's
Elizabeth Black, the elder's wife, in
the door across there looking at us,
and if you don't drop it we'll be all
taken to the Session on Sunday, every
bone of us."

18. Bruce was a spirited little man,
and a bitty good wood of his size, and
says he : "Don't ye burn your mouth
among other folks greens (or soup),
or else you'll perhaps get the ridding-
stroke yourself. Hold off and let me
at him, for I'll have amends of him
before he be two hours older. I'll
fold him up like a big spring knife."

19. This heated Shank's blood al-
ways worse and he loos'd upon him
with his tongue, and he says : "Try
that, you ill-tongued, ill-tempered
scrophulous dwarf. I'll learn you to
carry a better [hung] tongue in your
head. Your father was a riglan and
your mother was a witch, and your
grandmother was a thief."

20. Then our best ballman goes in
about, and says : "There's no use
trying to part the two quarrelsome
knives, for they're both going to
William Anderson's Christmas feast
to-night, and they would be sure to
foul (or spoil) the feast. They would
be fixed in each other as sure as
potatoes. Let them fight it out just
now, just a fair wrestle, and the best
man uppermost, and fudgy or beaten
to the lowermost."

21. Well, when they saw that they
were to win to (or at) each other, they
were not so keen on it, but, however,
they went to it with activity, and the
first swinging throw that Bruce gave
Shanks made him dash to the ground
till his head played knock on a piece
of ice, and his elbow struck till it
rebounded on a rough knob of frosted
earth. I am sure they both must have

*i*₁₁ frost*i*₁₁t *jyrd*. a`m siir dhy beeth hii ty by di₁₁rl*i*₁₁n, kas fyn dhy glá'id reez, hi he'd yn alegruugys l*y*₁k.

22. it w*yz* n*y* aft *i*₁₁t wii striiv at d*h*₁₁ baa, tho*o* dhyr w*yz* y py₁lgjyt y dhy tel y dhy tuul*i* dhat dee, b*i*₁₁t wii griit fá'in eft*i*₁₁r't, yn gyn :sha'qks ha'd n*y* bin y fuu'zynlys stram, hi w*yd* n*y* lat'n :bris skri₁₁m *i*₁₁m dhat dee.

23. áae unersti'd eft*i*₁₁r hyn *i*₁₁t dhyr w*yz* samth*i*₁₁q meer ytwin dhy*m*; for *jy* sii :djó'n (:djok) :sha'qks ha'd te'n :bete :gree ty dhy :hali₁₁iiv'n bal *y*foor dhat, en :bris stak ap tyl *i*₁₁r—áae di₁₁n*i*₁₁ th*y*qkj hii w*yz* one *i*₁₁l *i*₁₁but *i*₁₁r, b*i*₁₁t d*y*₁st ty pr*y*vok :sha'qks for fán t*i*₁₁l *i*₁₁mse'l, yn dhy wá'l kate*e* wez sam ty blem tii.

24. sh*i*₁₁ promist f*i*₁₁rst ty e'n, yn sá'in t*i*₁₁l *i*₁₁nydyr ty lat dhy*m* pi₁₁t *i*₁₁r hem, en fen waa'gjaan tá'im kam :sha'qks had *i*₁₁r at dhy door set*i*₁₁n ut, b*i*₁₁t :bris w*yz* s*i*₁₁t*i*₁₁n dheer, yn dhy slá'i kate*e* ty₁k *i*₁₁ tit oo'z hwi₁₁ski₁₁rz y dhy bá'igjaan, en hi got ap t*i*₁₁lz f*i*₁₁t, en dhe' dja'di swa'q hi₁₁rse'l ut y :sha'qks feekj, en klyk*y*t :bris by dhy gaa'rdee, en gyd af wii *y*m, en feerle lant*i*₁₁t :sha'qks, en hii á'i ha'd y gruuqi eft*i*₁₁r't at :bris.

been pained to quivering, because when the actionless fellow rose, he had a sour woe-begone look.

22. It was not often that we strove at the football, though there was a fight in the tail [end] of the ball-match that day, but we agreed fine after it, and if Shanks had not been a weak nerveless tripe of a lad, he would not (have) let Bruce thoroughly beat him that day.

23. I understood afterwards that there was something more between them, for you see John (Jock) Shanks had taken Miss Elizabeth Gray to the Hallowe'en ball before that, and Bruce made rival suit to her—I don't think he was any in love [lit. ill] with her, but just to provoke Shanks, for fun to himself, and the wild coquette was partly to blame too.

24. She promised first to one, and then to another, to allow them to accompany her home, and when away-going time came Shanks had her at the door setting out, but Bruce was sitting there, and the sly (faithless) coquette took a nip of his whiskers on the going past, and he got up to his feet, and the loving little girl swung herself out of Shanks' plaid, and clutched Bruce by the arm, and went off with him, and fairly gave the slip to Shanks, and he always had a deep revengeful feeling after it at Bruce.

Notes to the Second and Third Cromár Examples.

The figures refer to the paragraphs.

3. *folk* "or people."—rather fortunate, literally fine and lucky.

4. *terriblest*, i.e. largest.—*gathering* (gaa'-) or (ga'-).—*sowans*, usually (soo'enz), oatmeal porridge.—*them that*, etc., those that did not drink up their porridge.—*boils* "or open sores."

5. *slice*, "a large slice" or cut.—Jamieson gives the forms "cabback, kebbuck, keback," and refers to the Gaelic *cabag*, a cheese.

6. *town, farm*.—*reap*, "a small

bundle," apparently as much as was cut with one stroke of the sickle.—*the wainer ox*, "the ox who led the others in the plough."—*glyak sheaf*, "the last sheaf cut in harvest."

7. *gathered* "or collected."—*ma-more* "or big field," evidently of Gaelic origin, unknown to J.M.—*scrimped it up*, to scrimp is to make narrow, to straighten, here it must mean, kept it up, or something equivalent.—*dry hair*, "from sweat."

8. *whiles* "or sometimes." — *tail* "or end." — *struggle*, Jamieson, *toolye*, a broil, *tuilye*, *tulye*, *toolye*, a quarrel or broil; the word was not known to J.M., who proposed "bundle"; the meaning is "scrimmage."

10. *we was*, "we were." — *meal* or (*mee'l*), flour. — *dust*, "oatmeal bran."

12. *driven*, (*kaa*) is to 'drive' as well as to 'call,' compare Tam o' Shanter, *suprà*, p. 732, v. 25, it has nothing to do with 'caught.' — *met*, Jamieson, "*kep*, *kepp*, *keip*, to intercept, to meet in a hostile way," or friendly or accidental way. — *gave*, (*gjaa*, *gjaa*). — *smart blow*, not in Jamieson, but Mr. Gregor's Glossary has "*fussle*, a sharp blow," and "to beat sharply," "*up* is often added as '*fussle up*, the ill-getit slype.'" — *hose*, "stockings."

13. *sclofferd*, "a swinging blow," Jamieson has "*scloffert*, a stroke on the side of the head with the palm of the hand."

14. *slype*, "lounge," Jamieson has "*slyp*, *slype*, a coarse fellow," Johnny Gibbs's glossary '*slype*, a contemptible fellow, a peculiarly opprobrious epithet.' — *insulted* "domineered over," lit. overgone. — *hanger on*, so Mr. Innes, Mr. Gregor has "*hype*-, a big person of a not very comely appearance; used sometimes by way of approval, and sometimes as a mark of disrespect; as, 'she's nae an ill *hype* o' dehm aifter a'; he's a cantakerous *hype* o' a cheel." *Hyppal* is the augmentative." — *hip*, "protection."

15. *lean*, *undergrown like*, Jamieson has "*shargar*, *sharger*, a lean person, a scrag." — *punishment*, lit. licks, "or pandies," Jamieson has "*pawmie*, *pandie*, a stroke on the hand with the ferule." — *meddle*, Jamieson "to *tig*, to touch lightly, to dally with; to trifle with, to treat in a scornful and contemptuous manner." — *as*, "not (*az*)."
— *legs*, "or lower extremities." Compare *lomos*, hands, in *Paety Toral*, v. 22, in D 41.

16. *pith*, force, vigour, strength. — *try yourself*, "do your worst."

17. *drop it*, "give it up."

18. *big spring knife*, Jamieson says *jockteleg*, a folding knife, from *Jacque* de Liège, the name of a celebrated cutler."

19. "*cankert*, *cankerrit*, cross, ill-conditioned," Jamieson. — *riglan*, half emasculated animal. — *grandmother*,

Jamieson says, "*luckie*, *lucky*, a designation given to an elderly woman, a grandmother, often *luckie-minnie*," and "*minnie*, mother, a fondling term."

20. *just now* (*ii-nau*), "this word has two accents like *Amen*." — *fudgy* or *beaten one*, so Mr. Innes translates (*my₁grynkh*), a word that I can find nowhere. — *lowermost* or *nethermost*, Jamieson *newmost*, *Ags. niðemest* *neoðemest*.

21. *activity*, Jamieson says "*beir bere bir birr*, force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind, *vir virr*, Aberdeen." — *swinging throw*, Jamieson, "*wallop*, *walop*, to move quickly, with much agitation of the body or clothes." — *dash*, Jamieson "*dird*, a stroke, Aberdeen"; Gregor "*dird*, to strike with a sharp blow, to throw with violence." — *piece of ice*, Jamieson "*rone*, a run of ice." — *struck till it rebounded*, Jamieson, "*yerk*, *yark*, to beat, to strike smartly." — *rough knob*, this seems related to Jamieson's "*gnarr*, a hard knot in wood." — *must have been pained to quivering*, this is a very free translation by Mr. Innes, literally 'be to be tingling or thrilling,' according to Jamieson's "*dirle* to tingle or thrill," p. 735, v. 124. — *the actionless fellow*, Jamieson "*gleyd*, *glyde*, an old horse"; Gregor "a person of a disagreeable temper, metaphorical of Jamieson's meaning." — *sour*, *woebegone*, Jamieson "*allagragous*, grim, ghastly."

22. *ball-match*, see *toolye*, par. 8, note. — *weak*, *nerveless*, Jamieson "*fowsum*, *fousum*, luscious, gross, nauseous, English *fulsome*." — *tripe of a lad*, Gregor "*stram*, vb., to walk with rude noisy step, sb. a big person, as 'he's a brow [rather pleasing in manners] *stram* o' a cheel"; *strammil* is the augmentative." — *thoroughly beat*, Jamieson "*skrim*, to scud, to move quickly; *scrym* to skirmish."

23. *between them*, "as the cause of quarrel."

24. *arm*, Jamieson cites "*gardy*, the arm," from Douglas. — *deep revengeful feeling*, the nearest word to *grungy* in Jamieson is "*grunye*, promontory, mouth ludicrously, a grunt." After this Mr. Innes adds, "The narrative here enters on another subject, and I believe you have had more of it than can be of interest to you. I shall therefore not follow it further."

MR. MELVILLE BELL'S SENTENCES

from his *Visible Speech* corrected as in D 33, p. 709*d*.

ORIGINAL.

1. wi'r gaan t' dhy kwintri
dhy morn.
2. my midhyr)z vrit'n a' letyr
t'l yr gwid dakhtyr.
3. dhy stupid ladi)z brəkht
dhy vraq bjuk fi dhy skwil.
4. a'l gi v a' baabi g'n ji tel)z
faa)z eht ji.
5. dhy pi'r aal bədi goht fuu
't :iki :fi'r last fi'rzdi, yn dit
'n dhy waa' hem.
6. far i i geen?
7. fat o diid i? fat dit (diit)
i oo?

TRANSLATION.

1. We're going to the country to-morn = to-morrow.
2. My mother has written a letter to her good daughter = daughter-in-law.
3. The stupid lad has brought the wrong book from the school = who is your father.
4. I will give you a bawbee if you tells us who is owned you.
5. The poor old body got drunk at Icky Fair last Thursday, and died on the way home.
6. Where are you going?
7. What of died he? What died he of?

NOTES AND PHRASES

furnished by Rev. W. Gregor, when the following cwl. was pal. from his dictation
14 Feb. 1878.

1. The palatal and guttural (kjh, kh) are used as in German, dependent on preceding vowel.
2. (h) in the fishing villages is left out, but not by older people elsewhere, the younger people are beginning to insert it.
3. Variable length of vowels. The vowels are quite short in rapid speech, but otherwise lengthened to medial length, and this is varied. The quality of the vowel is sometimes changed for emphasis, as (skrindʃ skruundʃ).
4. Alphabet at Keith 100 years ago; Mr. G. learned it in 1836 from a woman between 60 and 70: (mæk'l a, le'tl a, be, se, de, e, ef, dje, itʃ, i, dʒaai, ke, el', em', en', oo, pe, kiú, ɛr [rather a hard rattle], es, te, u, e'v, u'lu, eks, wái, e'ze't, epers)han[d]. An old woman of Pitsligo said (persean'dre).
5. Counting: (e'n, twa, thri:, fóur [not fóuer], fáiv, saks, se'v'n [seev'n emphatic], akht, ná'ín, te'n, elee'v'n, twal, thertin, fortin, fáiftin, sakstin, seev'ntin, akhtin, ná'intin, twənti [little glide from (wə) to (n) as in (wənt) for 'want'], [then say "one and twenty," but not in enumerating, then it is twenty-one], hæ'nər [vowel lengthened for emphasis], thoozən(z).
6. (fat)s dhu meeter wi i kreeter?) what's the matter with the creature?

7. Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) for (dhi)'as in Caithness, thus (pe¹t e¹t e¹n tɛ i hid o i pres), put it into the head of the press. (gan t)e¹ wɛl for water) gone to the well for water.
8. She had also heard (tat, te¹s, he¹t) for 'that, this, it,' but never heard (dat).
9. (ái)l di)t, mən) I'll do it, man.
10. (ái, wɛl)ɐ) aye, will-I, the (ɐ) being used for the unaccented pronoun.
11. (bèth i ɐ mən gǵán) both of you must go.
12. (len) loan with short n.
13. Biblical words: (pro-verbs, :daawid, :izraa'l) Proverbs, David, Israel.
14. (kno kno¹ledʒ) know knowledge, with the k when the word is used, (knok)=Knock Head, near Banff.
15. *girl* is replaced by (lasi). (iz it ɐ ladi or ɐ lasi?) is it a boy or a girl?
16. (we¹l ɐ wáit, ái)l di)t, mən, tɛ pleez)ɐ) well I wot [see p. 766, under A:], I'll do)it, man, to please you.
17. (ʒi vrətʃ, ɐ)ɐ vrət'n dhat aa vraɔ) you wretch, you've written that all wrong. *wr*=(*vr*) in all NL.
18. (fat)ɐ i di o? fat o dɪd)i di? o fat dɪd)i di?) what)did he die of? What of did)he die? Of what did)he die?
19. (tɛ shaav korn) to sow corn.
20. (dhi skim'lz)=slaughter houses, shambles?
21. Verb substantive (ái wəz, i wəz, hi wəz), even emphatic (wi wəz), thou never used. (dhi mən wəz, dhe wer), change (wer) to (we¹z) after a noun. Similarly (iz) after plural nouns, but (aar) after pronouns.
22. (if ái biiz at hem) if I am at home, has been heard from children in two or three instances, not commonly; more regular (e¹ɐ a)m ɛt hem, ái)l di)t) if I)am at home, I)will do)it.
23. (se¹k ɐ modiwert ɐɐ)ɐ bern) such a mole of a child.
24. (dhat biúks iz máin) those books are mine, (dhe¹s, dhat) are used for both sg. and pl. all over Ab. and Ba.
25. (hi)z diú mi twa she¹lenz) he owes me two shillings.
26. (fol o i dɪd it) which of you did it? has been heard, (fol) is a strange alteration of Ws. *hwyle*.
27. (kəm e¹n)zh)i go báí) come in)as)you go by. The (zh) is here developed from ('z)i). This is like (shuuet, shuu shuuster), from *suet*, *sew sew-ster*=seamstress.
28. (hi weeted ɐ laɔ fáil. wet ɐ wi féili) he waited a long while. Wait a wee while-y.
29. (fader, mider, brader) occur close to the sea-side. (midhɐr) is used at Keith.
30. (farer, fare¹st ɐwa) farther, farthest away.
31. (hi)z ne jaav ov dhi¹ beernz) he)has no awe, fear, of the children. (ái gar)em stan in jaav o mi) I make them stand in fear of me.
32. (skwil me¹ster, táitʃɐr) schoolmaster, teacher.

33. (hæz) is not used for (us), as in Hawick.
 34. (hi,l izili wɒn ɔʊr tɜ si i dhɪ nekʃt. hi wɒn ɔʊr dhɪ strɪm)
 he'll easily get over to see you the (this) night. He got
 over the stream.
 35. (grɪn, græn) grind, ground.
 36. (ji)l di dhat, tii) you'll do that too.
 37. (:dʒɒn gjaa he'z twaa kjaaks te'l twaa lʊnz, and :sani gjaa he'z
 twaa tii te'l twaa tii) John gave his two cakes to two boys,
 and Sandy gave his two too to two too. It is only in
 received speech that in this case the last five words are
 alike, at least in quality.
 38. (grɪd siith ái,l gar ji di:t wɪ i v dant ɔ ʃɜ rɪ:gi:n) good sooth
 I'll make you do it with a blow on your back.
 39. fe'n ez fən bliimz) when as whin blooms; whin or quhyn in
 Scotland is ragstone or basalt, in England it is furze; the
 phrase is probably purposely ambiguous, and means 'never.'

MID NORTH LOWLAND, cwl.

From the following sources.

Palaeotype unmarked. Keith, Ba., pal. by AJE. from dict. of Rev. W. Gregor, native, then resident at Pitsligo (:pɪtsli:geɪ). '4 w-by-s. Fraserburgh, Ab.), author of the Dialect of Banffshire (Trans. Philological Society, 1866, Part II.), with variations for Pitsligo.

* Buchan, numbered wl. by Dr. Findlater, while editor of Chambers's Cyclopedia, native of the district between the Ythou and Doveran, nw.Ab., pal. by AJE. from the author's indications, and compared with Mr. Gregor's list, with which it was found almost identical, hence only the words in which Dr. F. differed are given, marked * to be conspicuous.

M Dr. Murray's Buchan example, Ruth, chap. i., p. 698, No. 3, finally representing Mr. Melville Bell's appreciation of the sounds. When the sound agrees with any of the others M. is subjoined.

Italics unmarked. Words extracted from *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (=gusset nook, a triangular piece of ground, preserving the original orthography which the preceding pal. will generally sufficiently interpret. The spelling is very good, but not quite free from ambiguity.

Italics with † prefixed. Words extracted from the preface to Rev. W. Gregor's Banffshire Glossary, in his own spelling, where "*eh* has the sound of *eh* in the German *sehr*," by which probably (*ee*) is meant.

Italics with ‡ prefixed, from Sir J. Sinclair's Moray or Elgin words, see p. 764a.

C Cromár. Words extracted from Mr. Innes's Cromár examples.

J Jane Morrison's pron. of these C. words.

B Words from Mr. A. Melville Bell's sentences in Visible Speech corrected as in D 33, p. 709d.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 bèk, *biäk, J beek. 4 tak, [with] M tak'n, C takɪn te'n [taken, taking, ta'en]. 5 mak [with] med. C makɪn [made, making]. 6 C ma d, J mèd. 7 seek. 8 M hee', C hee' [hɪma, J hɪ ne haven't, have]. 9 biheev *bihi:v. 12 saa [but (shaav te'mer saw timber). 13 gníav [obs. 'g pron.], J gnaa. 14 draa [draught, see before 560]. 15 jaav. 16 daan. 17 laa, †lǽ [= (laa') I believe]. 19 tel C. 20 le'm. 21 nèm, M ne'm. 22 tèm. 23 sèm. 24 shèm. 27 kneev [obs. (k) pron.], C kqeev, J kneev. 28 heer. 30

keer. — gíé¹it, M gje't [gate=road, pathway]. 31 let CJ. 32 baadh. 33 rëdher. 35 aal. 36 thóu. 37 klaa.

A: 38 C as [obs. (s) not (z)]. 39 kam MC. 40 këm [kaimin combing]. 41 thaqk. 43 han C. 44 lan, M laan. — san' [sand]. 46 kan'l. 47 waner. 48 saq. — C ra'lq. — C swa'lq [swang]. 49 [pt. C (hæq), hung]. 50 tjaqz. 51 ma'n, M man. 52 won. 54 wënt [the (ə) runs on very lightly to the (n), but the word when emphasised does not become (want) as is implied by] wunt, †wint [and may have been pron. (wi₁₁nt)], J went. — C got [got].

A: or O: 58 fe fae. 59 lamb. — wyme [womb=belly]. 60 laq. 61 vmo'n, C ymoo'. 62 stroq. 63 throq. 64 vraq B, vrang, †vrang, C ra'lq, J vraq. 65 saq. 66 thoq, C faq.

A' 67 gjaa djan, †geh geed gane, M gjaan C, M ty gjeq gje'd, gae B gaan, J gjan gjaan gjed [go, going, went]. 69 naa CJ [negative 'no'], †nō. 70 te. 71 we [wae'fē' woe woeful]. 72 ia, CBJ faa [interrogative only], fa. 73 se, M see¹, C si₁₁. 74 twa, M twaa, twa, CJ twaa. 75 strok *strook, C streekj, J streek. 76 ted J, *tod. 77 lord, M loord, laird [the last merely as landowner]. 78 jaa, yauchts, B eht [own, owns, owned]. 79 èn *aen, M ee'n, nain [(m)èn] my own, J een [J does not know nain]. — C hal₁₁iiv'n [hallowe'en]. 81 lèn. 83 mèn *miin. 84 meer C, †mehr, M mee'r, mair. 85 seer, †sehr, M see'r, sair. 86 its *ets, aits. 87 klèz. 88 kled [pr. t. and p. t.]. 89 beth *beedh, M bee'dh, baith, CJ beedh. 90 bliäav. 91 móu. 92 kno [used in reading only, otherwise (ken, M kën, C kjen)]. 93 snäav sna, CJ snaa. 94 kra. 95 thro. 96 shaav [evidently through (siaav), compare No. 451]. 97 söl. 99 throu. 100 shaav'n.

A': 101 ok. 104 red, J ròd †rōd. 105 re'd *red J ['rid' for 'rode']. 106 bred. — lave, C leev [the leaves, the remains]. 107 lef lof, lövz [loaves]. 108 do, J doo. 109 lekh *liakh, J leekh. 110 ii. not, C nee J. 111 okht M. 112 he'l. 113 hel, M hee'l [halesome wholesome]. 114 mo'l, J mool. 115 he'm *heem, M he'm, hame, C hem he'm, J hèm. 116 [(at, et) used]. 117 in, tin, ain [one, the one, J (en) unacc.], [M lii'n, alee [alone, solitary]. 118 bèn, bin [Ba.], †behn [in m.Ba.], †been [in n.Ba.], biin bane, C be'n, J bèn. 121 gèn, gyaun. 122 i. nen, *niin, neen; ii. nae, C nee [no, adj.]. 123 ne'thiq *nothiq. 124 sten stin, *stiin, stane, †stehn [m.Ba.], †steen [n.Ba.], J ste'n. 125 onli. — rehp [straw rope]. 126 oor [(eer) in the fishing villages. — M roort [roared=wept, reesie [uproar], J roor [roar]. 127 herse. 128 [those, these, not used, but that and this for sg. and pl. as in Johnny Gibb that marks, this three towmons]. 129 geest. 130 bo't. 131 go't. 132 het †hait. 133 vrat [obs. vr-]. — M wëit [I wot, weel a wat well I wot]. 134 oth [(e)th] is not so common]. 135 kloth [very short vowel], J kleth. 137 ii. C nar.

Æ- 138 fedher J [with short vowel, is common along the sea-coast], *feedher, C faadi₁₁r. — M dhegidher [together]. — [(C ga'ddyrt gaad'dyryn, J gidhurð gedheren) gathered gathering]. 140 heel, J he'l. 141 ne'l. 142 sne'l J. 143 te'l, C tel, J tèl. 144 ege'n, C ygje'n, M egje'n. 145 sle'n. 146 me'n. 147 bre'n. 148 feer C [adj.]. — stap, J stap [step]. 149 bleez [about Keith, but oftener (bliiz) in n.Ba.]. 150 lest. 152 wate'r [approaching (t), but J made no such approach]. 153 seterde. — fuder [whether].

Æ: 154 M bak, baak, J bak. 155 thek *thak. — CJ blak. 157 reev'n. 158 efter, M aitr, aifter, C efti₁₁r, J èfter [(efti₁₁ryn) afternoon]. 160 eg. 161 dee C, déi, M dee¹ J, [also] J dee¹ [final]. 163 lee. 164 me, C mee. 165 sed. 168 tale. 169 fan C, †fahn [when, interrogative only], C ien J, M fyn C [when relative]. — aweers [awares]. 170 heerst C, M heerst, hairst. — J beer [bare]. 171 barli, M baarli. 172 gers, †giss [s.Ba.], girss. 173 wez J, M wyz [J. was rather between (wiz) and (wöz), that is with (i) inclining to (ə)]. 174 eesh. 175 C fest. — cairt [cart]. 177 M et, C i₁₁t. 178 gnat [obs. (g) pron.]. 179 fat MJ, fat †fat. 180 bath. 181 path.

Æ'- 182 si. 183 [not used, replaced by learn]. — táitÿer [in schools]. 184 led. 185 ri'd [pr. t.]. 186 breedh. 187 leev [M (left) pp.]. 188 [neker] used]. 189 wai [wáit weighed]. 190 kéi. 191 heel. 192 min C. 193 klin. 194 oni, M onì, CJ one, [also] J oni. 195 moni, mony. 196 wer

[very short]. 197 tpiiz. 199 blèt. — †greet [*grat grutten*, weep wept]. 200 whàit [an exceptional (wh), heard about Keith, in some places (f), but] J fà'it. 201 heedh'n. 202 het.

E': 203 spitj. 204 did. — †meadow [meadow]. 205 thrid. 206 red [pt.]. 207 mid'l. 208 C gyvr, J ever [C (*fyty-vyr*) however]. 210 klee. 211 gree. 212 fái. 213 edher, M ee'dher. 214 nedder [*nedderin* neither one]. 215 takht. 216 deel. — M delt [dealed]. — C mee'l, †mehl [m.Ba], †meel [n.Ba]. 217 itj, M elke, C ylkj, J elki. 218 ship. 219 slip. — or [for *eror* earlier, rather, as in: *or than no* rather than not], J or. 221 feer *fi'r [*fernothing*, a dreadnought coat]. 222 heer C. 223 dheer, M dheer, C dhi'r, J dheer. 224 faar M, †fah'r, *faur*, B far. 225 flesh. 226 meest. C mest, J mèst. 227 wit [occ. (wat)]. 228 swàit, J swà'it. 229 breth. 230 fat [fat, the same pron. as 179 what].

E- 231 C dhe [Mr. Gregor's mother had heard (i) as in Cs.], B dhy. 232 brack. — brakti₁st [breakfast]. 233 spáik. 234 kne'd [obs. (k) pron.] — †widder [weather, fishing population]. 235 wáiv. 236 fever. 237 blèn blàn [as in chillblain]. 238 he'dj. 239 seel. 241 re'n. 243 plee [older people say plái], C plee [C (pleet) played]. 244 M wil weel, C ywiil, J wil. 246 ii. kwáin, *quine quyne*, J kwá'in [quean, with no offensive meaning]. 247 [(spiin) used]. — i. †behr [to bear, m.Ba.], J bee'r, ii. J bar [a bear]. — C shee'ryn, J sheeren [shearing]. 248 meer [about Keith, but (mür) in n.Ba.] *near*. 249 weer wiir. 250 sweer swiir. 251 me't [about Keith] *maet*. 252 ke't'l *ket'l. 253 ne't'l. 254 leder [frequently]. 255 we'dher.

E: — fesh, fuish up [fetch, brought up = educated]. — C vratj, *vratck* [wretch]. 257 edj. 258 sèg. 259 wedj. 260 lee. 261 sèi [from old people], M see sed [said], C seez [says]. — redd, C ra'dyn [rid, ridding, clearing out]. 262 wái, J wege, B waa'. 263 M awaa', C waa' [*waa-gjaan*] going away]. 264 e'l. 265 straakt. 266 J wil [well, in a good manner]. — C a'llbyk [elbow]. — feedle [field]. 267 i'd. 268 [(al'st) oldest used]. — tual, *townons*, C toomynz [twelve, twelve months, (toomonth) not known to J, who said (twalvmonth)]. 269 C i₁mse'l jyrsel [himself, yourself], J jersel. 270 i. belis, ii. beli. — C wal J [a well]. 271 tæl. 272 elm. 273 men. 274 bentj. 275 ste'qk [stink used for stench], C styqkj. 276 the'qk. 277 drentj, C dryqkj. — M bent [determined]. — sen's [those sent as fore-runners]. 280 eleev'n. 281 lenth. 282 strenth. — jerd [yard measure]. 283 mæri *miri. 284 thrash. 286 harv. 287 biiz'm. — C ri₁st [rest]. 288 lat C, †lut lut latten [did let, and pp.], *het* [let, allow]. — C met [met]. — C seti₁n [setting]. — †sattle, *sattlet* [settle, settled].

E'- 289 i. 290 hi, C hii. 292 mi, M mii. 293 wi, C wii, B wi'r [we're]. — M sik [to seek]. 294 fid. — nid [to need]. 296 biliiv. 297 folia. 298 [(fe'n) find is used for feel]. 299 griin. 300 kip. 301 hiir. 302 mit. 303 swit. 304 bit'l.

E': — C brikjs [brecks]. 305 hikjh [*heicher* higher]. 306 hekht. 308 nid [sb.]. 309 spid [sb.]. 310 hil. 311 M ten. 312 hiir. 313 hark'n. 314 hard M [heard], J haard. 315 fit. 316 nakst *niist, *neist*, J nisht.

EA- 317 deyn, J deek'n [deacon]. — shak J [shake]. 317 flee [flay]. 319 geep [(gaap) when very emphatic]. 320 keer.

EA: — cauf [chaff], J kâf. — gjaa [gave]. — chafts [jaws]. 321 sa, M saa CJ. 322 lakh *lauch* [*lauch* laughed]. 323 fokht. 324 akht [C (akhty, J akhte), eighty]. 325 waak. 326 al [(alst) oldest], M aal CB, *aul*, [C (aalyr) older]. 327 bål. 328 kal. 329 faal C. 330 had C [*haul'n*, J (had'n) holden]. 331 saal [(selt) sold]. 332 taal *taul*. 333 kaaf, J kâf [same pron. as for chaff, before 321]. 334 haaf. 335 a, C aa, †âl [=a'l]. [J (uvaa') ara, of all, meaning at all]. — shell [shall]. 336 fa. 337 wa. 338 M kau [kaud] pt., *ca'*. — maut [malt]. — saut [salt]. 340 jaard. 342 eerm, †airm, *airm*. — hairmless [harmless]. 343 warm. 344 M be'rn, *bairn*. 345 daar. 346 gë'it, *yett*.

EA'- 347 tijkjs [cheeks]. 347 hid, *heid*, C he'd. 348 i [lin J], *een* eyes, only pl. form]. — loup [lap luppen leap leapt], J lû'up. — †beht [m.Ba.], †beet [n.Ba.]. 349 fiâu, *fyau*, J fiâu.

EA: — ruck, J rak [a rick]. 350 de'd, *deid*, J did. 351 le'd, J lid.

352 re^{ld} *rid. 353 breed *brid M, *breid*. 354 shef C. 355 def. 356 lef. 357 tho, CJ thoo. — CJ láⁱ [a lea, or meadow]. 359 nipər J, *neepour*, *neighbourheid*. 361 bin [(boon) at Pitsligo Ab.]. 363 t̃j̃əp. — C jiir J, M iir [year]. 365 niir CM, *naar*. — *nout* [neat, cattle]. 366 greet *gryte*. 367 thret. 368 deth, M deth, *deeth*. 369 slo. 370 ra. 371 stre.

EI- 372 éei [(ái) emphatic], C áⁱ. 373 dhe J. 374 néei. 375 r̃ez [C (reezt) raised]. 376 beet. EI: 378 wáik [*wyknsses* weaknesses]. 382 dher. EO- 383 s̃ev'n *seyven*, J seev'n. 384 h̃ev'n. 385 eñth. 386 jóu. 387 niu.

EO: 388 me^{lk} *malk, J malk [but I could not properly catch J's sound, a curious variation of (e)]. 390 s̃əd s̃əd, M syd. 392 C jon. 393 ṽənt [(t) sometimes omitted]. 395 C j̃əqⁱ₁₁r, J joqer. 396 wark. 397 suurd sword. 398 steerv. 399 br̃e^lkyht. — C barn [burn]. 400 eernest. 402 lern *leern*, C leern *lee^lrn*. 403 faar. 404 star. — *hert* [heart, CJ (herte) hearty]. 405 herth. 406 erth, C j̃yrd. — M sester [sister]. 407 fard'n.

EO'- 409 bii. 411 thrii. 412 sh̃ [very short], M shii, C shi₁₁. 413 diiv'l *dev'l. 414 fli *flee* [(flek) is a flea, Ws. fleá fleó]. 415 li. — ‡yeel [Yule, Christmas]. 416 diir *daar*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 417 t̃j̃ou *t̃j̃aa [probably meant for (t̃j̃aa), as (aa) is said not to occur in the dialect], J t̃j̃aa. 418 bruu *br̃ee* [J (breth) broth, always treated as pl., and J (brii)]. 420 f̃our. 421 forti.

EO': — thif C [thief]. 423 thái. 424 ròkh, *roch*, J rok. 425 lek̃jht, *lichtet*, C li₁₁k̃jht, J lek̃jht. 426 fek̃jht. — *yeel*, C jil J [yule, Christmas time]. 427 bi, C bii. 428 si [C (siin) seen]. 429 fin, fent, *fient*. 430 trin *freen*. 431 biir. 432 foort foort [(fe^lft, se^lkt, sev'nt, akht, náint, tent) fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth]. 433 brist [(brisht) has been heard, *forebriest* fore breast]. 434 bet [pr. t. (bit) pt.]. 435 M ji [(jir) ye, your]. 436 tru. 437 tróuth *tróuth*. EY- 438 dii, M dii, diit J, B dit [die, died]. EY: 439 tr̃ast.

I- 440 we^lk *uk, *ouk*, J uk [common word ? belongs to Ws. *wuce*]. — *chucken* [chicken]. — M gin, C gj̃i₁₁yn, gj̃aa, J giv, gj̃aad [give, given, giving, gave]. 441 se^v. — *leevin* [living]. 442 áivi [but (gr̃andee vi) ground-ivy, J pron. (áivi) in both cases]. 443 fráide. 444 stáil. 446 ná'in [(nóin) at Pitsligo and Rosehearty, both 4 w.Fraserburg, Ab.]. — shi₁₁nz [shins]. 447 C i₁₁r. 448 [not used]. — bit. 449 get [C (got) got]. — M sen [since, Ws. s̃ipen]. — M bet̃erli [bitterly]. — C bit [a bit = portion]. — *wuddie* [withy]. — C pi₁₁th [pith]. 450 t̃ezdi *t̃ə'izde, J t̃á'izde. 451 shuu [formed from (s̃iu) to sew, (shuuster) a sewster or seamstress].

I: 452 ái, M áai, *aw* [meant for (aa)], C áae. 454 w̃əp, C wi₁₁t̃j̃. 455 lái. — C th̃yrd. — C tw̃áais [twice]. 457 me^lk̃jht [M (almekhti) Almighty, might, sb.] — *mith* [might, vb.]. 458 ne^lk̃jht, M nekht, JC ni₁₁kht. 459 re^lk̃jht [*oonrichteous*, unrighteous]. 460 we^lk̃jht *wecht*. 461 lichtit [alighted]. 462 se^lk̃jht. 463 M tel, C ti₁₁l. 464 fe^lk [but (fol o)i] which of you? J knew the phrase], ‡futch. 465 se^lk sic. 466 C t̃j̃iil, J [chiel, child is replaced by bairn]. 467 we^l wil', C wá'il, J wel. 469 ‡wull [will]. 470 M hee^lm. 471 t̃e^lmer. — C styqk̃j̃yn [stinking]. — C dryqk̃j̃, J driqk [drink]. 472 shre^lqk. 473 ble^ln. 475 we^ln win, C w̃yn win'y [windy]. 476 be^ln. — C yt̃wiin [atween]. 477 fe^ln, M fen. 478 gre^ln. — hin [hind]. 479 win. 481 fe^lqer [finger]. — M bige^lnen [begin]. — ‡rin rin [run]. — C wi₁₁n [win = arrive at, reach], J wen. 484 C dh̃i₁₁s, J [used for sg. and pl.]. — *rashes* [rushes]. 485 thr̃as'l *thris'l. — ‡fussel [whistle]. 487 je^lsterde, C ji₁₁st̃yrd̃e, J jesterde, *the streen* [yestere'en, (dhestr̃iin), (dh) for (j) as in (dhonder)]. 488 jet. 489 M et. — wut [wit]. — wut̃ness [witness]. — B vrit'n [written]. — C si₁₁ti₁₁n [sitting]. — sax [six].

I'- 490 báí. 491 sekh. 492 C s̃á'id [C (biiz), J (bisá'id) besides]. 493 dr̃áiv. 494 téim [(tóim) at Pitsligo, Ab.], C tá'im J. 496 áir'n, [(óir'n) at Pitsligo]. 497 CJ reezt [raised]. 498 vr̃eit vrit, *vreetin* [writing, both (éi, i) are used]. 499 be^ll.

I': 500 léik, *lickly* [likely], CJ le^lkj. 501 wéid. 502 fáiv J [(fóiv) at Pitsligo, J was not aware that she pron. (fáiv kná'ivz) with different diphthong]. 503 le^lif, ‡leif. 504 knáif [(k) pron.], ‡kneif. — ‡streif [strife]. 505 weif, M wá'if, J wá'if. 506 oman J [the (a) quite distinct] 'oman. 507 wim̃n,

M wymen, J wimen. 508 méil [(móil) at Pitsligo]. 509 féil, M fá'il, *filie* [a little while], CJ fá'il. 510 ii. M máai, C máae [emphatic], B my [unemphatic]. 511 wéin. 512 [(spóir) at Pitsligo]. 513 weír *weer*. 514 éis. 515 wéiz, J wéis [with an (s)]. 516 wizdem. — *fite* [white].

O- 518 C bó'di J, B bádi. 519 M á'ur [over]. 520 bóu. 521 fol. — C drop [drop]. 522 óp'n. 523 hop *hóup, M há'up. — C *yloo'r* [before, *forrit* forward]. 524 word'l *ward'l, *wardle* [*war'dly* worldly]. — C hoo'z [hose].

O: — *kyeuk* cook, J kek. — M good, *gweed*, [God]. — *af'en*, C aft [often]. 526 kokh. 527 bookht M. 528 thokht C, J thokht. 529 brookht, M brokht, *brocht*, B brókht. 530 vrokht. 531 dóther, M daather [the (aa) must be wrong, probably for (oo), which I used], dakhter, B dakhtyr. 532 kol *†quile*. 533 dal. 534 hol. 535 M fo'k CJ, *fowk*. 536 góud. 537 muuld. 538 wad. — *knowe-head* [knoll-head]. 539 bóul. — *crap* [crop]. 545 hop *hip. — C stopi₁₁t [stopped]. 547 bíuurd. 548 fiuurd. 550 ward, C wyrd, J werd. 551 storm. 552 korn, C koorn, J koorn. 553 horn. — C morni₁₁n, J moornen, B morn. — *†hoss* [horse, *r* suppressed]. 554 kros. — *bree* [broth, Ws. broð]. — *boddom* [bottom]. — C á'us [ox, this pron. not known to J, who pron. (òks)].

O'- 555 shi *shee* [(shiin), *sheen* shoes, *sheen* shoeing], J shi shin. 556 te, M ty. 557 tii, M tií, C tii. 558 liuk [M (luket) looked *luikin*, C (lɪj,kɪm) looking]. 559 mídher [(míder), *†mudder* in the fishing villages], *míther* mídher, C mydi₁₁r, B mídhyr. — *draucht* [draught]. 560 *†squel*, B skwil J. 561 bliim. 562 miin, C min, *†meen*. 563 manende. 564 siin. 565 nooz J, *niz [nizzen, noseing = wiggling]. 566 idher [M (əníðher tíðher) another, *†other*, *tithers*], C i₁₁nydyr [another]. 568 *†bréether* [*cē* very long in m.Be.], *†bríther bradder* [in fishing villages]. — M grá'uen [grown].

O': 569 bíuk J, *buk, B buk. 570 tuk M [(tíuk) Pitsligo and Rosehearty] *tyeuk*. 571 gwid CMB, *gweed*. 572 blid CJ, *†bleed*. 573 flad. — *reed* [rood=gibbet, cross]. 574 brid. 575 *un'ersted*, C (unerstid) understood]. — *wudden* [wood=mad]. 576 wed'nzdi. — *†hive* [hoof]. — *beheef* [behoof]. — *reef* *†reef* [roof]. 577 bíukh [J did not know the word]. 578 plíu plíukh [(plíakh) Keith for both vb. and sb.] *plewing*, *pleuch*, *pleuchin*, *ploo*. 579 iníu' [enow, number], iníukh [enough, quantity], M ynu'kh *aneuch* [J knew the distinction of number and quantity]. 580 tíu kh. 581 sokht. 582 kuil *†quell* [cool]. 583 til teel [(tilsem) toolsome, easily worked]. 584 stiil. 585 briim, *bream*. 586 di, de)ne [don't], M dii', *dee* [*dizna deester* does not, a do-er, J did not know *deester*]. 587 diin, *deen*. 588 [(toornin) forenoon]. 589 spiin *†speen*. 590 fiir [(fiuur) has been heard, but it is not common]. 591 míur *miir. 592 swiir. 593 [(mon) used]. 594 bit *†beet*, *beet*. 595 fe't, *†fit*, *fit*, C fi₁₁t [sg. the pl. is (fit) 315]. 596 rit, *†reet*, *reet*. 597 sit [(sat) about Roseneath]. 598 siith [(gwid siith) good sooth]. — *†teeth* [tooth, sg.]

U- 599 ebi'n. — *wuds*, C wyd [wood, forest], J wed. 600 lov *láv. 601 fuul *fool*. 602 suu. — *bridegreem* bridegroom, Ws. bry'd-guma]. 603 kam CJ. 604 simmer [summer]. 605 se'n *sən, M see'n. — *†cuss* [curse, s.Ba.]. 606 door. 607 bater.

U: 608 agli, C ygli. — *shooders*, J shadherz [shoulders]. 609 fol fu, *fuu M, *†fill*, J fál. 610 uu J. 612 sam. 613 draek [(drak'n) not used]. — *droont* drowned. 614 han J. 615 pan. 616 gran C. 617 sun. 618 wun. 620 gran. 621 wan. 622 [(enè'th) replaces under]. 623 fan. 624 gran. — *won'er* [wonder]. 625 taq [C (i₁₁llteqt) ill-tongued]. 626 haqer. 627 C sandi₁₁ [Sunday]. 629 se'n *sən [sindoon, sundown], J sen. 630 won. 631 firzde, B fi'rzdi. 632 ap MCJ [C (i₁₁pō'n) upon]. 633 kap. — *broch* [burg, borough]. 634 thróu [(throk) has been heard] *throu*, C thrá'u. 635 warth. — J wárdhi [worthy]. 636 *†forthier*. 637 task. 638 bask. 639 dæst, C di₁₁st, J dest.

U'- 640 kuu. 641 [(fat wái) what way, replaces how, but we find] *hoo* [*hoover*], C fuu J. 643 nuu M, *noo no*, [*†chnoo*, *cenoo*, J enuu, the now, just now]. 645 duu. 646 buu. 647 uulet. 648 uur C. 649 thuuzend. 650 M ebu't, C i₁₁but, J abùt. 652 kad. 653 bat, M byt, *but*, C bi₁₁t, J bet.

U': 654 shruud. 655 fuul C. 656 ruum. 657 bruun. 658 duun, *doon*. 659 M tun C, J tùn, *toon*. 661 shuur, *shoor*. 662 [(as) is not (hæz) as in D 33, to us (te'l)z)]. 663 huus, M hus, *hoose*. 664 luus. 665 muus. 667 uut, M ut CJ, *oot*. 668 pruud. 670 toubith, bothi [toll-booth, tent, not known to J]. 671 muu, *mou*, C muu. 672 suuth, *sooth*.

Y: 673 mak'l M. 674 C dyd [(dyd)ny] didn't, J ded [emph.]. 675 drai'. — C i₁₁l [ill, evil], J el. 676 li. 677 drai, C drá'i. 678 de'n. — C hi₁₁p, J hep. — M stiir [stir]. 679 kerk. 680 be'zi. 681 *buzness*, J *beznes*. 682 le't'l, B li₁₁t'l, J let'l.

Y: — C stamp. 683 me'dj *midjek. 684 bre'g. 685 re'g. 686 bái. 687 flekht. — *full* [fíll]. — bá'ilz [boils, sores]. 689 biel' building, shelter]. — *el'yer*, C á'iljyr [elder of a church]. — M foləjn [following]. 690 kjaín. 691 máin †móind [móin] at Pitsligo], C má'in J. 693 se n, J sen. 696 berth. — birn [burden]. 697 biri [bury]. 698 mæth *mirth. 699 vrekht, *vricht*. 700 war, *waur*. 701 ferst J, †fisst [s.Ba.], C fi₁₁rst, †fist [meant for *fast*?, the same as the C with (r) suppressed]. 702 C wii. 703 piet *pit, †pet [rather than *pit*, the English (i) not being used].

Y: 705 skái. 706 fu [(fat for) used gen.]. — *foifteen* [fífteen]. — C fo'rtin J. 708 háir [(hóir) Pitsligo], J há'ir.

Y: — †fulth [fílt]. 709 fáir [(foir) Pitsligo], J fá'ir. 711 láis. 712 máis. — *wuss*, C wi₁₁s [wish], J wəsh [vowel something like (i)].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *Aiberdeen* [Aberdeen]. 714 M ladiz [laddies]. 717 djaad, C dja'di, *jaud*. 718 tred. 719 [(póult)=poll-head, used]. — C kjel [kail]. — *baak* [balk, bawk]. — C blem [blame]. — CJ faq [a whang or slice]. — *thropple* [thrapple]. — *dauring* [daring adj.]. — C kqoorli₁₁k [gnarlock]. — *trag* [trash]. 736 las. — C taatez [potatoes]. — *coushus* cautious. 740 [waves are usually called (djarz) of the sea]. — *swye* [sway].

E. 743 skreem. 744 mærlz *miz'lz. — herte [heartly]. 745 tjet. — †peht [m.Ba], †peet [n.Ba]. 746 breedh. 747 ende'ver. 749 M left. 750 beg.

I. and Y. — C li₁₁kjs [licks=blows]. — C ste'kijt [stuck]. — trá'li [(tráa'it), J (tráait) try, tried]. — C slá'i [sly]. — C kqit [keen]. 753 te'k'l [ticklish]. — *triffle* [trifle]. — [(big) for (bild) occ.], biel' [building shelter]. 754 pe'g. — *slicht*, C slá'i [slight, sly]. — *ticht* [tight]. — *peen* [pin]. — M sá'in [syne, since], J sá'in. — C kqip [knip]. — †fup, *fup* [whip]. — *wup* [wipe or wrap round]. — *fuskers*, C hwi₁₁ski₁₁rz [whiskers]. — *fusky* [whisky].

O. 761 lèd [as (v lèd v stre) a load of straw, vb. the same]. — laft [loft]. — C broogz [brogues, thick shoes]. — *scaad* [scold]. 769 modiwert, J ma'dimert. — mon [must]. 773 [only (as) used]. 774 póuny. — *lowst*, C lá'ust [loosed], J lá'ust. — *quet*, *quyte*, *coote* [in Jamieson *coot cote*=ankle]. 777 chop choppie [shop], J tjo'p. 778 afu'u'rd, *affoord*. — *firms* [forms to sit on]. — *wordy woorthies* [worthy worthies]. — *not* [needid]. 781 badher *bader, *bather*. 783 paltri. — *bun'* [boun, going]. — *roose*, *rouse*. 789 J rá'u [row, noise]. — C soo'lynz, J soo'eniz [sowans, oatmeal porridge]. 790 guun.

U. — C snybyt [snubbed]. — *Brees*, C :bris [Bruce]. — C stack [stuck]. — M bigu'd [began]. — C grungji [grudge]. — be'l *bəl, †bill [bull], J bəl. — C fan [fun]. — M ent'l [unto]. 805 krúdz. — *neeps* [turnips]. 806 fæs. — *busses* [bushes]. 807 pús. 808 pè't, †pit, *pat*, *pitten*, *put pat*, *pitten*, C pi₁₁t [put prt. and pt.]. — C klykijt [clutched].

III. ROMANCE.

A. — M grant [grant]. — *spawcious* [spacious, here *aw* represents (aa)]. — *saacred* [sacred, here *aa* represents (aa)]. — *wager* [wager]. 821 dilei'. 822 méi. 823 béei. 824 tjiir [occ.]. 826 eeg'l *eg'l. 827 eegur. — *compleen* [complain]. — *chyne* [chain]. — *saunt* [saint]. — *clær* [clear]. — *plesour* [pleasure]. 835 rez'n. 836 sez'n *sizzon*. 838 tret. — C baa, J baal [foot-ball], C bal [ball=dance]. — *value* [value]. — †maister [master]. 839

C baa [as a football], C bal [a dance]. — mèster [master]. 840 tjaamer *chaum'r*. — M fee^lmin. 841 tjaans. 842 pliaqk. 843 brentj *branch*. 844 trentj [*truncher* *trencher*]. 845 anshent. 848 tjaindy *cheenge*. 849 strunge [so spelled in Gl. to *Johnny Gibb*, ? *streenge*, sour, surly]. — arrengen [arranging]. 851 aut. — carvable [capable]. 852 aaprun. — pawrent [parent]. — C kjer [carry]. — M meret [married]. — pairis [parish]. 856 M pert, C peert [*pairty* party]. — C raski^llz [rascals]. — aisp [asp]. — fattal [fatal]. — moderactor [moderator]. — pawtrons [patrons]. 864 bika'z, C kas. 865 outhoreest [authorised]. 866 piir peer, B pi'r. — fauvour, weel faur't [favour = looks, well-looking]. — J braali [bravely, right well].

E.. 867 tee, tae. 869 veel. 870 bjaati *biy'ti. — eiekin [electing]. 871 C griit [agreed]. — viakle [probably (vái'ek'l) vehicle]. 874 râm, ryne. — obaidient [obedient]. 879 feemeel. — blasphemous [blasphemous]. — seenit [senate]. — C yma^lnz [amends]. — konvainient [convenient]. — maintene [maintain]. — enterteenment [entertainment]. — obteen [obtain]. — sustenance [sustenance]. — C guta^lnyt [intended]. — envious [envious, but accent on second syllable]. — jilein [gaoling, putting into gaol]. 885 J vere [very]. — sairious [serious]. — sair't [served]. 889 sees. — C seshiⁿ [session]. — mizzour [measure]. 890 †beht [m.Ba.], †beest [n.Ba.], C beht, F bèst. — reest [arrest]. 891 feest. — B létyr [letter]. 892 nefe. — C fá'il [foil, leaf]. — oor [hour]. 893 fluur. — preef [proof]. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I.. and Y.. — †scrabble [scribble]. — leeberty [liberty]. 898 nóis [at Pitsligo]. — seecophant [sycophant]. 900 pree [(preerz) prayers]. — C siir [sir]. — diffeekwalty [accent on second syllable]. — obleeq't [obliged]. — C vi^lir [vigour]. — C dyzálint [designed]. — fortigging [fatiguing]. — seelence [silence]. 901 C fá'in, †foine [(fóin) at Pitsligo]. — prenciples [principles]. 902 [(móin) at Pitsligo]. 903 [(dóin) at Pitsligo]. — opingan [probably (opi'qen) opinion]. — onjusteece [injustice]. — inqvaries [inquiries, accent first syllable]. 904 váilet [violet]. 908 [(advóis) at Pitsligo]. — †fuscal [fiscal]. — preceesely [precisely ? with (z)]. — idolvest [idolised]. — practeece [practise]. — adverteece [advertise]. — exereeece [exercise]. — martyreesin [martyrising]. — C sá'iz [size]. — veisitín [visiting]. 910 dpist. — seet [site]. — invectit [invited]. — teetle enteetled, †teetle [title, entitled]. — C striiv [strive]. — ceevil [civil]. — preevilege [privilege]. 912 [(vóis) at Pitsligo].

O.. 913 kóttj. 914 bróttj. — joukin [joking]. 915 stof. 916 iqen. — droogs [drugs]. 918 fib'l. 919 éintment. 920 péint. 921 akwa'nt. — B fí'r [fair = market]. — pushion't [poisoned]. 924 tjéis. 925 véis. 926 spéil, C spá'il. — stamackie [little stomach]. — C promist [promised]. — soom [sum]. — CJ grem'l [grumble]. — M akuu'nt [account], coont. 928 ons *ans. — run, roond [round]. — expoondin [expounding]. — coontin [counting]. 930 léin. — croon [crown]. — ordeen [ordain]. 934 banti. 935 kantri, M kwintre^l countra kwintra, B kwintri. 937 kok. — †chöek [choke]. — C pryvok [provoke]. 938 kornær. — †pöst [post]. 939 kloos †clös [v(k)los] perhaps. — †nöt [note = (not) or (not) perhaps]. — †röt [rote]. 940 kwite. 941 fiil [feelish foolish]. — tribbles troubles. 942 butjer. 943 tatj. — pooder [powder]. 944 aluu'. 945 vuu. 947 béil. 948 bul [a ball, glass marble]. 949 muuld. 950 saper. 951 káp'l. — tarn [turn]. — puss [purse, r suppressed = (päs) ?], †puss, [purse, s.Ba.]. 952 ii. coorse. 953 kaz'n. 954 kashen. — stoot [stout]. 955 dut. — poovers [powers]. 956 kaver, courin [recovering]. — dizen [dozen]. 959 i. konvái.

U.. 960 kéei. — M wé'it wyte [wytin, wait waiting]. — M djúdy jeedge [judge]. 963 kwejet quate [quietness quietness]. 954 shunt. 965 éil. 966 frit †freet. 967 sit [(sit v kleez) suit of clothes]. 968 éister. — M ruu^lt rowle [ruled rule]. — poopit [pulpit]. — multiteed [multitude]. — shoopreme [supreme]. — B stjupid [stupid]. 969 seerli, C shuur siir [(i, siir) assure]. — keerious [curious]. — ferious [furious]. — erkeesable [excusable]. — C is, ees eesful, †eess [use useful, C (is)ty, J (ist te) used to]. — refceesin refusing. — eesural [usual]. — †agust [august, possibly meant for (aa'gast)]. 970 *joost, C dyist. — breet [brute]. — constitution [constitution].

D 40. = n.NL. = northern North Lowland, = Dr.
Murray's *Caithness*.

Boundaries. On the w. the CB. or Celtic Border, elsewhere the sea-coast of Cs.

Area. The ne. part of Cs. This was of course originally Celtic, as the rest of Cs. is. Then it became Norse, afterwards Celtic again, and finally Lowland.

Authorities. Printed, Dr. Murray's brief note (DSS. p. 238) cited below, under *Characters*. The Wick es. pal. by A.J.E. from the dict. of three men of Wick, and given previously in the Introduction to L., No. 7, among the 8 es., pp. 683, 684, 696. Notes obtained in a previous interview with Rev. R. Macbeth, Feb. 1874.

Characters. Dr. Murray (DSS. p. 238) says: "In Cs. in addition to the consonantal peculiarities of the North-East [D 39], we find (1) the use of *sh* for *ch*, *shylder*=children, and (2) the singular dropping of initial *th* in the demonstrative class of words, so that *the*, *they*, *them*, *there*, *that*, appear as (i, ee, em, eer, at). (3) The pairs made maid, tale tail are distinguished as (méid mee₁d, téil tee₁l), a very different distinction from that used in the South [D 33, p. 710d]. (4) So the words *one*, *home*, *bread*, *head*, *place*, *way* are *eynn* (éin éin'), *heyne*, *breyde*, *heyd*, *pleyce*, *wey*. (5) *While*, *bide*, *wife* are *foyle* or *fhoyle*, *boyd*, *woyfe* (wohif)."

On this I observe (1) and (2) are confirmed; of (3) I could get no confirmation; (4) the words are from very heterogeneous sources, and I only heard (éi); (5) I did not hear (ói) for (é'i) or (ái).

The following are the notes obtained from Rev. R. Macbeth, see p. 683, No. 7.

1. *ch* initial becomes (sh) as (sháild, shilder, sha'pel sheepel) child, children, chapel.

2. *th* initial in the pronominal words *the*, *this*, *that*, *they*, *them*, *there* is generally altogether omitted, the words appearing as (*e*¹, *is*, *at*, *em*, *eer*) as (*e*¹ man, *e* diit) the man, they died. See D 39, Rev. W. Gregor's notes, Nos. 6, 7, *suprà* pp. 777, 778.

3. *tr-*, *dr-* are decidedly dental (t_r-, d_r-), as they were indicated in D 38, p. 757, last line, and, I believe, found partly in D 39, so that the dentality may have extended over all NL.

4. (k, g) are not labialised into (kw-, gw-) before an (i) which replaces O', hence (gid, skil) are said, and (kwéit, kwéil) coat, cool are not used.

5. *wr-* initial does not become (*vr-*). I heard (wra'q, rwa'q) distinctly, not (w'ra'q).

6. (f) for (wh) is used as in Ab., and I ascertained that it was distinctly labio-dental, not a pure labial (ph), but I did not examine for (fh).

7. For A' words the forms (bin, stin) were not used, but only (been, steen) bone, stone.

8. Instead of confusing both the son of a man and the sun in the sky under one form (*se'n*), as in D 39, they use (*s'n*) for the man and (*sæn*) for the star.

9. I was not able to verify Dr. M.'s differences of *made*, *tale* and *maid*, *tail*, as the last class of words do not occur in the cs. But *name*, which belongs to the first class, I heard as (*neem*), and I also heard his *home* as (*heem*), but *once* was (*éins*), the other words did not occur.

10. *Wife* I heard as (*wáif*) not (*wóhif*), but I was told that (*póip*) pipe was very common.

11. No distinction was made between the verbal noun and the participle.

12. The high (*a'*) which I marked from Rev. R. Macbeth, I did not afterwards notice in the dictation of the cs.

13. In other respects D 40 seems to resemble D 39.

Illustrations. The cs. already referred to.

A cwl. containing the words in the cs. and a few others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

WICK, Cs., cwl.

containing the words in the Wick cs., No. 7, p. 684, and others heard from Rev. R. Macbeth.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 5 mak. 21 neem. 34 last. A: 49 haq. 51 man. 54 want. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fee. 64 *rwaq* *wraq* [not (*w'raq*)]. A'- 67 gid [went], gjaan [going]. 72 faa. 73 so. 74 *twaa*. 79 een. 82 éins. 84 meer. 87 kleez. 89 beeth. 92 [*'ken*] used. 94 kraa. A': 102 aks. 104 *rodi*. 110 ii. noo no. 111 okht. 113 heel. 115 heem. 117 éi. 118 been. 122 ii. nii. 124 steen. 125 onli. 137 ii. nə [(*r*) dropped].

Æ- 138 feedherz. 144 *æge'n*. Æ: 154 bak. 158 eðter. 161 *dee*. 162 *is dee* [=this day]. 164 me. 169 fan. 173 wez. 177 at [(*dh*) dropped]. 179 fat. Æ'- 194 *oni eni*. Æ': 209 never. 213 edher. 214 nedher. 223 eer [(*dh*) dropped]. 224 faar. 227 wit.

E- 231 *e'* [(*dh*) dropped]. 233 speak. 244 wil. 252 ket'l. 256 *s'tretit* [stretched]. 261 see [(*se'en*) saying, (*sez*) says]. 263 *ewaa*. 265 streekt. 269 himsel. 271 tel. 273 men. 276 thi'k? 281 lenth. E'- 290 hii. 292 mi. 293 wi. 301 hiir. 312 hiir. 314 hard.

EA- 320 *kjee'rz*. EA: 321 sa. 322 lăkh. 330 had. 332 [(*telt*) used]. 335 aa. 338 kee. 344 beerni. EA'- 348 [(*in*) eyes]. 349 *fiə'u*. EA': 357 thoo. 359 nibar. 366 greet. EI- 373 e. EI: 378 week. 380 æm [(*dh*) dropped]. EO- 387 nūu. EO: 390 shed. 392 jen [(*dhon*) in Fi. and Ab.]. 395 *jaq*. 399 brekht. EO'- 411 thrii. 412 shii. EO': 422 sik. 427 bi. 430 frin. 435 jii. 437 tra'uth. EY- 438 dii [(*diit*) died]. EY: 439 *trast*.

I- 440 wik. 446 nain. 447 her. I: 452 a)m [I am], did)ə [did I]. 455 lai. 456 *ge'f*. 458 nekht. 465 sak. 466 shaild [shildar] children. 469 wal. 470 he'm. 477 [*fan*] found, pt.]. 482 *e'z,d* [is it]. 484 dhes [(*dh*) not dropped, and is [with (*dh*) dropped]. 489 he'd. — sin séin [since]. I'- 494 taim. 495 whein. — *póip* [pipe, common]. I': 500 léik le'k. 505 wáif. 506 gid wáif. 509 fel [in the sense of until, unacc.]. 510 main.

O- 518 bodi. 519 *our*. 524 warl. O: 531 dokhtar. 535 fók. 538 wəd. 544 i. dhen, ii. dhen. 546 fa. 550 ward. O'- 556 tyy.

560 skil. O': 571 gid. 579 vniokh. 586 d)ne [don't]. 587 din. 588 nin. 592 swoor.

U- 603 kam. 604 semer. 605 se'n sin. 606 door. U: 612 sam. 616 gran. 625 taq. 629 san. 631 fiurzdee. 634 thræu. U'- 641 fuu huu. 643 nuu. 651 widhuut. U': 658 duun. 663 huus. 667 uut.

Y- 673 mak'l. 674 did. 675 d'rai. 682 [(piri) old word for little]. Y: 701 fersht. 702 wi. Y'- 706 whéi.

II. ENGLISH.

A. — sabith [Sabbath]. 732 hapen. O. 765 :tjok. 781 bodher. 791 bói. U. 797 skuiken. 798 kwiir. 804 draqk'n. — heri [hurry].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 815 faks. 835 reez'n. — sha'pel sheepel [chapel]. 857 kees. — reet [rate]. — me'tar [matter]. 862 seef. E.. 867 ti. 885 veræ. 890 best. I.. and Y.. 901 fain. O.. 925 wais. 938 korner. 939 klooz. 941 fil. 947 bóil. 950 saper. 955 duut. U.. 963 kwéit. 969 shuur. 970 djest.

D 41 & 42 = IL. = Insular Lowland.

The languages of the two groups of islands at the ne. of Scotland known as the Orkneys and Shetlands stand in a peculiar relation to that of the mainland, but are nevertheless decidedly L. in character. These islands were discovered and reduced by Agricola, A.D. 89. In A.D. 396 the Saxons seem to have been established in Or. In A.D. 682 the islands were laid waste by Brude, a Pictish king, apparently a Christian. All these events were without influence on present speech, the history of which commences with the conquest and settlement by the Norse. From 872 to 1231 there were Norse Jarls in Or., but subsequently the islands were governed by the Scotch Earls of Angus (1231–1321), Strathern (1321–1379), and St. Clair (1379–1468), but owned allegiance to Denmark. On 8 Sept. 1468, when the language of the people was distinctly Norse, Margaret, daughter of Christian I. King of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, married by contract James III. of Scotland, and, by way of marriage dower, Or. was pledged for 50,000 florins of the Rhine and Sd. for 8000. The pledge was intended to be temporary, and the language, laws, and customs of the island were strictly protected in the deed of pledge. But the pledge was never redeemed; after 1611 the Norse laws and customs were not respected, and the two groups of islands now form an English borough with 7394 voters, returning one member to parliament. The Norse language is extinct. Thomas Flell, of Furso in Harray, Pomona, Or., who died an old man in 1810, spoke Norse. In 1858 Prince L.-L. Bonaparte met at Unst, Sd., and in Or. some decrepit old men, who still recollected having heard "Norm," that is, Norse, spoken by very old people about 1780. The present language is English, taught by Lowlanders, chiefly from NL. to Norwegians. It is therefore an acquired tongue, and has not lasted long enough to

be a true dialect. It is however by no means a book English, and the two groups of islands have points of difference. From the islands lying between these groups, Foula and Fair Isle, which are said to present some interesting varieties, I have been unable to obtain information.

Leaving the particulars for my examination of D 41 and D 42 separately, the general and distinctive character of both groups consists in the treatment of *th*, which is not quite the same in each group. Five cases may be distinguished. The following contains a list of all the words in each case which I have observed, arranged alphabetically in each group. The ordinary spelling precedes in Roman. The pal. refers to D 42 Sd. only. The unmarked italic are in Mr. Dennison's orthography, and refer to D 41, Or. only. The italic with † prefixed are in Mr. Stewart's spelling, and are exclusively Sd.

I. *th* = (d).

blithe †*blide* †*blied*.
 bother (boder).
 brother (brider).
 father (fæder) †*feader*.
 farther †*farder*.
 gathered (gaderd).
 mother (mider) †*midder*.
 neither (nèder, nē'der).
 other (ider) †*idder*.
 rather (ræder).
 that *dat* 'at (dat) †*dat*.
 the *de* (dæ) †*da*.
 thee *dee* (dii, di).
 them *dem* (dēm) †*dem*.
 their *der* †*der*.
 then *dan* †*den*.
 there *dere der* (deer).
 they *dēi*, they're (dæ'r).
 thine (dā'in).
 this *dis* (dæs) †*dis*.
 thou (du) †*doo*.
 thy *dee di* (dā'i) †*dy*.
 together (tege'der).
 whether (whider).
 worthy (wardi).

north *nort*'.
 strength *strent*'.
 thanked *t'ankit*.
 thanks †*tanks*.
 thatch *t'aik*.
 thick *t'ick*.
 thief *t'ief* †*tief*.
 thigh *t'ee*.
 think *tink* †*tink*.
 thinkst (tæqkst).
 thirst *t'irst* [sometimes].
 thirty *t'retty*.
 though *t'o* (too).
 thought *t'ought* (tāukht) †*tocht*.
 thread (trid) †*treed*.
 threat (træt).
 three *t'ree* (tri).
 thrashing *t'reshen* †*trashin*.
 thrift †*trift*.
 thrive *t'rive*.
 through *t'rou* (tru tro) †*throw*.
 thropple *t'rapple*.
 thumb *t'oom* †*toom*.
 unearthly †*uneartly*.
 worth *wirt* †*wirt*.

NOTE. The words *the*, *them*, *their*, *then*, *there*, *they*, *this*, have also initial (d) in D 9, p. 131, but there is no known connection between the two cases. The (d) is going out in D 41.

II. *th* = (t).

athwart *at'wart*.
 earth *ert* †*ert* †*ert*.
 firth *firt*'.
 fourth (fort).
 length *lent* (lent) †*lent*.
 mouth †*mout*.

III. *th* = (th).

beneath *eneath*.
 both *baith* (beeth) †*baith*.
 nothing *naethin naithen* (nē'then).
 froth *froth*.
 heathen (hæthen).
 oath (ooth).
 thing (thiq theq), rarely (tiq).
 thole *thole*.
 thousand *thoosan*.
 troth *trath*.
 truth *treuth*.
 without (ethuut).
 wrath *wraith*.

IV. *th* = (dh).

both (bEE[dhth), (dh) touched lightly.
 mother *mither*.
 neither *naither*.
 weather *wather*.
 without (ēdhoot) †*withoot*.

V. *d* or *t* = (dh) observed in Or. only.

body *bothy*.
 bottom *bodhom*.
 lady *lethy*.
 shoulder *shuther*.
 steady *stathy*, ʃʃ in Ws.

Ch initial becomes (sh) in Sd. only, and not in Or., although the latter is much closer to Cs., where the change also occurs.

Th becomes (f) in Thursday (fərzde) in both Sd. and Or., but some old Or. people use (t).

kn-, *gn-* have (k, g) pron. in both.

The intonation in both dialects is distinctly not L., but much more like English, so far as I could judge by hearing Miss Malcolmson of Sd. read. The intonation of Mr. Dennison of Or. was not so like English.

D 41 = s.II. = southern Insular Lowland.

Boundary and Area, those of the Or. Islands. On the principal island, Pomona, and the islands to the s. of it, dialect is nearly extinct, and fairly good book-English prevails. It is only in the n. islands that the genuine dialect is yet heard. Hence, properly speaking, perhaps these only should be included in D 41.

Authorities. My chief authority is Mr. Walter Traill Dennison's "The Orcadian Sketch-Book, being Traits of old Orkney Life, written partly in the Orkney Dialect," Kirkwall (Pomona, Or.), 1880. This is an excellent specimen of a dialect book, well spelled, as may be seen by the cwl. below, though not always quite free from ambiguity, but fortunately I was able to see the author in August, 1884, and June, 1888, and, although both interviews were inevitably hurried, I thus obtained the solution of nearly all my difficulties, and I was enabled to correct two long specimens given below from his dictation. I have also consulted Tudor's "The Orkneys and Shetlands," Stanford, London, 1883, kindly lent me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, which contains an interesting account of the physical features of these islands, but neglects the language entirely.

Characters. The chief character of the whole group with respect to *th* has already been given, p. 789. The principal points in which Or. differs from Sd. are the use of (h̥d) for (it), the treatment of A- and A', and the absence of (sh-) for (tj-). Referring for particulars to the cwl. below, and using * to point out usages which are different in Sd.

A- generally *(ii, i, i) as (mid, til, nim) made, tale, name, but occasionally (a, à) as (kwak, wad, sam) quake, wade, same.

A' generally (1) *(ii, i, i); (2) occ. (ee, è, ee, è), but I do not use (ee è) forms, being uncertain about this; (3) rarely (aa, à). Thus, (1) (nii, miin) no, moan; (2) (see, leekjht) so, low; (3) (whaa, raaren) who, roaring.

E' generally (ee) as (leev, sweet) leave, sweat, but occ. shortened to (a), as (stadhi) steady.

E' generally (ii, i, i) also, as (fit) feet.

EA before L, when L is lost, is usually (aa), as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA' is usually (ii, i, i), as (did, lid) dead, lead (the metal), occ. (ee, as (teerz) tears.

EO' is usually (ii, i, i), as (tii thigh, (trii) three, but occ. (æ, æ) as (shæ, jæd) she, yule, so that the combinations A-, A', Æ', E', EA', EO' are all usually (ii, i, i).

I: is possibly (i), but I have generally contented myself with writing (i). Mr. D. seems to use i in the north L. manner, see p. 767, for example *hid, in Sd. (hit once only, but in *night* and such words I: becomes (âi), as (nâikjht) night.

O: generally (o), but occasionally varies as (tap, drip, óus'n' top, drop, oxen.

O' regularly (æ, æ), which may be (yy, y); but *look* is exceptionally (lak), and the sound is delabialised in (bridhær, fit) broken, foot.

U: is regularly (u), and U' is (uu).

Among the consonants the principal usages have been explained, *suprà*, p. 790.

Illustrations. The story of *Paety Toral's Travellye*, from Mr. Dennison's book, my palaeotypic rendering of which was corrected in a vv. interview. This little story is comparable in many respects with *Tam o' Shanter* already given, but is superior as an illustration, because it is throughout written in dialect without any admixture of English, as in Burns's poem, and furnishes an insight into peasant life and superstitions, without any tincture of real supernaturalism. After my first interview with Mr. Dennison he translated John Gilpin into the Orkney of 50 years ago, and at my second interview we went over the whole of it carefully together and hence I add it here.

PAETY TORAL'S TRAVELLYE=PETER TORAL'S TUMBLE.

Written by Mr. Walter Traill Dennison, and published in his *Orkadian Sketch-Book* (Kirkwall, Pomona, Orkney, 1880). It is here printed in pal. as corrected from Mr. Dennison's dictation. There are so many dialectal words that the original spelling is not given, but a literal *translation* is added in the right hand column, and special difficulties are explained in notes at the end referring to the number of the lines. In the title *Paety* (peeti) is short for Peter. *Toral* (toorral) is a common name. *Travellye* (treveli) is a noisy tumble, accompanied with much force: the *tra*, which may be *through* indistinctly pron. (with *t* for *th* as usual, see v. 10), seems to be employed as an intensitive prefix, for *vellye* occurs separately, v. 187, and is translated 'force' in Mr. D.'s glossary, and may be related to Jamieson's "*Fole, veyl*, a violent current or whirlpool." In *traboond*, v. 85, we have the same *tra* prefixed to *boond*, see note there.

Generally, Mr. D.'s (âi, âu) sounded like (âi, âu), and have been so written. His short *o*, I appreciated as *o* rather than *o*, but I cannot be certain. It seemed to me that he used *ee* rather than (æ), and (e) rather than (æ), but I was unable to ascertain exactly, and my ear is very likely to have been deceived. The (æ) is also doubtful, and may be (yy). The participle usually ends in (-en), written -an, and the verbal noun in (-in) written in, compare vv. 9, 11 (mogen, wirkin), but this distinction is not observed consistently. The short *i* sounded to me (i), between (i, e), but I have left it (i): it was not *i*. It was very often variable, like the n.L. *i*, see above, p. 767. The separation of the vowels into long and short is rather uncertain. In my second interview with Mr. Dennison it seemed to me that the vowels were generally of medial length, as in SL=D 33, and I have therefore so marked many of them. Much longer time and the hearing of genuine native *peasants*, instead of a highly educated native gentleman, would have been necessary for me to arrive at certainty. On the whole I fear that my transcriptions can only be considered approximations in the points just mentioned.

PALAEOTYPE.

TRANSLATION.

híd fel on v dee, ii tá'ím laq sá'in, when bodhi en beest wi hæqer dæd pá'in	2	It fell on a day, one time long since, When man and beast with hunger did pine
i de jiir v de laq snaa, (mini in deer biir leed dat jelles jiir, :gæd gee dem sliip, en fee wes kiip sik seer gaan jiirz waa !)	4 6 8	In the year of the long snow, (Many in their bier Laid that Christmasless year, God give them sleep And from us keep Such sore going years away !)
et :peeti :tooral mogsæn heem etra'u de snaa, wi hæqgri weem, fe wærkin on-ka wark, wez géili glaft, en seerli stænd. de snaa lee diip vpo: de grænd, de lift wez æqke dark,	10 12 14	That Peter Toral wading home All-through the snow, with hungry belly, From working job work, Was much frightened, and sorely astounded. The snow lay deep upon the ground, The sky was extremely dark,
v muur hed faan aa de hiil dee, an i de fiis o v stéi bree stæd :peetiz huus in de lii, en híd wez feerli muurd vuänder, see det te find híd—en ne wander fu seerli paalt wez hii.	16 18 20	A snow-cover had fallen all the whole day, And in the face of a steep hill Stood Peter's house in the lee (shelter), And it was fairly snowed under, So that to find it—and no wonder— Full sorely posed was he.
hi mogzd vbut vmaq de snaa wi loomus kaald híz híd wed klaa, dan wi dæmfanderd glá'uér hi gand vrund him i v stímis, tíl hii wez feerli i v fimis, en neerlínz kiived á'uér.	24 26	He waded about among the snow With hands cold his head would claw, Then with dumbfounded glower, He stared around him in a fix Till he was fairly in a fuss And nearly caved (toppled) over.
“:gæd i me foorwéi bii !” ko hii, “:gæd tak v siilfu grip o mii ! “:gæd piti mii en má'in. “de diil dæd neer v siner duus “se sskerli det hii híz huus “en aa itee)d sæd tá'in !	28 30 32	“God in my foreway be !” quoth he, “God take a blessed grip of me ! “God pity me and mine. “The devil did ne'er a sinner gore “So severely that he his house “And all into-it should lose.
“hói ! :dþini lass, oo! dæss du hiir ? “oo! ar du diid? á'i niid nē spiir, “dhæ tòkht o)t maks mi shak ! “en aa de beernz ! pær bits v tíqz ! “lá'ík de tæq o v bæl mi hert nuu diqz, “en særli híd maan brak.”	34 36 38	“Hoy ! Jenny lass, oh ! dost thou hear ? “Oh ! art thou dead ! I need not ask, “The thought of it makes me shake ! “And all the bairns ! poor bits of things ! “Like the tongue of a bell my heart now dings, “And surely it must break.”

hiz een wá'if :djini, whin shə saa
 erund de huus de muuren snaa 40
 ái há'ikjh en há'ikjher kəm,
 shə tòkht det hii e waf wad sii, 42
 en wipen her buuto tee de see-trii,
 shə reekt hid əp de lam, 44

en duun shə sat i de mærk huus,
 her beernz erund, no verə kruus, 46
 her brat epo' her iin.
 "whiist, beer'nz, whiist! t)wad bi
 e shiim 48
 "tə eet de lempits or hii kəmz hiim,
 "de :best kenz whar hii)z giin."

nuu :peeti sərli tòkht hi saa sənin,
 hi tək hid fərst for de læqz o e
 kənin, 52
 bit wafen i de wənd.
 en dan hi tòkht it wəz :djiniz
 buuto, 54
 on glá'uerd en stəd, hid i mək'l
 duut o,
 a piiri miinēt stand, 56

en dan hi krá'iz on hiz :meekərz
 niim,
 de griit i hiz kreeg, whá'il sət
 teerz fiim 58
 se seer fe beeth hiz iin.
 "oo, :djino, bado! hiiv'nz læk on
 aa! 60
 "en ar du feerli smuurd in de snaa?
 "en diid di liiven liin? 62

"gin du bi liven, ruuz di, ruuz!
 "what tempəd di tə leev de huus, 64
 "whái kam du hiir tə dii?
 "á'i)m feerd tə tatj di, gin dhu)r
 diid. 66
 "las, gin dhu)r liven, tərən dhi hiid,
 "oo :djino, speak tə mii! 68

"gəd bii wi mii, ez á'i tiqk laq."
 wi dat hi gee e məkil spaq, 70
 "dhu)r sərli diid or dām."
 dan wi e spret, glamd at de trii, 72
 whin duun hid giid, en duun giid hii,
 trave'li trá'u de ləm. 74

His own wife Jenny, when she saw
 Around the house the covering snow
 Ever high and higher come,
 She thought that he a waving-signal
 would see,
 And wrapping her head-shawl to the
 pail pole,
 She thrust it up the chimney,

And down she sat in the dark house,
 Her bairns around not very cheerful,
 Her apron upon her eyes.
 "Whisht, bairns, whisht! t-would
 be a shame
 "To eat the limpets ere he comes
 home,
 "The Best knows where he's gone."

Now Peter surely thought he saw
 something,
 He took it first for the ears of a coney,
 Slightly fluttering in the wind.
 And then he thought it was Jenny's
 head-shawl,
 And glowered and stood, it in much
 doubt of,
 A little minute astounded,

And then he cries on his Maker's
 name,
 The sob in his throat, while the salt
 tears stream
 So sore from both his eyes.
 "Oh, Jenno, birdie! heavens look
 on all!
 "And art thou fairly smothered in
 the snow?
 "And diedst thou wholly alone?

"If thou be living, rouse thee, rouse!
 "What tempted thee to leave the
 house?
 "Why came thou here to die?
 "I'm afraid to touch thee, in case
 thou'rt dead.
 "Lass, if thou'rt living, turn thy head,
 "O Jenno, speak to me!

"God be with me, as I think long."
 With that he gave a great jump,
 "Thou'rt surely dead or dumb."
 Then with a spring, clutched at the
 pole,
 When down it went, and down
 went he,
 Tumble through the chimney.

- duun :peeti kam wi sîk v rali,
 hîz faa'in miid v mak'l spali, 76
 hi kam lál'ik v gán shot!
 wi snaa en sôt miist lál'ik tē wari, 78
 en stikid hîz hîd. aa i hîz hari,
 duun i dē lempit pot, 80
 dhat wi v eer v lempit bræ
 for kitjîn wi ræathi brid tē dæ 82
 wēz hîqen i dē kræk,
 hîz mak'l hîd geed sîk v tjund 84
 intee dē pot wi v trebund,
 dē krækēl band hi bræk, 86
 see in dē fál'ir dē pot fel dun,
 bît kam noo af o :peetiz krun; 88
 hi pat'ld i dē fál'ir,
 en færkid i dē amērz see 90
 dat aa hîz fok bigan tē pree,
 en tæk him for dē gál'ir. 92
 ez on hîz rîgîn hîi fel á'uer,
 hi ilke nîst v fál'ir dæd sá'uer, 94
 en lee flat az v flæk.
 hîz kleez wēz wiit en wēd noo lál'u,
 bît dhe het amērz med hîm rá'u 96
 tîl hi wan i dē nook. 98
 dē lempit bræ bigan tē rîn
 etwîi'n hîz harn sark en hîz skîn,
 hîz hîd ap in v skîu,
 atoo hîd wēz noo skalden het, 102
 awiil á'i wat, hîd miid him swet,
 for hîd wēz breev en líu. 104
 i dē bad piis hi tókht himsel,
 hîz siqgen kleez miid sîk v smel,
 dē het as glæft hîm meest,
 hi tókht dhi trii had bin dē trá'u.
 en fee hîz já'ulîn wad no stá'u,
 bît boog'ld lál'ik v beest. 110
 whîn :peeti fel wi aa dîs rali,
 hîz beer'nz miid v fiirfu bráli 112
 en griped iin enîdher,
 en ran, dē kent no whar tē rîn, 114
 wi lōpen hert, en kwaken skîn,
 en skriken, "mam!" en
 "mîdher!" 116

Down Peter came with such a rush,
 His falling made a great spoliation,
 He came like a gun-shot!
 With snow and soot most like to
 choke,
 And stuck his head, all in his hurry,
 Down in the limpet pot,

That, with a taste of limpot broth,
 For flavouring with mustard bread
 to do,
 Was hanging in the crook,
 His big head gave such a jolt
 Into the pot with a rebound,
 The hook-chain he broke,

So in the fire the pot fell down,
 But came not off of Peter's crown;
 He paddled in the fire,
 And jerked in the embers so
 That all his folk began to pray,
 And took him for the devil.

And on his back he fell over,
 He every spark of fire did scatter,
 And lay flat as a flounder.
 His clothes were wet and would not
 flame,
 But the hot embers made him roll
 Till he got in the nook.

The limpet broth began to run
 Between his harden shirt and his skin,
 His head up in a skew,
 Although it was not scalding hot,
 Well I wot, it made him sweat,
 For it was brave and lukewarm.

In the bad place he thought himself,
 His singeing clothes made such a
 smell,
 The hot ash frightened him most.
 He thought the pole had been the
 devil,
 And from his yowling would not cease,
 But bellowed like a beast [ox].

When Peter fell with all this rush,
 His bairns made a fearful uproar
 And gripped one another,
 And ran, they knew not where to run,
 With leaping heart and quaking skin,
 And shrieking, "Mammy!" and
 "Mother!"

dee i v sinlo lep lá'ík fælz,
 kaad á'uér dè kríqløz en dhe
 stølz, 118
 en gard aald gíbi spænder.
 de krá'id : "de gá'ir)z kam tróu
 dè ræf," 120
 en duun de fel feerli i græf,
 der hidz dè bed stree ander. 122

nuu :djini gloomerd for dè lamp,
 too shæ kud barli gaq v stamp 124
 fær as epo:n dè flær.
 en dan tē lá'íkht dè lamp shæ
 røkht, 126
 shæ wæz noo verø feerd shæ tøkht,
 en jet shæ wæz noo sær, 128

tē tīq on what kam trá'u dè læm.
 mebi her hert misgeed her sām, 130
 ez on dè kol shæ blæ,
 en too twæz :pectiz tæq shæ tøkht 132
 dat miid sīk miin lá'ík een uut-
 møkht
 shæ wæz v liter græ. 134

shæ wæz se skaard, shæ dæd no hiist
 hær,
 en whin dè kol bigu:d tē bliister, 136
 shæ wæz wiil barsen wī blaain,
 shæ lá'íkhted dè lamp at dè laq en
 dè lent, 138
 bīt or shæ tærnd tē tak v tent,
 hær bak læg niided klaain. 140

shæ sed en iiris'in fu luud,
 en dan she tærnd her rund ebut 142
 whaar hii in aavæl lee.
 dhe sá'íkht her verø sá'ul dæd diq,
 for whidher hid wæz en ertli tīq
 nee bīt v her kud see. 146

shæ kent dè rivlīnz hii hed on,
 too swiien lá'ík v gliiden skon, 148
 shæ tøkht hid wæz hiz leg,
 bīt hor'nz on hiz hid shæ saa, 150
 en fint v bīt o fiis evaa',
 dæt gee her sīk v fleg. 152

They in a huddle lapped like fools,
 Drove over the straw seats and the
 stools,
 And made old gibcat gallop.
 They cried: "the gyre's come through
 the roof,"
 And down fell fairly face downwards,
 Their heads the bedstraw under.

Now Jenny groped for the lamp,
 Though she could barely go a step
 For ash upon the floor.
 And then to light the lamp she
 wrought,
 She was not very afraid she thought,
 And yet she was not sure,

To think on what came through the
 chimney.
 Maybe her heart misgave her some-
 what
 As on the coal she blew,
 And though 'twas Patey's tongue she
 thought
 That made such moan like one ex-
 hausted,
 She was a little afraid.

She was so scared, she did not hasten
 herself,
 And when the coal began to blaze
 She was nearly bursten with
 blowing,
 She lighted the lamp at the long and
 the length,
 But ere she turned to take a look,
 Her back ear needed clawing.

She said an orison full loud,
 And then she turned herself round
 about
 Where he in helplessness lay.
 The sight her very soul did smite,
 For whether it was an earthly thing,
 No bit of her could say.

She knew the hide-shoes he had on,
 Though scorching like a smouldering
 cake,
 She thought it was his leg,
 But hornz on his head she saw,
 And devil a bit of face at all,
 That gave her such a fright.

beeth sæt e snaa lee on his djuupen,
 de riik fiimd uut fee aa hiz kruupen,
 de buulz haq á¹ur hiz briist,
 duun fee de pot, tē hiz wandjói, 156
 djæst lálik de djaa-strigz o e tói
 hæq laq intee dhæ riist. 158

hii pat'ld wi hiz loomez laq,
 en i de pot hiz ræfu saq 160
 suunded see drol en há¹u.
 de teeze o de pot stæd ap á¹ur aa, 162
 troth :djini tókht shæ særli saa
 de mak'l horned trá¹u ! 164

jít :djini tæk hert whar shæ dæd
 stand,
 shæ kloozd her iin, her jak'lz grand,
 en lokt her handz on her briist,
 "gin ji bi gæd, i :gædz niim kām
 on, 168
 "en gin ji bi bad, i :gædz niim
 bigon!"
 kod :djini wi e kriist. 170

"whaa)z jín et spak?" ko :peeti
 dan,
 "ez á¹i)m e pæer en sinfu man, 172
 "hid'z :djini, á¹i ken sweer!
 "oo, tæl mi, :djino, bædo, tæl 174
 "if di een :peeti)z faan i hæl!
 "en aar du wi him deer?" 176

:djini bigu'd tē draa e fee,
 en dan shæ tæk tē laakhin see, 178
 shi whiild her on a stæd.
 "ji witles bodhi, wil ji ruuz? 180
 "du)r i de næk o di een huus,
 "ji mak'l gaapis fæd ! 182

"taqks for)d, du)r hiim en hiir,
 bi)z wæd,
 "aatoo du hiz no e hiil dæd, 184
 "epo di legz en kruupen.
 "what ander de sán on ert kud
 tæl di 186
 "tē kām tróu de lām wi sik e
 veli?"
 sed :djini á¹ur him stuupen, 188

Both soot and snow lay on his loose
 coat,
 The smoke foamed out from all his
 body,
 The hooks hung over his breast
 Down from the pot, to his misery,
 Just like the jawstrings of a cap
 Hung long into the smoking place.

He paddled with his hands long,
 And in the pot his rueful song
 Sounded so droll and hollow.
 The toes of the pot stood up over all,
 Truth Jenny thought she surely saw
 The big horned devil !

Yet Jenny took heart where she did
 stand,
 She closed her eyes, her teeth gronnd,
 And locked her hands on her
 breast.
 "If ye be good, in God's name
 come on,
 "And if ye be bad, in God's name
 begone,"
 Quoth Jenny with a squeeze.

"Who's yon that spake?" quoth
 Peter then,
 "As I'm a poor and sinful man,
 "It's Jenny, I can swear !
 "Oh tell me, Jenno, birdie, tell
 "If thy own Peter's fallen in hell !
 "And art thou with him there?"

Jenny began to draw a [conclusion]
 from,
 And then she took to laughing so
 She seated herself on a stool.
 "You witless body, will you rouse ?
 "Thou'rt in the nook of thy own
 house,
 "You big uproarious fool !

"Thanks for it, thou'rt home and
 here, be [it] as would,
 "Although thou hast not a whole
 dud,
 "Upon thy legs and body.
 "What under the sun on earth could
 tell thee
 "To come through the chimney with
 such a force ?"
 Said Jenny o'er him stooping.

"wíl du lál'i deer, tíl du bi
bránt?

"du)r riiken lál'ik e wiit kiil
rənt. 190

"what maks di lál'i se daf?

"bít ar du hart di, :peeti, gíli? 192

"az for mesel, á'i mee bi síli,

"á'i)m got'n sík e gláf." 194

:djini wi aa her hert, gəd did,
wad púd de pot fe af híz hid,— 196

shə lál'iked :peeti wel;—

bít dan híz fiis shə hed no
siin, 198

for aa shə kent, híd mál'ikjht he
biin

a pláqki o de diil. 200

shə weeted :peetiz fiis tē sii,
az see anlál'ik hímself wēz hii, 202

se blak en bluu en tawny,

me bii de :trá'u wēz in de pot, 204

en íf híz kləks on her hi got,
híd wad no bii so kaní. 206

pəər :peeti harled tee him nuu,
too hii wēz narlínz lál'ik tē spəə, 208

wi sət epo' híz stamo,

hi fand híz biinz aa mერთd seer;

e wílnes in híz hid and meer,
a thraa i híz rá'ikjht gamo. 212

twa)r)trii taq-ká'uz vfoorər him
lee,

i dem hi daq híz rívlín tee, 214
en miid e nə kirmash.

tə pal hi gloomərd for e stəəl, 216

en skwəndrən, lál'ik iin fù i jeel,
duun giid hii wi e klash. 218

híz híd tək ep on de bak stiin;
de bodhəm o de pot etwiin 220

de bakstiin en híz skəl,

seevd :peetiz híd, lál'ik e bəttfənder.

hi daq híd bodhəm kliin i splənder,
en leed híd aa i krəl. 224

"Wilt thou lie there, till thou be
burned?

"Thou'rt smoking like a wet cabbage
stalk

"What makes thee lie so dull?

"But hast thou hurt thee, Peter,
boy?

"As for myself, I may be silly,

"I've got such a fright."

Jenny with all her heart, good deed,
Would [have] pulled the pot from
off his head,—

She liked Peter well;—

But then his face she had not seen,
For all she knew, it might have
been

A trick of the devil.

She waited Peter's face to see,
As so unlike himself was he
So black and blue and tawny,
May be the devil was in the pot,
And if his clutches on her he got,
It would not be so comfortable.

Poor Peter dragged to him now,
Though he was nearly like to spew,
With soot upon his stomach.
He found his bones all martyred sore,
A dizziness in his head and more,
A sprain in his right foot.

Two or three seaweed branches before
him lay,
In them he thrust the toe of his cow-
hide shoes,
And made a new disturbance.
To get-a-purchase, he groped for a
stool,
And staggering, like one drunk at
Christmas,
Down went he with a clash.

His head took up on the back stone;
The bottom of the pot between
The back stone and his skull,
Saved Peter's head, like a boat
defender.
He struck its bottom clean in splinter,
And laid it all in pieces.

dan :dʒini saa hiz fiis wi glii,
ko shəə: "oo :peeti, nuu hɪd)z dii,
"oo :gəd bi taqkt du)r hiir!

"en aa wɛr gləf sal biɪ forgot. 228
"diil kon di taqks for brakɪn dɛ
pot!

"de lɑɪk o)d)z ɑɪuɛr diir!" 230

"oo :dʒino, las," koo hii tɛ hɛr,
"ɑɪ mək'l tɔkht hɪd ɛ bin wɛr, 232
"whɪn ɑɪi wɛr glɑft see seer!

"ɑɪi tiqk mi harnz wɛr sɛərli deezd,
"nuu dʒoi bi taqkt! ɛn :gəd bi
preezd,

"ɑɪi)m hiim wi dii iins meer!"

du)l tiqk mi tiil)z tiin laq tɛ tɛl,
ɑɪi)m rəvɛn ɑɪuɛr wi sliip misɛl, 238
ɛn meer ɑɪi sino tɛl di.

ɑɪi dut no wiɪdɪt mək'l strɑɪɪf, 240
i boosɛmz :peeti kɪst hiz wɑɪɪf.

see ended hiz travel.i. 242

Then Jenny saw his face with glee,
Quoth she, "Oh! Peter, now it's
thee,

"Oh God be thanked thou'rt here.
"And all our fright shall be forgot.
"Devil give thee thanks for breaking
the pot!

"The like o' 't's over dear!"

"Oh, Jenno, lass," quoth he to her,
"I much thought it had been worse,
"When I was frightened so sore!

"I think my brains were surely
dazed,
"Now joy be thanked! and God be
praised,

"I'm home with thee once more!"

Thou'lt think my tale's taken long
to tell,

I'm rolling over with sleep myself,
And more I shall not tell thee.

I doubt not without much strife,
In bosoms Peter kissed his wife.

Thus ended his Tumble.

Notes to Paety Toral's Travellye.

The numbers refer to the lines. Gl. Mr. Dennison's Glossary, Edm. Edmondson's, Jam. Jamieson's Dictionary.

1. *It*, retaining the old aspirate; as to (*i*) throughout it may be rather (*i*₁), and was sometimes difficult to distinguish from (*e*) or (*ə*) like the NL. (*i*₁₁). *One*, this is sometimes (*ii*) and sometimes (*ee*), but (*ii*) was the older form.

2. *Body*, used for the human body, or man.

3. *the*, Mr. D. used *the* much oftener than *de*, but it seems that *the* is a modern Scotticism, and *de* (dɛ) is the correct old form, and hence it is used throughout. Similarly (du, deer) thou, there, etc.

6. *Good* is confounded with *good*, compare 'the Best,' v. 50.

9. *wading*, Gl. "implies, I rather think, the idea of wading through a soft substance as mud or snow."—*home*, often pron. (hiim), but as *wame* (weem) is never (wiim), the not uncommon pron. (heem) is selected.

11. *working*, *work*, written *wirkin*, *wark*, the vb. and sb. are frequently so distinguished; there seems to be a tendency to the Ab. "thick i."

Throughout, the verbal noun ends in (-in) and the participle in (-en), which Mr. D. illustrates by this example: "This is a muckle biggin, wur Tammy's biggan at hid noo; he was fishan lapsters i' the first of the summer, but the fishing paid pearly the year." This agrees with SL. = D 33, p. 712, No. 6.—*job*, that which he is 'called on' to do, in distinction from *bowman wark*, the bowman = ploughman, being a constant, the *on-ka*, one called in, an occasional servant.

14. *sky*, in German *luft*, is the air generally, but it seems to be properly the sky or heavens which are 'lifted up.'—*extremely*, properly 'un-couth,' unknownly.

15. *snow cover*, a *moor* is a heavy and a dense cover of snow.

18. *snowed under*, or as we say *over*, the house being below.

19. *wonder*, written *winder*, another example of the NL. thick *i*, which here, as shewn by the rhyme, sounds (æ).

20. *posed*, Gl. "in difficulty, without the possibility of extrication."

22. *hands*, Edm. "*loamicks*, the hands, a cant word," Sd. The final *o* of the text is a termination which seems to vary as (*i*, *o*, *u*), compare Jenno 60, 68, 174, 231, generally Jenny; *buddo* = birdie, 60, 174; *gamo* = foot 212, *stammo* = stomach 209, *vero* = very 46, 127, 144, *sinlo* = confused heap 117, *cringlos* 118; *booto* 54 rhymes with *dubt o*, which ought to imply an *o* pron., I follow Mr. D.'s spelling.—*head*, spelled *heed* 67, 79, 84, 150, 196, which implies (*hiid*) long, but *heid* 101, 122, 211, 219, 222, which implies (*hid*) short or (*hid*) medial.

24. *stared*, Gl. "*gan*, to stare with upturned face, eyes and mouth wide open." Edm. "*gaan*, to stare, gaze vacantly," Sd.—*fix*, Gl. "*stimmis*, that state of doubt and uncertainty which brings a person into what we call a fix." Edm. "*stumst*, taken aback, stupefied with astonishment," Sd.

25. *fuss*, Gl. "*fimis*, a state of great excitement and irritation." Edm. "*fimmish*, a hurry, a perplexity," Sd.

26. *toppled*, fell into a faint, evidently the slang "caved," or bent over.

27. *foreway*, the way before me, it is the prayer "prevent us," that is, go before us.

28. *blessed*, Jam. "*seelfu* 'seilfu', pleasant, but "*seile*, *seyle*, *sela*, happiness," German *seligkeit*.

30. *gore*, so in glossary, it is to butt at with his head and horns, and hence gore like a bull. Jam. "*douss*, a blow or stroke," comparing "*doyce*, a dull heavy stroke, Angus; the flat sound caused by the fall of a heavy body, Angus."

31. *severely*, Gl. "*sicker*, severe, harsh; not secure as in Scotch." Jam. "*sickerly*, firmly; smartly regarding a stroke."

39. *when*, I think this is pron. (*whan*), but I keep (*whin*) as in original, which implied most probably the "thick *i*," p. 767.

40. *covering snow*, see the note on verse 15.

42. *signal*, something that waves as a flag.

43. *head-shawl*, Gl. "*booto*, *boota*, *bootie*, a square woollen cloth worn by females, sometimes over the shoulders, but more frequently over the head," called (*buut-o*, *-i*, *-ek*) in different islands. Edm. writes "*buitie* *buito*."—*pail pole*, *sae* is a pail or bucket,

Fr. *seau*, and *tree* the pole by which it was carried, a large pail by two persons, but two small ones, one at each end of the pole, by one person passing the pole over one shoulder like the water carriers of Venice.

44. *thrust*, Gl. "*rakid*, to thrust in."—*chimney*, *lum* is the regular L. word.

49. *home*, see v. 9.

53. *wind*, although (wind) was given me, the rhyme, v. 56, requires (*wand*), and that is the common L. form.

56. *little*, (*piir'i*) is a common IL. form, and is even found in NL., p. 788, No. 682.

58. *the sob in his throat*, that is, I presume, the hysterical sob, and though I find no authority for the sb. (*griit*), the vb. meaning 'to weep' is quite common.—*throat*, Jam. "*crag*, *crage*, *craig*, the neck, the throat."—*stream*, Gl. "*feeman*, pouring, streaming; applied to the flowing of blood," the pron. (*fim*) shews that the word is *foam*, Ws. *fam*.

60. *birdie*, a common term of endearment.

62. *wholly alone*, so Gl.; Edm. "*lief-on* quite alone," in that case (*liiv-en liin*) seems to have a repetition in (*-en*) and (*liin*) one and alone. The phrase is obscure.

69. *as I think long*, Mr. D. translated to me "help, for my need is great," possibly "God help me, as for ever." Mr. D. also put it as "in proportion to the terrible fear which I have." But after all, I don't understand how the phrase comes to mean anything of the kind.

72. *spring*, Or. *spret*, possibly related to spurt, sudden effort.—*clutch*, Jam. "*glamp*, to grasp ineffectually, to endeavour to lay hold of a thing beyond one's reach."

74. *tumble*, "*travellye*, a catastrophe; a fall, accompanied with great force and noise," see title.

75. *rush*, Gl. "*rullye*, a great rush."

76. *spoliation*, so Gl., "spoil, illegal meddling with moveable goods," Jam.

78. *choke*, Gl. "*wirry*, to choke." Jam. "*worry*, to strangle, to choak, be suffocated," also spelled *wirry*, *wery*.

81. *little*, Jam. "*air*, hair, used for a thing of no value." Edm. "*air*, a peerie air, a mere tasting; *air*, a very small quantity; *air*, to taste," both Or. and Sd.

82. *tastiness*, Jam. “*kitchen*, anything eaten with bread.”—*reathy breed*, Gl. “bread made from the seeds of the wild mustard; it was often the only bread in the houses of the poor; but was mixed, when possible, with corn meal.”—*to do*, to add to mustard bread to give it a flavour.

84. *jolt*, Gl. “*jund* (*u* as in *June*), a heavy blow; a strong push; a heavy fall; also a large piece of any substance. Mr. Dennison pronounced (*tj*) not (*dj*). ”

85. *rebound*, Gl. “*traboond*, rebound; but the word, as in the text, is also applied to a blow that moves the object struck out of its position.”

86. *hook chain*, Gl. “*creukal band*—chain from which a cooking pot hangs over the fire.”

89. *paddled*, Gl. “*pattle*—to move the hands backwards and forwards through any yielding substance; the motion of the fins of a fish is the best illustration of the movement.”

90. *jerked*, Gl. “*ferky*—to hitch; to move the body in a jerking manner.”

91. *devil*, Gl. “*gyre*—a powerful and malignant spirit” which may or may not be different from “*trow*—the Trow, Satan,” mentioned v. 164; Jam. “*gyre carling*, Hecate or the mother witch of the peasants, a hob-goblin, a scarecrow.”

93. *back*, Danish *ryg*, old Norse *hrygg*, German *rücken*; compare *ridge*, often (*rig*) in the n.

94. *spark*, Gl. “*nist*—a spark of fire; a live coal; a very small fire.”—*scatter*, so in Gl.

95. *flounder*, the old Ws. *flóc* becomes naturally *fleuk*.

96. *low* is a flame.

98. *till he got* or arrived, ordinary northern sense of *to win*, in the *nook* or chimney corner.

100. *harden*, Gl. “*harn*, rough cloth made of the coarsest flax,” see pp. 736, 741, v. 171.

101. *in a skew*, Gl. “a twist; being turned from the proper position to one side.”

104. *brave and lukewarm*, fairly hot, though not boiling.

105. *place*, printed *piece*, meaning *place* or *room*, compare the French “un appartement de cinq pièces.”

106. *singeing*, Jam. “to sing to singe.”

107. *frightened*, Jam. “to *gliff*, *gloff*, *gluff*, to be seized with sudden

fear; to affright,” and as a sb. “sudden fear”; the hot ashes made him fear he was burning in hell.

109. *cease*, Gl. “*stow*—to stay; to stop speaking or eating.” Compare the English phrase “stow that!” have done! cease! Obs. the pron. different from English (*stoo’w*), but agreeing with the high German *stauen*.

111. *rush*, see v. 75.

112. *uproar*, Gl. “*brullye* (*u* as in *skull*), great confusion and turmoil; a fall or fight, causing breakage or disorder in a house.”

116. *mam*, child’s word for mother, contraction of *mammy*; for father they say *ded*.

117. *huddle*, Gl. “*sinlo*, a group of two or more persons entangled together, or huddled together, in very close proximity.”—*lap*, Gl. “*lep*, to lap with the tongue,” meaning here I suppose that they kept putting their tongues out like fools.

118. *drove*, that is, hurried; Gl. “*ca’ in driving*.” Jam. “to *call*; *ca’* to move quickly, to go in or enter in consequence of being driven.” See p. 732, v. 25, and notes to John Gilpin, st. 55 below.—*straw seats*, Gl. “*cringlo*, a low round stool, formed by twisting straw into a very thick rope, which being coiled in a circular form, was sewn together with bent cords—‘bands.’”

119. *old gibcat*, castrated cat, see Shakspeare, Henry IV. Part i. 1, 2, 83.

121. *face downwards*, Gl. “*i’ greuf*, in a prostrate position, face downwards.” Jam. “*grufe*, *groufe*, on groufe, flat, with the face towards the earth.” Icelandic *grúfa*, same meaning.

126. *wrought*, worked hard, by blowing a live coal, see vv. 131, 136, 138.

133. *exhausted*, of power; Gl. “*oot-moucht*, quite tired out, exhausted; out of breath.” Compare German *Ohnmacht* swoon, *ohnmächtig* powerless.

134. *afraid*, Gl. “*grue*, afraid, suspicious of danger”; Jam. “to *groue*, *groue*, to shudder, to shiver, to be filled with terror, to shrink back, to feel horror; *grousome*, frightful.”

139. *to take a look*, Jam. “*tent*, care, attention; *to tak tent*, to be attentive.”

143. *helplessness*, Gl. “*aval*, (first *a* as last *a* in *papa*, last *a* as Aber-

donians sound [second] *i* in *shilling*), prostrate, in a helpless position." Jam. "*availl*, abasement, humiliation."

144. *dinq*, is freely used for all manner of striking or piercing.

147. *hide-shoes*, Gl. "*rivlin*, a sandal or shoe made of raw hide." Jam. "*rewelyngs*, *rowlyngis*, *rillings*, shoes of undressed hides with the hair on them." Ws. *rifling*, sandal.

148. *scorching*, Edm. "*swee* (to), to singe, to scorch," Shetland, Danish *svide*, Gothic *svida*."—*smouldering*, Gl. "*gleed*, to burn slowly and without flame."—*cake*, cow-dung made into cakes for burning.

151. *devil*, fiend.—*at all*, literally of all (ev aa).

152. *fright*, 'fleg' seems to be the common L. *fley*, *flee*, to frighten.

153. *loose coat*, Gl. "*joopan*, a coarse loose coat, approaching in shape to the modern sack coat." Chaucer says of his knight "of fustian he wered a gipoun"; modern Fr. *jupon*, a petticoat, said to come from the Arabic.

154. *body*, Gl. "*croopan*, the trunk of the body of man or lower animal."

155. *hooks*, Gl. "*bools*, two bent iron rods, hinged together at the upper ends, having the lower ends hooked, so as to fasten into ears of a cooking pot; the pot was suspended on, and lifted to and from, the crook by the bools."

156. *misery*, Gl. "*wanjoy*, sorrow, want of joy;" *wan*, Danish *van*, has the effect of English *un-*, *unjoy*, misery.

157. *jawstrings of a cap*, the strings which fasten on a cap by passing under the jaws; Gl. "*toy*, a woman's cap;" Jam. "*toy*, a headdress of linen or woollen, that hangs down over the shoulders, worn by women of the lower class." The word is used by Burns

"I wad na been surpris'd to spy
You on an auld wife's flainen toy."

Lines to a Louse, on seeing one on a Lady's Bonnet at Church.

158. *smoking place*, Gl. "*reest*, place where the fish, etc., are smoked." Jam. "*to reist*, to dry by the heat of the sun, or in a chimney;" Danish *rist*, a gridiron.

159. *paddled*, see v. 89.—*hands*, see v. 22.

166. *teeth*, Gl. "*yackel*, v. to gnaw;

n. a molar tooth." Edm. "*yackle*, a grinder, a double tooth."

170. *squeeze*, Gl. "*kreest*, v. to press, to squeeze; n. pressure," squeezing her words out like water from a nearly dry sponge.

175. "*draw a conclusion from*, have an idea of," Gl., so that by leaving out conclusion (*fee*) is made into a substantive!

179. *seated herself*, Gl. "*wheeld*, to sit down, to rest; Danish *hvile*, to rest;" Edm. "*wheelicreuse*, a churchyard; Orkney, from Icelandic *hvila*, bed, couch, and *króa*, to enclose."

182. *uproarious*, Gl. "*gapas*, one who is light and uproarious in folly;" Jam. "*gapus*, a fool; also *gilly-gapus*, *gilly-gawpy*, and *gilly-gacus*." Icelandic "*gapi*, homo futilis, immodestus," Haldorsen. Compare *gaby*. All from *gaping*.

183. *be it as would*, Gl. "*bees will*, be as it will, be as it may, anyhow, however; also spelled *bees-wid*." This *wid* I take to be 'would.'

184. *dud*, Jam. "clothing especially of an inferior quality."

187. *force*, see title.

190. *stalk*, Jam. "*runt*, trunk of a tree, hardened stalk as a *kail runt*, the stem of the colewort; the tail of an animal; a contemptuous designation for a female, generally applied to one advanced in life, with *auld* prefixed."

191. *dull*, applied also to a blunt knife.

192. *hast thou hurt thee*, lit. art thou hurt thee, obs. the construction, similar to the Fr. *t'es-tu blessé*.—*boy*, Gl. "*gillie*, a familiar term of address used to both males and females. It is used by the humbler classes among themselves as *sir* is used among the higher classes, but implies no idea of respect, and is used indiscriminately to both sexes; it is not considered proper to use it when addressing a superior."

194. *I've gotten*. Obs. that *I'm* gotten is used.

195. *good deed*, in very deed, in reality. Mr. D. writes *giddeed* in one word.

196. Obs. omission of 'have,' and compare p. 733, v. 73.

200. *trick*, this is all that is said about *plunkie* in Gl. and Edm. But Jam. has "*to plunk*, to play the truant."

205. *clutches*, Gl. "*cleuks*, clutches; sometimes applied to the hands." Compare p. 737, v. 217.

211. *dizziness*, Gl. “*will*, to lose one’s way: to wander not knowing where: the state of having lost one’s way, hence *to gae will*, to lose one’s way.—*wilness*, dizziness, from *will*.” Jam. “*will*, *wyll*, *wil*, *wyl*, lost in error, uncertain how to proceed.” Icelandic *vila*, to lament, to doubt.

212. *sprain*, Jam. “*thraw*, to wreath, to twist; to wrench, to sprain.” Mr. D. writes *thr-*, and I am uncertain whether (*thraa*) or (*traa*) is said.

213. *seaweed branches*, tang is large seaweed used for fuel, Gl. “*cow*, a branch or sprig of seaweed or heather.”

216. *get a purchase*, Edm. “*paal*, a post or pillar, a fixture against which

the feet are planted so as to afford a purchase in pulling horizontally.”

219. *took up on*, struck against.

222. *boat defender*, possibly wood placed on the sides of a boat to keep it off the rocks, or the pad let down from the pier or rock to prevent damage to the wood of the boat.

223. *splinter*, Jam. “*splendris*, splinters.”

224. *in pieces*, Gl. “*i* *crull*, in a crushed broken state.”

238. *rolling*, Gl. “*reuan*, nodding through sleep.” Jam. “*to row*, to roll.”

239. *shall not*, so Gl.

241. *in bosoms*, closely embraced, bosom to bosom.

JOHN GILPIN,

translated into the oldest form of the Orkney dialect which Mr. W. Traill Dennison had heard spoken, and pal. from his dictation 14th June, 1888, by AJE. Mr. Dennison has prefixed the following remarks:

“The writer when a boy began to collect old words used by the Orkney peasantry, and he has for well nigh half a century watched with interest the change which, during this period, the dialect of Orkney has undergone. The very old people with whom he was acquainted in his youth used many words which, though understood, were not used by the younger people. And, now that these younger people have become old, the young generation has dropped many words used by their parents, and a more modern pronunciation is attempted. There can be no doubt that during the last bygone half century the popular speech of these islands has undergone, and is now undergoing, an ever-accelerating change. Every improvement in popular education, every increase in trade, and facility of intercourse with strangers, cheap literature, and the multitude of newspapers, each of these has proved a wave before which much of the old language has sunk into the sea of oblivion, and all the influences of progress and modern civilization taken together, form a mighty current that will soon sweep away every vestige of the old speech. Anxious to preserve from the Anglican deluge the dialect of his native isles, the writer gives the following rendering of Cowper’s Gilpin:

“The writer thinks he can separate the Dialect spoken during the immediately past fifty years into three distinct divisions.

First, that spoken by very old persons at the beginning of the period, which he would call the *Scoto-Norse* form.

Second, that spoken during the middle of our period, which may be called the *Anglo-Scotch*.

Third, the present dialect, a sort of *Anglo-Provincial*.

It is not pretended that there exist any hard and fast lines of demarcation between these divisions. They dove-tail themselves into each other, but yet the difference is noticeable to an observant eye. Examples of the three divisions are given in the table below. [In this table the words of the third period are given entirely in received spelling, which “by no means indicates that they are properly pronounced,” says Mr. Dennison. In the first two columns the orthography in italics is Mr. Dennison’s, and the pal. when added gives his pron. when he specially assigned it. The key prefixed to the cwl. on p. 812 will generally suffice.]

Words illustrating the transition state of the Orkney dialect during the bygone fifty years, say from 1838.

FIRST PERIOD. <i>Scoto-Norse.</i>	SECOND PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Scotch.</i>	THIRD PERIOD. <i>Anglo-Provincial.</i>
<i>aloor.</i>	<i>alis.</i>	<i>alas.</i>
<i>alitto</i> [used by women and children].	<i>allit.</i>	<i>alas.</i>
<i>ato.</i>	<i>alto.</i>	<i>although.</i>
<i>dan.</i>	<i>than.</i>	<i>then.</i>
<i>dee.</i>	<i>thee.</i>	<i>thy.</i>
<i>brue</i> (brun).	<i>brig.</i>	<i>bridge.</i>
<i>doo</i> or <i>dee.</i>	<i>thu.</i>	<i>thou.</i>
<i>forsta.</i>	<i>forstand.</i>	<i>understand.</i>
<i>furkin.</i>	<i>willan.</i>	<i>willing.</i>
<i>Gulh</i> (:goth).	<i>Geud.</i>	<i>God.</i>
<i>Guthaland</i> (:gudhaland).	<i>Ganāan</i> [:kanaan].	<i>Canaan.</i>
<i>guthawather</i> (<i>th</i> = <i>dh</i>).	<i>geudwather.</i>	<i>thunder.</i>
<i>Guthayard.</i>	<i>Geud's ert.</i>	<i>God's earth</i> [churchyard].
<i>guthadā</i> (go-)	<i>geudday.</i>	<i>good day.</i>
<i>how dā</i> (ha'u di).	<i>hicht o' the day.</i>	<i>noon day.</i>
<i>how nort</i> (ha'u).	<i>hicht nort.</i>	<i>high north.</i>
<i>de howlans.</i>	<i>the heelans.</i>	<i>the Highlands.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>intae.</i>	<i>into.</i>
<i>itae.</i>	<i>untae.</i>	<i>unto.</i>
<i>kinno.</i>	<i>kenno.</i>	<i>know not.</i>
<i>leear.</i>	<i>rether.</i>	<i>rather.</i>
<i>rugface</i> (rægfis).	<i>rouch</i> [in behaviour and temper, not in material].	<i>rough.</i>
<i>gong.</i>	<i>gang.</i>	<i>go.</i>
<i>reed.</i>	<i>bey.</i>	<i>roadstead.</i>
<i>skrieme.</i>	<i>skrie.</i>	<i>to discern at a distance.</i>
<i>skrogs.</i>	<i>treecreuts</i> (ræts).	<i>tree roots.</i>
<i>vellje</i>	<i>veelence.</i>	<i>violence.</i>
<i>travellje</i> } p. 791c.	<i>great veelence.</i>	<i>great violence.</i>
<i>was.</i>	<i>wās.</i>	<i>was.</i>
<i>was.</i>	<i>is.</i>	<i>us.</i>
<i>is.</i>	<i>his.</i>	<i>has.</i>

“In the attempts already made by the writer to illustrate the Orkney dialect [p. 790c], his illustrations are meant to exhibit equally the first and second divisions of the above, his intention being to shew the transition state of the dialect in his own time. Now let it be clearly understood that the present attempt is intended to illustrate solely our first division, *i.e.* what has been called *Scoto-Norse*.

“In this rendering of Gilpin the endeavour has been to represent every word of the original by its equivalent Orkney word or in Orcadian pronunciation. Where words in the original do not exist in Orcadian, the rule has been to give the word which it is likely an old Orcadian would have used had he told the story. It will be obvious that both rhyme and rhythm have been ruthlessly sacrificed to this rule. In some verses the original construction has been altered, but only where such construction was unknown in Orcadian.”

As rhyme and rhythm have been sacrificed, I have thought it best to print the translation as prose, keeping the division of the stanzas and numbering them for reference in the notes, and to give the original in smaller type in parallel columns. Mr. Dennison appended a number of notes, which I reproduce on p. 810, referring to the stanza. Sometimes I add some observation of my own in [].

I regret that the time at my command for palaeotyping this long example, three hours, was far too short to carefully consider such minutiae as the differences

(ee ee, e E, o o, ə ə), the various sounds of *i* (*i*, *i*₁, e, ə ə), and especially to determine the lengths of the vowels, and differences may probably be observed between this rendering and that of *Pacty Toral*. The method I adopted was this: I first spent a whole day in writing out the version in approximate pal. to the best of my ability, then Mr. D. repeated the words in his pron., and I endeavoured to seize them. There was no time for any revision, and as Mr. D. returned to Or. the next morning, it was impossible for me to have another interview. Of course I was unable to mark every word every time it occurred, and hence I have had to assume analogies, where I am not certain that they are quite correct. Still more unfortunately painful circumstances which arose prevented me from making a fair copy till three months after the interview, so that I had no fresh memories to guide me. Nevertheless my source of information was so good, that making allowances for the difficult points just mentioned, I believe that this translation into palaeotype furnishes a very fair notion of Or. pron., and that greater accuracy has not yet been attained.

1. :djooni :gilpin wəz v
sitiz'n, o kredh'it en rīnuun,
v trēn-band kapten léikwəz
wəz hii, o feeməs :lənən tuun.

2. :djooni :gilpinz spuuz sed
tee her diir: "too wād'it wii
he bīn, d'is twē'is ten laqsam
jiirz, jet wii nii helidi he sīn.

3. "de morn is wer wād'in
dee, wii)l mak v vīsti dan, v'tē
dī :bēl at :edmunstuun, aa i v
tjeez en peer.

4. mi sister en mi sisterz
beern, miself en beernz trii,
wil fil de tjeez, see duu mən
rā'id on hors bak efter wii."

5. hi ansər mid, "ā'i dæ
admiir v wimenkā'ind bēt in,
en duu ər shə, mi diirest diir,
deerfor hī'd sal be dæn.

6. "ā'i am v lən'in mērtjunt
baald, v z aa dē waarl dæz
ken, en mi gəd frīnd de kleeth-
presər, 'l lend hīz hors tē
gjoq."

7. koo māstris :gilpin: "dat)s
wil sed, en sā'in dat wā'in iz
diir, wii)l bii provā'idēd wi
wer een, whīlk is beeth brā'it
en kliir."

8. :djooni :gilpin kīst hīz
loov'in wā'if, ā'urtjōi'd wēz hii
te fīnd dat too on plēzər shə
was set, shə hād v frægel
mā'ind.

1. John Gilpin was a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A train band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.

2. John Gilpin's spouse said to her dear,
"Though wedded we have been
These twice ten tedious years, yet we
No holiday have seen.

3. "To-morrow is our wedding-day,
And we will then repair
Unto the 'Bell' at Edmonton,
All in a chaise and pair.

4. "My sister, and my sister's child,
Myself, and children three,
Will fill the chaise; so you must ride
On horseback after we."

5. He soon replied: "I do admire
Of womankind but one,
And you are she, my dearest dear,
Therefore it shall be done.

6. "I am a linendraper bold,
As all the world doth know,
And my good friend the calender
Will lend his horse to go."

7. Quoth Mrs. Gilpin: "That's well said;
And for that wine is dear,
We will be furnished with our own
Which is both bright and clear."

8. John Gilpin kissed his loving wife;
O'erjoyed was he to find,
That though on pleasure she was bent,
She had a frugal mind.

9. *de morn'in kàm, de tjeez wəz bràkht, bet jet wəz noo eluud te hær l ɔp tee de duur, lest aa sud see dhat shə wəz pruu.*

10. *see trii doorz af de tjeez wəz stéid, whar déi dæd aa get in; sàks preeshəs saalz, ɛn aa eláiv te derl trá'u tɪk ɛn tɪn.*

11. *krak gíd de whíp, ruund gíd de whiilz, fook never wər se gled; de stins dæd rat'l ɛnder-nith, ɛz gín :tjeepsá'id wər mad.*

12. *:djooni :gilpin bi híz horsez sá'id, graped fèst de flá'ɔn meen, ɛn ɔp hi gíd, in hiist te rá'id, but shəen kam duun vɛn.*

13. *te sèd'ltrì hardli got'n hed hii híz vɪsti te bigín, when tornen ruund híz híd, hi saa trii kəstemərz kə in.*

14. *see duun hi kàm, fər ləs v tá'im, atoo híd vekst him seer, jet ləs v baabiiz, fu wiil hi kent, wad tráb'l him mək'l meer.*

15. *híd wəz laq afoor di kəstemərz wər sətəd tee der m'àind, whən :beti skriiken kàm dùn steerz: "de wá'in is left ɛhent!"*

16. *"ɛluur!" kə hii," jet fetɪ híd mi, mi ledhɛn belt léikwəz, i whilk á'i beer mi trəsti swɛrd, when á'i gjeq tee praktiiz."*

17. *nuu :məstris :gilpin, (keerfu saal!) hed twaa stiin pɪgs fənd, te haad de driqk, dat shi luud, ɛn kiip híd seef ɛn suund.*

18. *ilke stiin pɪg hed a kærɛn læg, trá'u whilk de belt hi drɪuu, ɛn haq v pɪg ɔn ilke sá'id, te mak híz balens trɪuu.*

19. *dan á'uɛr aa, dat hii má'ikjht bi, buuníd fe tàp te tee, hís laq riid klòk, wíl bresht ɛnd nèt, hi manfuli dæd throo.*

9. The morning came, the chaise was
But yet was not allowed [brought,
To drive up to the door, lest all
Should say that she was proud.

10. So three doors off the chaise was stayed
Where they did all get in;
Six precious souls, and all agog
To dash through thick and thin.

11. Smack went the whip, round went the [wheels,
Were never folks so glad!
The stones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapside were mad.

12. John Gilpin at his horse's side
Seized fast the flowing mane,
And up he got, in haste to ride,
But soon came down again.

13. For saddletree scarce reached had he,
His journey to begin,
When, turning round his head, he saw
Three customers come in.

14. So down he came, for loss of time,
Although it grieved him sore;
Yet loss of pence, full well he knew,
Would trouble him much more.

15. 'Twas long before the customers
Were suited to their mind, [stairs,
When Betty screaming came down
"The wine is left behind!"

16. "Good lack!" quoth he, "yet bring [it me,
My leathern belt likewise,
In which I bear my trusty sword
When I do exercise."

17. Now Mistress Gilpin (careful soul!)
Had two stone bottles found,
To hold the liquor that she loved,
And keep it safe and sound.

18. Each bottle had a curling ear,
Through which the belt he drew,
And hung a bottle on each side,
To make his balance true.

19. Then over all, that he might be
Equipped from top to toe, [neat,
His long red cloak, well brushed and
He manfully did throw.

20. nuu sii him muunted ins
egen epoo' hiz tit gjaan bist,
fu slooli pikin á'wer de stinz,
wi kaashen en gød hìd.

21. bət finden shæn e
smædher gèt, enith hiz wil
shod fit, de snorten bist bigud
te trot, which tit'ld [tjet'ld]
him i hiz seet.

22. see "feer en saftli"
:djooni hi krá'id, bət :djooni
hi krá'id i veen, dat trot bikàm
a spænder shæn i spá'it e vîte
en ren.

23. See luuten duun ez hii
maan dæ, whaa kine sit
aprá'ikjht, hi græped de meen
wi beeth hiz ha'ndz, léikwez
wi aa his má'ikjht.

24. hiz hors wha niver i
dat wéi had hand'ld bin
efoor, what tiq hi)d got'n epo'
hiz bak, dæd fàrli meer en
meer.

25. ewaa gid :gilpin, hæs
er nokht, ewaa gid hat en
wig, hi lit'l driimd whi'n hi
tæk wéi, e rænen sic a rig.

26. de wind dæd blaa, de
klok dæd flii léik striimer
laq an géi, til luup en bət'n
feelen beeth et last hi)d fluu
ewaa!

27. dan má'ikjht aa fòk wil
skrá'im, de stiin pigz hi hød
haqd, e stiin pig swiqen et
ilke sá'id, ez hez bin sed er
seq.

28. dæ tá'iks død bark, de
beernz skreekjht, ap fluu de
windez aa, en everi saal krá'id
uut: "wil døn!" i'z luud i'z
hii kùd kaa.

29. ewaa gid :gilpin, whaa
bət hii? hiz feem shæn sprød
erund: "hi beerz e wekjht!"
"hi rá'idz e rees!" "hí'd)z for
a thuuzen pænd!"

20. Now see him mounted once again
Upon his nimble steed,
Full slowly pacing o'er the stones,
With caution and good heed.

21. But finding soon a smoother road,
Beneath his well-shod feet,
The snorting beast began to trot,
Which galled him in his seat.

22. So "fair and softly" John he cried,
But John he cried in vain;
The trot become a gallop soon,
In spite of curb and rein.

23. So stooping down, as needs he must
Who cannot sit upright, [hands,
He grasped the mane with both his
And eke with all his might.

24. His horse who never in that sort
Had handled been before,
What thing upon his back had got,
Did wonder more and more.

25. Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,
Away went hat and wig;
He little dreamt, when he set out,
Of running such a rig.

26. The wind did blow, the cloak did fly
Like streamer long and gay,
Till loop and button failing both,
At last it flew away.

27. Then might all people well discern
The bottles he had slung;
A bottle swinging at each side,
As has been said or sung.

28. The dogs did bark, the children [screamed,
Up flew the windows all; [done!"
And every soul cried out: "Well
As loud as he could bawl.

29. Away went Gilpin,—who but he?
His fame soon spread around;
"He carries weight!" "he rides a
race!"
"Tis for a thousand pound!"

30. en stíl i₁z fest i₁z hii
kam niir, h₁d wes farlifu te
s₁, huu i v hent, de grínd-
kiiperz, der gríndz wá'id aap'n
thrúu.

31. en nuu i₁z hii gíd buuen
dùn, hiz ríken h₁d fu leekjh,
de stiin pigz beeth ehent hiz
bak, wer spelderd at v t₁und.

32. dùn ran de wá'in itee
de gèt, meest pítifu te b₁ sin,
whilk míd hiz horsez flaqs
te rik v₁z déi hed flamed bin.

33. bet stíl hi lakíd te beer
wekjht wí ledhrén gerd'l bünd,
for aa má'íkht sii de p₁g-neks
stíl díqlen et hiz míd'l.

34. des aa trá'u meri :izlíq-
tùn dís pretíkenz hii dád pleé,
etíl hi kam etee de :wèsh v
:edmentùn se géi.

35. en dər hi thrúu de
:wèsh ebùt on beeth sá'idz v
de wéi, t₁ə'st léik etee v patlen
map, er v wá'ild gæes et pleé.

36. et :edmentùn hiz loovin
wá'if fee de bal'tizen skrá'imd
her tenderhæzben, farl'ien mak'l
te sii whuu (fuu) hii kùd rá'id.

37. "stop, stop, :djooni
:gilpín! hiir)z de huus!" déi
aa et ins dád krá'i; "de dener
wèts en wí₁ er t₁ígd." sez
:gilpín, "see um á'i'."

38. bet jet hiz hors was noo
v bít farken te stéien deer, for
whá'i? hiz á'uner hed v hús fu
ten má'ilz af at :weer.

39. see léik v èro tiit hi
flúu, shot bee v bá'umén straq,
se dád hi flíi,—whilk taks mi
tee de míd'l o mi saq.

40. ewaa gíd :gilpín, uut v
breeth, en seer egin hiz wíl, tíl
at hiz frind dhe kleeth preserz,
hiz hors et last stæd stíl.

41. de kleeth preser fí,míst
te sii hiz niiber i sik trim, léd
dùn hiz pá'íp, flúu tee de jèt,
en dəs speek te him.

30. And still as fast as he drew near,
'Twas wonderful to view,
How in a trice the turnpike-men
Their gates wide open threw.

31. And now, as he went bowing down
His reeking head full low,
The bottles twain behind his back
Were shattered at a blow.

32. Down ran the wine into the road,
Most piteous to be seen, [smoke,
Which made the horse's flanks to
As they had basted been.

33. But still he seemed to carry weight,
With leathern girdle braced;
For all might see the bottle necks
Still dangling at his waist.

34. Thus all through merry Islington
These gambols he did play,
Until he came unto the Wash
Of Edmonton so gay.

35. And there he threw the Wash about
On both sides of the way,
Just like unto a trundling mop,
Or a wild goose at play.

36. At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony spied
Her tender husband, wondering much
To see how he did ride.

37. "Stop, stop, John Gilpin! Here's
the house!"
They all at once did cry;
"The dinner waits, and we are tired."
Said Gilpin, "So am I."

38. But yet his horse was not a whit
Inclined to tarry there;
For why!—his owner had a house
Full ten miles off at Ware.

39. So like an arrow swift he flew,
Shot by an archer strong;
So did he fly—which brings me to
The middle of my song.

40. Away went Gilpin, out of breath,
And sore against his will,
Till at his friend the calender's,
His horse at last stood still.

41. The calender amazed to see
His neighbour in such trim,
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,
And thus accosted him.

42. "what n̄uuz, what n̄uuz? j̄er ʔnkenz tel! tel mi, ji maan en sal! see whá'i beer-hided duu ʔr k̄əm, ʔr whá'i duu k̄əmz ʔvaa?"

43. nuu :gilpin had ʔpleezent w̄it, en luud ʔ tá'imli fan, en d̄as ʔtee de kleeth pres̄er i meri w̄éi hi sp̄ak :

44. "ái k̄əm bik̄əz j̄er hors wad k̄əm, en gif á'i wel b̄òd, mi hat en wig wil sh̄əen bi hiir,—déi aar ʔpoo de ḡét."

45. de kleeth pres̄er rá'ikjht gled t̄e f̄ind h̄iz fr̄ind i meri m̄əd, rit̄arnd him noo ʔ s̄iq'g'l w̄ard, bet tu dh̄e huus ḡid in.

46. en uut hi kam wi hat en wig, ʔ wig dat flá'ud ʔh̄int, ʔ hat noo mak'l de wars for weer, beeth koomli i der ká'ind.

47. hi h̄ad̄id dem ap, en i h̄iz t̄arn, d̄as shaad h̄iz redi w̄it: "mi h̄id iz twaa tá'imz ʔz big ʔz dá'in, déi deerfor niidz m̄ast fit.

48. "bet let mi skreep de d̄art ʔvaa, dat hiqz apoo di fees, en bá'id en ʔt, fer wil du mee bii i ʔ h̄əqri kees."

49. sed :d̄joni: "h̄id iz mi wad̄in dee, en aa de warld wad glá'uer, gif wá'if s̄ùd dá'in ʔt :edment̄un, en á'i s̄ùd dá'in ʔt :weer."

50. see torn̄en tee h̄iz hors hi sed: "ái am i h̄ist t̄e dá'in; h̄id w̄əz fer d̄ii pleezer duu k̄əm hiir, duu sal gjog bak for má'in."

51. okh! lakles spiit̄j en fekles b̄òst! fer wh̄it̄j hi peed fu diir; fer whá'il hi sp̄ak ʔ breej̄en às, d̄ə'd s̄iq meest luud en kliir.

52. wharat h̄iz hors d̄əd snort, ʔz h̄ii h̄əd hard ʔ l̄á'ien ruut, en sp̄anderd af wi aa h̄iz má'ikjht, ʔz h̄ii h̄əd d̄ə'n ʔfoor!

42. "What news, what news? your tidings
Tell me you must and shall! [tell!
Say why bareheaded you are come,
Or why you come at all?"

43. Now Gilpin had a pleasant wit,
And loved a timely joke;
And thus unto the calender
In merry guise he spoke:

[come:

44. "I came because your horse would
And if I well forbode,
My hat and wig will soon be here,—
They are upon the road."

45. The calender, right glad to find
His friend in merry pin,
Returned him not a single word,
But to the house went in.

[wig,

46. Whence straight he came with hat and
A wig that flowed behind,
A hat not much the worse for wear,
Each comely in its kind.

47. He held them up, and in his turn
Thus showed his ready wit:
"My head is twice as big as yours,
They therefore needs must fit.

48. "But let me scrape the dirt away,
That hangs upon your face;
And stop and eat, for well you may
Be in a hungry case."

49. Said John: "It is my wedding-day,
And all the world would stare,
If wife should dine at Edmonton,
And I should dine at Ware."

50. So turning to his horse, he said:
"I am in haste to dine;
'Twas for your pleasure you came here,
You shall go back for mine."

51. Ah! luckless speech, and bootless
boast!
For which he paid full dear;
For while he spake, a braying ass
Did sing most loud and clear.

52. Whereat his horse did snort, as he
Had heard a lion roar,
And galloped off with all his might,
As he had done before.

53. ewaa gid :gilpín, en
awaa gid :gilpínz hat en wíg!
hi tínt dem shæner or efoor,
fer wha'i? déi war á'uer big'!

54. nuu :mæstris :gilpín whan
shə saa her gə'dman pòsten dùn
itee de kjentri faar ewaa, shə
pùl út hàf o v krùn,

55. en dəs etee de haaflín
shə sed, dat kaad dem tee de
:bel: "dis sal bi dá'in, whín
duu taks bak mí gə'dman seef
en wiil."

56. de haaflín rèd, en shə'n
də'd mít :djooni koo'en bak
egen, whaa ín v hent hi trá'id
te stéi, bi glamen at his
reen.

57. bet noo perfá'i'ten what
hi má'ikjht, en blá'idli wad he
d'n, de fleged bist hi fleged
meer, en meed him fester rən.

58. ewaa gid :gilpín, en
awaa gid hàflín at his hiilz,
de hàflínz hors rá'ikjht blá'id
te mis de dilderín o de whiilz.

59. saks djent'lmen apoo de
gèt dəs si'en :gilpín flíi wí
hàflín skæri'en at híz teel, déi
roozd de "jhiu en krá'i."

60. "stop tíf! stop tíf! v
rober man!" noo ín o dem
wez dam, en aa en ilke ín dat
past dat wéi də'd tjóin i de
persət.

61. en nuu de gèt-gríndz
egen flíuu aap'n ín v glísk, de
grínd men tíqken ez afoor dat
:gilpín reed v rees.

62. en see hi də'd en wan
híid tæ, for hii kàm ferst te
tuun, nor stéid til whaar hi
ferst gid ap, hi də'd egen koo
dùn.

63. nuu let wez síq laq lív
de :kíq! en :gilpín laq lív hii!
en whan hi níist də'z rá'id fee
hiim, mee á'i bi deer te sii!

53. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went Gilpin's hat and wig;
He lost them sooner than at first,
For why?—they were too big.

54. Now Mistress Gilpin, when she saw
Her husband posting down
Into the country, far away,
She pulled out half a crown;

55. And thus unto the youth she said,
That drove them to the "Bell,"
"This shall be yours when you bring
back
My husband safe and well."

56. The youth did ride, and soon did meet
John coming back amain;
Whom in a trice he tried to stop
By catching at his rein.

57. But not performing what he meant,
And gladly would have done,
The frightened steed he frightened more,
And made him faster run.

58. Away went Gilpin, and away
Went postboy at his heels,
The postboy's horse right glad to miss
The lumbering of the wheels.

59. Six gentlemen upon the road
Then seeing Gilpin fly,
With postboy scampering in the rear,
They raised the hue and cry.

60. "Stop thief! stop thief! a highway
Not one of them was mute;
And all and each that passed that way
Did join in the pursuit.

61. And now the turnpike-gates again
Flew open in short space;
The tollmen thinking, as before,
That Gilpin rode a race.

62. And so he did, and won it too,
For he got first to town;
Nor stopped till where he had got up,
He did again get down.

63. Now let us sing, Long live the King!
And Gilpin long live he!
And when he next doth ride abroad,
May I be there to see!

Notes to John Gilpin, by Mr. Dennison, with remarks in [] by A.J.E.

1. *John*. The *o* in this name is pron. long, approximating somewhat to *au*. [This gives (oo) exactly.] [*train-band*, of course this is not an Or. word, and as there were no train-bands even in London in my time, the expression used to puzzle me as a child. He would have been a volunteer captain in these days, I suppose.]—*eke*, not in Or., and hence likewise substituted.

2. *tedious*, the Danish *langsam* is still in common use.

3. [*our*, (wər) common].—*repair*, not in Or., hence make a vistie or short journey, is used.—*then*, given as (dan), a Danishism.—*unto*, reduced to (vətè).

4. *my*, both *me* and *mae* are used for *my*, *me* being the most emphatic [but Mr. D. pron. (mi) in both cases; similarly he wrote *wae* for the last word in the stanza, but said distinctly (wii). Of course the construction after *we*, which Cowper used for its ludicrous effect, is not Or.].

5. *one*, now often pron. (èn), but (in) is oldest. [Observe the vowels are generally medial as in L. usually; I have not always so marked them, however. The *i* is the deep (i₁), and often (ə), as in (bət), written *bit*, like the NL. sound, see p. 767, but I have generally been satisfied with writing (i). In (hi₁d) it, with the old aspirate, it is very marked.]

6. *linen*, *i* here has a sound which I find it impossible to represent; the tongue strikes the top of the mouth further back than when pronouncing *linen* in English. [It is the NL. *i*, see p. 767, but it sounded to me like (ə), and was slightly nasalised, which was probably an accident.]—*draper*, not in Or., and hence *merchant* substituted.—*doth*, not in Or., hence *does* used.—*calender*, not in Or., and hence translated. [The final (th) in (kleeth) was curiously pron. almost (tj), but (th) was intended, and is hence written.]

7. *furnished*, not in Or. [hence *provided* is substituted.]—*both*, there was the same curious final (th) as heard in 6, cloth presser.

8. *bent* [could not be used in this sense in Or.].—*frugal*, the very word that an old Orcadian would have used.

9. [*drive*, to *hurl*, is used in the sense of to *wheel* in Scotland.]—*proud*, the (d) was clear.

10. *stayed*. “I cannot represent this *ey* sound in English.” [It was the common (éi).]—*agog*, not in Or.

11. [*whip*, Mr. Dennison wrote *whup*, but said (whip), which is unusual in L.]—*were never folks so glad*. The construction of this line is inadmissible in Or.

12. *flowing* [observe the pron., Mr. D. said *ow* as in *how*].

13. *come*, the form *co'* is frequent.

14. [*pence*, the Scotch *barbees* are halfpence.]

16. *good lack*, (aluur') means alas.—*exercise*, this word could not be used, because in Or. it meant a religious service, such as family worship, and was pron. (eksersii'z).

17. *stone bottles* could not be used, because in Or. *bottle* applies to *glass* vessels only, and stone bottles or jars are called *pigs*.

19. *equipped*. The word *boonyed*, in complete order, from the word *boon*, is pure Norse, and is also still used here, or, I should rather say, was used.—*throw*, [the (th) was especially dictated].

20. *nimble steed*, neither word exists in Or. I give *teet*, which has the same meaning as nimble.—*Beast* [which Mr. D. wrote *baest*, but pron. (bist)] is used for horses as well as cows. [Compare Tam o' Shanter, p. 733, v. 70, they say (ká'i bist, hors bist).]—*pacing* [here again Mr. D. wrote (pāekan), but pron. (pikən)].

21. *road*, (gèt) gate, but the gate of a field, etc., is (jèt).—*began*, be good is the oldest form.—*galled*, [the word *tittled* is explained in Mr. D.'s glossary “tickled, amused; sometimes [as here] slightly irritated”].

22. *gallop*, [for which the Or. word is *spunder*].—*curb*, *curb* being unknown in Or., I have employed *vitta*, a wooden bit used in old times.

23. *as*, *cannot*, have this same n.L. vowel, see (i₁₁), p. 767.

24. [*What thing upon his back had got*, Mr. D. has made it, *what thing upon his back he'd got*, which has a different meaning, and is not so ridiculous.—*wonder*, *farly*. Compare “Me bifel a ferly,” Piers Pl. v. 16.]

25. *neck*, “*hass* (sometimes, and properly, *hars*), the neck of the human body”; Mr. D.'s Glossary; Norse; German *hals*.—[*set out* not being Or.

is translated into *take way*.—*running such a rig*, the phrase is merely reproduced, not translated in the Or. version, *running* has the n.NL. (*i*), which here sounded (*x*) to me.]

30. [*turnpike men, gates*, as there are no turnpike roads in Or., Mr. D. has substituted keepers of the grinds or gates to fields.]

31. *bowing*, (*buuen*) is used here as (*luuten*) was before (st. 23) to shew that both words were used in Or.

34. *these gambols*, here I have used the singular *this* [instead of the plural *these*], because proper in Or., however improper in English grammar.—*pretikins*, besides meaning gambols, also means tricks of leger-de-main, and acrobatic feats.

36. *balcony*, not used in Or. [the word *balcony* used always to have the accent on the second syllable as here, from the Italian *balcone*, a big beam or balk].—*spied*, Or. *skrimed*.—*how*, both *whoo* and *foo* are said. [It is the only *wh* so changed in IL.—*did*, altered, perhaps accidentally, to *could*.]

37. [*tired* (*t₁gd*), Mr. D. gives “*tigsam*, tedious, wearisome,” in his glossary.]

38. *inclined*, Or. *furkin*. Edmondstone gives this as an Or. word with an entirely erroneous meaning. It properly signifies to be willing, inclined, or disposed to.—*owner*, *ow* as in *how*.

39. *an arrow*, the indef. article is always *a*, never *an*, in Or.—*archer*, archery is unknown in Or.

41. *gate* means in Or. the outer gate of a house, while *grind* (st. 30) is a field gate.

42. [*tidings*, the word *uncans* probably means things unkent, or unknown, hence tidings.].—*at all*, (*evaa*) of all, with the same meaning.

46. *whence*, *each*, neither word occurs in Or.

47. *is*, *as*. These two words are pronounced identically in Or. [Mr. D. writes *as* as *is*, but to my ear the NL. *i* had here two different sounds in *is*, as (*i*) or (*i₁*) almost, in *as* it sounded to me like (*vz*). See p. 767.]

48. *stop*, *bide* is not given as its correct rendering of *stop*, but because it is the word that an Orcadian would have used in the circumstances.

50. *go* (*gjoq*), some would write *geong* as in the old word *geo*, meaning

a cave. [The *g* is simply palatalised.]

52. *snort*, rhymes *hurt* [this would give (*snart*), but I marked his pron. as (*snort*).—*roar*, translated (*ruut*). Gloss. “*root* to roar loudly; often applied, but not confined, to the cry of a cow”].

53. *than*, (*or*) is the regular Or. equivalent.

54. *posting*, pronounced something like the *au* in *clause*. [I marked (*ò*) the Italian *o aperto* medial length. I had great difficulty in knowing when Mr. D. used (*oo*) and when (*oo*). The pal. will hence probably be found inconsistent.]

55. *youth*, in Or. *halfing* is applied to a lad too young to do the work of a full-grown man, and who was considered half man and half boy.—*drove*, in Or. (*kaad*). The word is used in many senses in Or., such as *to ca on*, to cry on [shout for], to make a call on, *to ca'* to cry, to drive a flock of sheep, cattle, or whales, hence ‘*cain whale*’; to drive horses, as *he cas a couple*, he drives a pair of horses; to strike with a hammer, as *cain nails driving notes*. [See for the last *Tam o' Shanter*, v. 25, p. 732 above.].—*husband*, in Or. *goodman* is still used as well as husband.

57. [*performing*, in Ork. *perfecting*, in the older form *perfitan*, compare Chaucer's *parfit*, taken direct from Fr. *parfait*; *perfect* is quite a modern form. But the place of the accent on the second syllable, and consequent diphthongising of its sound, are noteworthy.]

58. *lumbering*, *dildering* is only an approximative rendering of the original, because *lumbering* in this sense does not occur in Or., for *lumber* in its ordinary sense *ramel* is used. *dilder* means to jolt, to shake by concussions.

59. *rear*, not in Or., hence *tail* used. [*hue and cry*, the phrase and custom is unknown in Or., hence there being no corresponding phrase the English words are simply retained.]

60. [*thief*, there is the same peculiarity as in L., (*thif*) medial, sing. (*thiivz*) long plural, on account of the following consonants *f*, *v*.—*highwayman*, they had no Or. word for.]

61. [*short space*, or *glisk*, “a glimpse, an instant,” Dennison Gl.]

ORKNEY cwl.

from Mr. Dennison's Orcadian Sketch-Book, retaining his orthography in italics.

In this orthography *ae*=*ay* in *day*. *ee*=*ee* in *see*. *oa*=(*oo*).
eu=*eu* in *amateur*, *hauteur*, "pretty nearly," -*in*, verbal noun, -*an* part. See examples, p. 798, note to v. 11. The pal. and notes were from vv. information. I have also added many words from John Gilpin, giving both Mr. D.'s orthography and my pal. transcription.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- — *quack* [quake]. 6 *meed*. — *wad* [wade]. 15 *a'fo'* [awful]. — *ba'k* [balk]. 19 *teel*. 21 *neem*. 23 *sam'*. 24 *sheem*. 25 *mane meen*. — *get* *gèt* [road, n. gata]. — *keel* [kail]. A: 38 *is ez* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 39 *cam' kàm*. 41 *tank*. 43 *han's* [hands]. 49 *king hiq*. 55 *ass*. 56 *wesh* [name of a piece of water]. A: or O: 58 *f'ae fee*. 60 *lang laq*. 61 *amang*. A'- 67 *geng ga'n geen geed* [go going went], *geong gjoq* [to go], *gang gjeq*. 70 *tæ tee*. 72 *wha* [used for relative, both nom. and acc.]. 73 *sæ*. 74 *twa twaa*. 79 *ain een*. 80 *heliday helidi*. 82 *eence ins*. 83 *meen mane*. 84 *mair meer*. — *aran reeren* [roaring]. 85 *sair seer*. 86 *aets*. 89 *baith beeth*. 90 *blaw blaa*. 95 *throw throo* [with (th)]. 97 *sa'l saul saal*.

A': 105 *ræd rəd*. — *lethy ledhi* [lady]. 109 *laich leekjh*. 110 *nokht*. — *feeman* [foaming, streaming]. 115 *heem hiim*. 117 *aen een*, in, *ee* [last common]. 118 *been*. 122 *i. neen*, ii. *nee*. 123 *naethin nithin* [last common]. 124 *steen stin*. 126 *airs* (eerz). 130 *boat* [this should be (boot), but I heard (baat)]. 132 *haet* (hi₁t).

Æ- 138 *faither*. — *a't'egither* [altogether]. 148 *fair feer*. — *stairs* *steerz*. — *saet seet* [seat]. Æ: 155 *t'aik*. — *spak'* [spake]. 156 *gled*. 159 *his*. 169 *whin when* [unaccented NL. *i*]. 173 *wus*. 175 *fest fest*. 177 *dat 'at*. — *wraith* [wrath]. — *stathy* [steady]. Æ'- 187 *lave*. 195 *minny*. Æ': 209 *niver niver*. 214 *naither needher*. 221 *f'are*. 223 *dere air*. 224 *whar' whar*. 226 *maist meest*. — *wassel* [wrestle]. 228 *swaet sweet*. 229 *braith breeth*.

E- 231 *de*. 233 *spaekan* [speaking]. — *wather* [weather]. — *neevs* [(niivz) fists]. 243 *plee*. 244 *weel*. 246 ii. *guine kwā'in*. — *aet* [which should represent (*et*), but Mr. D. said (*it*)]. 254 *leatheran ledren* [leathern]. E: — *wab* [web]. — *haeve* [heave]. — *waddin* [a wedding]. 262 *wey wéi*. 263 *awa waa*. 265 *strakht*. 266 *weel wil*. 269 *hidsel* [itself]. — *dellan* [delivery]. — *speil speel* [spell]. 276 *tink*. — *twinty* [twenty (*i*)]. 281 *lent'*. 282 *strent'*. 284 *t'resh*. — *he'rty* [heartly]. — *a't'wart* [athwart]. — *wast* [west]. E': 305 *hieh heich* (há'ikjh). 306 *hicht*. 310 *heel hil*. 314 *h'ard*. 315 *fit fit*. 316 *neest nist*.

EA- — *eel'* [ale]. — *shawed shaad* [shewed]. EA: — *kaff* [chaff]. 321 *sa saa*. 323 *foucht* (faakht). 324 *acht* (aakht). — *sall sal* [shall]. 326 *auld aald*. 327 *bāuld baald*. 330 *haud aad*. 332 *ta'd* (taad). 333 *callow* [to calve]. 335 *a'* [sometimes (*l*) is pron.]. — *ha'* [hall]. 337 *wa'*. — *ma't* [malt]. 342 *erm*. — *hairm* [harm]. 346 *yett jèt*. EA'- 347 *heed hid*. 348 *e'e*. EA': 350 *deed deid*. 351 *leed*. 352 *reed riid*. 353 *breed*. 354 *shaev's* [sheaves]. 357 *t'o'* to too *a'to'* [although]. — *tare* [a tear]. 368 *deeth*. 371 *stree*.

EI- 372 *aye éi*. 373 *dey déi*. 374 *na'*. EI: 380 *dem*. 382 *der deir*.

EO- 383 *seevan*. 384 *heevan*. 386 *yow*. EO: 390 *s'ud sùd*. — *siller* [silver]. 392 *yin jen*. 394 [never used]. 397 *swerd sword sward* [NL. *i*]. EO'- 411 *t'ree trii*. 412 *sheu*. 413 *deil*. 414 *flee fleean*, *flii fliien* [fly flying]. 415 *lee*. — *heud* [held]. — *yeul* [yule, Christmas]. 416 *dear diir*. — *sheet* [shoot]. 420 *fower*. 421 *foorty*. EO': — *t'ief*

tif [thief]. 423 *t'ee*. 426 *fecht*. 429 *fiend*. 430 *freend* frind. 433 *breest*. 436 *true* truum. 437 *treuth*.

I- — *gaean* [giving], *geen* [given]. 441 *si'r'*. 448 *dis* dis [sg. used for pl.]. I: — *t'ick* ti'k [thick]. 457 *mucht* má'ikjht. 458 *nicht* ná'ikjht. 459 *apricht* aprá'ikjht. 460 *weicht* wekjht. 464 *whilk* whá'k [NL. i]. 468 *chielders*. — *ahint* ehent [behind, most probably NL. i]. 480 *ting* tq. — *rinnan* rænn [running NL. i]. 484 *dis*. — *rash* [a rush]. 489 *hid* [hí'd] almost [het]. — *sax* [six]. I'- 490 *bac*. 492 *side* sá'id. — *t'rice* [thrive]. — *tretty* [thirty]. I': — *leek* [a corpse in (lik waak) like-wake]. 500 *likewis* léikwes [likewise NL. i in last syllable]. 508 *má'id*. 509 *whill*. — *linen* lə'nən [linen]. — *dee* [thy].

O- 518 *bothy*. — *sheul* [shovel]. 519 *ower* á'uer. 522 *āpen* aap'n. — *drip* [drop]. 523 *hup*. 524 *warld* waarld. O: 525 *ii*. *aff*. 528 *t'ought*. 529 *braucht* brá'kht. 531 *douchter* [(daakhter) almost (daukhter)]. 534 *hol'* [how hollow]. 536 *gowd*. 538 *wad* wí'd wad. 544 *dan*. — *tap* [top]. — *scor'* [score]. — *nort'* [north]. — *botham* (bodhum) [bottom]. — *owsen* [(óus'n) oxen]. O'- 556 *tæ atæ tee* [unto], *i'tæ* [into]. 557 *teu tæ*. 558 *luck* læk. 562 *meun*. 564 *seun* sheun shæ'n shá'n. — *smoother* smædher [smoother]. 566 *ither*. 568 *brither*. — *flow* flá'u.

O': 569 *beuk*. 571 *geud* gá'd [confused with God]. — *heud* [hood]. 572 *bleud*. — *sneud* [snood]. 575 *steud* stá'd. — *gliv* [glove]. — *soft* [soft]. — *reuf* [roof]. 582 *ceul* kæ'l. — *pow* (póu) [pool]. 586 *deu* deuin's [doings]. 587 *deun* dæ'n dæ'n. 589 *speun*. 590 *fleur*. 592 *sweur*. — *geus* gá's [goose]. 593 *maun* maan. 595 *fit*.

U- — *knock* [knock, (k) pron.]. 600 *loavin'* loovin [this is an adj. not the participle which would be looven], *loed* luud. 603 *co* ko [frequent contraction]. 605 *sin*. 606 *door* door. U: — *sh'uther* [shoulder]. — *po'd* púd [pulled]. 612 *sumin* [something]. 615 *pund* pand. 616 *grund*. 617 *soond* suund. 619 *f'und* fand. — *windir* [wonder (i) or (æ)]. 632 *ap* a'p. — *apo'* [upon]. — *brough* (brokh) [borough]. 634 *t'rou* trá'u. 635 *wirt'*. U'- 640 *coo*. 641 *hoo* whuu fuu [both used]. 642 *th'u* [? du]. 643 *noo*. — *toom* [thumb]. 648 *wur*, wér. 649 *thoosan* thuuzen. 650 *aboot*. 653 *bit* bet [unaccented, i.e. with the NL. i]. U': — *boosam* [buxom]. — *book* (buuk) [bulk, distinct from 569]. 658 *doon* duun dūn. 659 *toon* tuun [town]. 663 *hoose*. 667 *oot* uut. 668 *prood* pruud. 671 *mooth*. 672 *sooth*.

Y- 673 *muckle* mak'l. 674 *deud* dæ'd dæ'd. — *steer* [stir]. Y: 683 *mudges* [pl.]. 690 *kind* ká'ind. 691 *mind* má'ind. — *tin* tìn [thin]. 700 *waur* wér. — *t'irst* [thirst]. 702 *wi'd* [with it]. Y'- — *fifteen* (fá'iftin) fifteen. Y': — *wiss* [prob. (wæs) wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. — *trapple* [thrapple thropple]. — *heest* hiist [haste]. E. 743 *skreek* skrik. — *t'raep t' reep* [threep]. — *velved* velvet. I. and Y. — *keik* [kick]. — *week* [wick, side of the mouth, used by Salesbury, see Part III. p. 756b]. 753 *tittle* tit'l tjet'l. — *preen* [pin]. — *firt'* [firth]. O. 761 *lod*. — *scald* [scold], *scowlding* [scolding]. — *cunin* [æ] coney, rabbit]. — *wint* (wí'nt) [wont]. — *coor'd* [cowered]. — *ceut* [coot = ankle, a very common word]. — *trath* [troth]. — *scroon'* [surround]. U. — *dook* [duck]. — *dook*. 808 *pit* pet, pat [pt.], *pitten* [pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 *fers*. 811 *piece* piis. 820 *gey* géi. 833 *pair* peer. — *p'aceable* [peaceable]. 834 *chaise* tjez. — *aisy* [easy]. — *plaiser* plézer [pleasure]. 837 *mistress* mástris [Mrs.]. — *mesterfu'* [masterful]. 839 *ba'*. 840 *cham'er*. — *deem* [dame]. — *famous* fæmes [famous]. — *lunch* (haunch). — *cheppel* [chapel]. 857 *case* kees. — *nati'ed* [natured]. — *haakhty* [haakhty] haughty. 865 *fauler* faaler [defaulter]. — *cāshan* kaashen [caution]. 866 *peur*.

E.. — *praech* [preach]. — *crethid* kredhit [credit]. 874 *rein* rēn. 885

vero [occ. (veru) very in the various islands]. 890 *baest beest* bist. — *hour* (uur).

I.. and Y.. — *feurce* [fierce]. — *vild* [vile]. — *eemage* image. — *meenit* [minute of time]. — *veclant* [violent]. — *admeeer* admire [admire].

910 *ceetizen* sitiz'n [citizen]. — *veeved* [vivid, very common].

O.. — *pooch* [pouche]. 919 *choin tjoín* [join]. — *puishan pooshan* poison. — *ooman* [omen]. — *coont* [count]. — *renoön rinuun* [renown]. — *croon* [crown]. — *bannet* [bonnet]. — *eerison* [orison]. 941 *feul*. 944 *alooed eluud*. — *coort* [court]. 952 *turn toorn* [turn]. — *preer* [prove]. 955 *doot*. — *poo'er* [power]. 956 *cower* [to recover health]. — *dizzen* [dozen].

U.. 965 *eulie*. 967 *sent sæt*. 969 *seur*. — *firry* [fury]. — *yeus* [use]. 970 *jeust tja'st* [Mr. D. always pron. in Or. initial *j* as (tj)].

D 42 = nIL. = northern Insular Lowland.

Boundaries and Area. The whole group of the Shetland isles. The separate islands of Foula and Fair Isle belong to this district, and their languages are varieties, but I have failed in procuring any information concerning them.

Authorities. 1. Mr. Arthur Laurenson of Leog, Lerwick, wrote an article in Danish on Shetland and Orkney in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1860, pp. 190–201, to which article there were additions by R. J. Lyngby, pp. 201–216. This paper, lent to me by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, led to a long correspondence with Mr. Laurenson, who has been very obliging in giving me all the assistance in his power, and especially translated for me a Shetland letter, said to be from Unst, of which Prince L.-L. Bonaparte lent me a copy, and subsequently it was found to be partly printed in the Zetland Directory, 1861. It is an excellent specimen, but I have not felt sure enough of the pron. to give it here. Mr. Laurenson also revised for me his translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, given in the above-mentioned Danish paper, and it has been added below. He also gave me a lw. and numerous newspaper cuttings in the Shetland Dialect.

2. Mr. Robert Cogle of Cunningborough, Dunrossness, Mainland, Sd., on a peninsula running s., gave me a cs. in his Dunrossness pron., and sent me "Shetland Fireside Tales, or the Hermit of Trosswickness, by G. S. L." (George Stewart of Leith), Edinburgh, 1877, pp. 239, because they gave such an excellent representation of the s. form of the dialect.

3. Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, native of Lerwick, in Oct. 1878, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Laurenson, kindly read to me Mr. L.'s Parable of the Prodigal Son, and his lw., and Mr. Cogle's cs., and from this dictation they are here reproduced.

4. Prince L.-L. Bonaparte procured Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, in Unst pron., given below. He also put at my service notes made during a visit to Orkney in 1858; and lent me the MS. of Dr. L. Edmondstone's pronouncing glossary of Unst, which, being confined to unusual words, has not much assisted me; also a specimen of Mr. William Alexander Grant's glossary of

"2000 words peculiar to Shetland, and not in use in any part of Scotland, chiefly old Norse and kindred tongues," which necessarily did not further my inquiries.

5. Dr. Thomas Edmondstone's "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," published by the Philol. Society, 1866, has, for the same reason as the others, not helped me, although interesting for other purposes, see notes to *Pætie Toral*, pp. 798 to 802.

As far as actual pron. is concerned I have therefore but one authority, Miss Malcolmson, to whose kindness I am so much indebted.

Characters. The peculiar alterations of *th*, the main feature of pron. of the district, have already been given, p. 789.

Initial *ch*, generally (tʃ), becomes (ʃh) in D 42, as in D 40, but remains (tʃ) in D 41, which is nearer D 40, thus (shapter, shans, shiild, shil, sheer, shiiz) chapter, chance, child, chiel, cheer, cheese. But the initial (tʃ) is by no means impossible to a Shetlander, who says (tʃop) for shop, as in Ab. On the other hand, final (tʃ) usually remains, except in (stʃk, reek) stitch, reach, and perhaps a few other words, where it does not become (ʃh) but (k). And (dʃ) remains unaltered in Sd., though Mr. Dennison used (tʃ) for it in Or.

Initial (wh) remains and does not become either (kw) as in SL. or (f) as in NL. On the contrary, (kw-) *qu*-initial frequently, if not generally, becomes (wh).

R is distinctly trilled, *ur*- is (w'r- wer-) and is sometimes written *wir*, meaning, I believe, the same thing, that is (w'ir), p. 767.

In *kn*-, *gn*- initial the (k, g) are heard.

The aspirate is strong, except in unaccented pronominal words. The guttural varies as (kh, kjh) according to the preceding vowel, as in German.

The vowels form a main difficulty, and many fine distinctions may have escaped me or been wrongly appreciated.

The (a) certainly tends to (a'), and in the diphthong (á'i) seems to be exclusively used. In some cases Mr. Laurensen had marked (æ), which Miss Malcolmson sounded as (ɛ).

The (ɛ, ee) was a prominent feature, as (lem, shem, nem) lame, shame, name, as distinct from Or. use. It sometimes occurred long as (heel, sneel) hail, snail.

The (i) constantly occurs purely short or medial, as (trid, did) thread, dead. Our short (i) may remain, but is much superseded by (i'), which I expect is frequently the thick NL. *i* or (i') that has caused so much trouble, see p. 767. At any rate my appreciation varied as (i, e, ɛ) as in NL.

The (o, oo) seemed pure, not (oo) nor (aa), neither of which probably occurs, although I seemed at times to hear (oo). But certainly (aa) is absent, as it is in all the NL., and is replaced by (aa), which in Unst Prince L.-L. Bonaparte hears as (aa).

The (u) seemed pure as in all L., and not to become (u). It generally stood for (uu), which however occasionally occurred.

There were at least three of the (y) vowels (y₁, ə, œ), and I may have confused the two first as (dy₁, shəə) do, shoe, and (gy₁d, ly₁v) good, love, but (spən, mən) and (rœt, kœp) root, cup. Whether or no, three distinct vowels are really used and confined to particular words, I am unable to say.

The diphthongs seem to be (ái), but (áu, óu) and occ. (á'u, æ'u) perhaps. While (ío, íu) occ. occur for O' before a guttural, as (tiókh) tough. We find also few of the Ab. (ái) words (see p. 766) as (kwá'in, whá'i, tá'izdi) quean, whey, Tuesday.

These correspond with Ws. roughly thus :

A- is (E, aa), as (lēm, draa) lame, draw.

A' (ee, EE, E), as (see, SEE) so, (NEE) no, adj. (hem, BEn) home, bone.

Æ' varies between (ee, e), apparently the normal sound, and (i) which looks like a refinement, as (leev) leave, (klin) clean.

E is (e, E), as (spek, weev) speak, weave.

E' regularly (i, ii), as (hii, dii, fit) he, thee, feet.

EAL usually (aa), and the L. occ. dropped, as (aa, aald) all, old.

EA' usually i₁, E, e, as (grī't, dēf, great, deat, rarely i, as (did) dead.

EO' regularly (ii, i), as (bii) bee, exceptionally (əə), as (shəə) she.

I' is regularly (ái), without distinguishing a broader form (ái).

O' becomes (y₁, əə, ə, α, ío, íu), all variants of the usual alteration of O'.

U is regularly (æ), but sometimes (œ), as (sæn, œp) sun, up.

U' is regularly (u, uu), as (nuu, tun) now, town.

For particulars, refer to the cwl. below, p. 818.

Illustrations.

1. *Dunrossness* cs. by Mr. R. Cogle, the last of the 8 cs. in the introduction to L., p. 684, as read by Miss Malcolmson, and hence with Lerwick pron.

2. *Lerwick*, Parable of the Prodigal Son, as written by Mr. Laurenson, and read by Miss Malcolmson.

3. *Unst*, the Parable of the Sower as written by Dr. L. Edmondstone, with a conjectural pal. version by AJE.

4. General cwl. from Mr. Laurenson's lw. as read by Miss Malcolmson, together with words excerpted from Nos. 1, 2, 3.

THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON, Luke xv. 11-32.

Translated into the Shetland dialect by Mr. Arthur Laurenson, of Leog, Lerwick, Sd., originally published in the *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 198, corrected by himself for the present edition, and pal. by AJE. from the dictation of Miss Annie B. Malcolmson, of Lerwick, 29 Oct. 1878.

11. a sarten man hed twa sǣnz.

12. en de jǣqest o dem, sǣd tǣl hiz feeder: feeder, gii mǣ de peert o de gy₁dz et faaz tǣ mii. en hi peerted kiz liven utwiin dem.

13. en nǣ moni deez Efter de jǣqest sǣn gadurd aa tǣgeder, en tuk de geet tǣl e faar kǣntri, en spǣnt aa deer in bad liven.

14. en wh₁n hi hed spǣnt aa, der kam e grī't femin in dat laand, en hi biguud tǣ bii in want.

15. en hi gǣd en fiid w₁ e man o dat kǣntri, en hi pǣt him ut tǣ kip swá'in.

16. en hi wîd fêe'n he felt hîz belî wî de broks de swáin et, en nee man gee óukht tel hîm.

17. en whî'n hi kam tel hîmsel hi sed: háu monî fîd sêrvents o mi fêederz hee bred enîokh en te speer en á'i faant wî hæqer.

18. á'i l rá'iz en geq te mi fêeder en) l see tel hîm: fêeder á'i hee sînd egenst hîv'n en dii,

19. en á'i m nee meer wârdi te bi keed (kaad) dá'i sên, mak mi ez iin o dá'i fîd sêrvents.

20. en hi reez en kam tel hîz fêeder. bî't whî'n hi wez jî't e grî't wá'i af, hîz fêeder saa hîm, en fel ap'en hîz mlk, en kjest hîm.

21. en de sên sed tel ïm: fêeder á'i hee sînd egenst hîv'n en ïn dá'i sáikjht, en em nee meer wârdi te bi keed (kaad) dá'i sên.

22. bî't de fêeder sed tel hîz sêrvents: brîq fort de best kleez en pat dem ap'en em; en pat e ræq on hîz haand en shæen en hîz fit,

23. en brîq hîr de fat'ed kaaf en kel ïm, en lat wez et en bi mæri.

24. fer dæs mál'i sên wez deed en ï's liven egen; hi wez lost en ïz fon, en dee biguud te bi mæri.

25. nuu de aaldest sên wez ï de fîld en az hii wez komen heem tel de hus hi heerd mæzik en dansen.

26. en hi keed (kaad) iin o de sêrvents, en akst what dæs wæz.

27. en hi sed tel ïm: dá'i brîder ïz kam; en dá'i fêeder hez kelt de fat'ed kaaf, bikæz hi hez got'n hîm bak see'f en sund.

28. en hi wez tærn, en wîd ne geq ïn: see kam hîz fêeder ut en entreded hîm,

29. en hi anseren sed tel hîz fêeder: nuu dæs monî jûrz de á'i sêrv di, neder bruk á'i dá'i komaandz et onî tá'im, en jî't nî'vêr gee du mii e kid, ï't á'i mál'ikjht mak mæri wî mál'i frindz,

30. bî't az shæen az dæs dá'i sên wez kam, et hez divuud dá'i liven wî hæarz, du hez kel'et fer hîm de fat'ed kaaf.

31. en sed tel em: sên du z ever wî mi. en aa et á'i hee ïz dá'in.

32. ït wez rá'ikjht dat wî sud mak mæri en bi gled; fer dæs dá'i brîder wez ded en ïz liven egen; en wez lost en ïz fon.

Notes to the above Parable.

15. *hired*, fîi) cattle, money, wages, (te fîi) to hire for wages.

19. *ang* iin.

28. *angy* tærn). Jam. "to *tirr*, to snarl; *tirræw*, fit of passion; *tir-*

wier tirwerring, habitually growling."

Edm. "*tirran*, cross, ill-natured, enraged; Danish *tirre*, ags. *tyran*, to exasperate, irritate." Ettmüller gives the forms *terian*, *tirian*, *tirigan*, *tyrwian*.

PARABLE OF THE SOWER, Matt. xiii. 3-9.

Translated into the dialect of Unst, the northernmost isle of Sd., by Dr. L. Edmondstone, 1859, for Prince L.-L. Bonaparte, by whom it was presented to the Philological Society 20 June, 1873. Here printed in the original spelling, thus explained by the Prince: "The pronunciation of *a* long and grave in *pâtre*, indicated by *aa*; that of *eu* in *peu* by *ö*; that of [Fr.] *u* mixed with a slight shade of *ea* by *ü*; that of German *ch* in *nacht* by *χ*." This is printed in Italics, with an interlinear translation into pal. by A.J.E.

Dr. Laurence Edmondstone d. 1874, aged 84. He was the younger brother of Arthur Edmondstone, of Bunes, Unst, d. 1813, and uncle of Thomas Edmondstone, who compiled the "Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect," printed in the Trans. Philolog. Soc. 1866, Part III.

3. *behold, a saar gūd furt ta saa;*
bihoold v saar gȳd furt tē saa;
4. *an whin he saad, some seeds fell be da rod side, an da fools*
en whi₁n hi saad, sēm sidz fel bi dē rod sá'id, en dē fuulz
cam an devoord dem up.
kam en divuurd dēm əp.
5. *some fell uppo stany places, whar dey hedna muckle airt;*
sēm fel əp'v staani pleesez, whaar dee hed)nə mæk'l eert;
an at ance dey shot up becaas dey hed nay deepness o' airt;
en et ans dee shot əp, bikaas dee hed nee dipnəs o eert;
6. *an whin da sun wis up, dey wir scooderd; an becaas dey*
en whi₁n dē sēm wi₁z əp, dee wər skuuderd; en bikaaz dee
had nay röt, dey widderd awaa.
hed nee røet, dee wi₁derd əwaa.
7. *an some fell amung torns; an da torns shot up, an shockit dem.*
en sēm fel əmɛq tornz; en dē tornz shot əp, en shokit dēm.
8. *bit udder fell intill gūd grund an broxt furt fröt, some a*
bi₁t əder fel intil gȳd grænd, en brokht furt frøet, sēm v
hunderfaald, some saxtyfaald, some tirtyfaald.
hānderfaald, sēm sakstifaald, sēm tærtifaald.
9. *whaa hes airs ta hear, let him hear.*
whaa hez eerz tē hiir, let hēm hiir.

NOTES. 6. *scooderd*, scorched.

7. *shokit*, choked.

SHETLAND CWL.

Composed of most of the words in

Mr. Cogle's Dunrossness cs.

Mr. Laurenson's Parable of the Prodigal Son and wl.

Both pal. by me from dictation of Miss Malcolmson.

Together with words from G. Stewart's Shetland Tales, in his own orthography, and from Dr. L. Edmondstone's Parable of the Sower, also in his own orthography in italics preceded by †.

I. WESSEX AND NORSE.

A- 3 beek. 4 tæk. — *shack* [shake]. 5 mæk mak. 7 seek. 8 hee
[(hed) had]. 14 draa. 17 laa. 20 lēm. 21 nēm. 22 tēm. 23 sēm.
24 shēm. — geet [gate, road]. 33 reder. 35 aul. 37 klaa. A: —

gee [gave]. 38 vs. 39 kam kam ke'm. 40 kem †cam. 41 tank. 43 haand, *haund*. 44 laand. 46 kaand'l. 47 waander. 49 hegen [hanging]. 50 teqz, *tainges*. 51 man. 52 wen. 55 ash, *ase*. 56 wash. A: or O: 58 fēe, *fae*. 59 lām. 60 lēq. 61 ēmaq, *amung*. 62 stroq. 64 wera'q w'raq. 65 saq. A'- 67 geq GEERN *gaen gōd gōd †gūd gane* [go, going, gone, went]. 72 who wha, †whaa. 73 see SEE. 74 twa. 79 ain EE'n. 82 ance †ance. 84 mair. 85 seer. 86 ets. 87 kleez. 89 beedhth. 91 maa, *maw*. 93 snaa. 94 kraa. 96 saa †saa [(†saar) sower]. A': 102 aks. 104 rod, †rod. 108 dookh. 111 ōukht. 112 hel. 113 heel whool. 115 hem HEEM *hame*. 117 ii iin. 118 ben. 122 i. nen *nane*, ii. no nee NEE, †nay. 123 ne then *naithen*. 124 sten *stane*, †stany [stony]. 125 ōnli. 126 oor. 127 hars. 129 gost. 130 biit. 133 w'rot.

Æ- 138 feeder *feder feeder*. — gader [gathered]. — tegeder [together]. 140 heel. 142 sneel. 143 teel. 144 egen. 150 lest. 153 *setterday* seturde. Æ: 154 bak. — spak [spake]. 156 gled. 158 efter E'- *after*. 161 dee. 165 sed. — whaal [whale]. — sma' [small]. 169 when whān whan whi'n *whin*, †whin. 170 hairst. — speer [spare]. 172 gars *girs*. — gles [glass]. 173 wēz wīz, †wis. — at ūte [ate]. 177 dat. 179 what fat. Æ'- 182 sii. — rake [reach]. 183 tiitj. — reedi [ready]. 187 leev *laev*. 189 wā'i. 190 kii. 192 min. 193 kliin. 194 oni. 195 moni. 196 †wir. 199 blit. 201 hethen. Æ': 204 did. 205 trid *treed*. — †seed. 206 ri'd. 207 mid'l. 209 ni'vēr. 212 whā'i. 214 ne'der nēder. 216 deel. 218 ship [a ship=(shep)]. 221 faer. 223 deer. 224 whaar whaar, †whar. 226 mest. 227 wit. 228 swet. 230 fāted [fatted].

E- 231 de *da*, †da. 232 braak [*brakwast* breakfast]. 233 spēk spēken *spackn* [speaking]. — wadder [weather, †widdered withered]. 235 weev. 236 fiver. 244 wiil *weel*. 246 i kwin, ii kwā'in. 247 ween. 248 meer. 249 weer. 250 sweer [(anserēn) answering]. — et [eat]. 251 meet. 252 ket'l. E: — nek [neck]. 256 s'tretjt. 261 sez seern [says saying]. 262 wy wā'i. 263 ewaa *awa*, †awaa. 265 streekjht. — fiild [field]. 269 demsel [themselves]. — twalmont [twelvemonth]. 270 beli. 271 tel. 273 me'n men. 276 teqk. 281 lent. 283 mari. — best [best]. E' 290 hii. 291 dii. 294 fid. 296 biliv. 298 fil. 299 grin. 300 kip. 301 †hear. 302 mit. 303 swit. E': 308 nid. 309 spid. 310 hil. 312 hiir. 312 heerd herd. — blissen blessing. 315 fit *fit*. — ticht tight. 316 niist *neist*.

EA- 320 keer. EA: 321 SEE saa. 322 laaf ljaakh laakh. 326 aald *auld* [(aaldest) oldest]. 328 cauld. 329 †fauld. 330 he'd [†behold]. 331 saald. 332 taald. 333 kaaf. 335 aa. 336 faa. 337 waa. 338 kaaz KEEZ [calls]. — saut [salt]. — sheer [share]. 340 jeerd. 342 eerm. 343 waarm. 344 beern. 345 dar. EA'- 347 heed. 348 een in. — †air [ear]. 349 fiu. EA': 350 deed *deid*. 353 bred. 355 def. 356 lēf. 357 too altoo. 359 neeghbour. — draem dream. 363 shep. — jiir. 365 niir. 366 gre't gri't. 367 tret. 368 deth. 369 sloo. 370 raa. 371 straa. EI- 373 †dey, dā'r [they are]. EI: 380 dem. EO: 384 hiv'n. 386 jāu. 387 niu. EO: 388 malk. 390 sud. — yellow yellow. 392 jon. 395 raq. 396 wark. 398 stary, †sterve. 400 eernest. 402 leern. 403 faar. 404 starns. — hert [heart]. 406 †eart. EO'- 409 bi. 411 trii tri. 412 shə shəə shū. — †shockit [choked]. 413 dev'l *devil*. 415 lii. — shōt [short]. 417 shāu. 418 bruu. EO': 422 sik. 423 lā'ikjht. 427 bi [(biin) being]. 428 sii. 429 find. 430 frind [not (i)]. 432 fort. 433 brist *breest*. 435 juu. 436 truu. 437 træth. EY- 438 deiz [dies, pron. (diiz)]. EY: 439 træst.

I- 440 wiik *ouk*. — gi [give]. — liven [living]. 446 nā'in. 447 her. 449 got'n [pp. gotten], *firgatten* [forgotten]. 450 tālīdz. I: 452 a ā'i. 455 lā'i. 457 mā'kjht *nicht*. 459 rā'ikjht. 462 sā'ikjht. 463 tī'l tel, †intill. 465 sek *sic*. 466 shiild. 467 wā'ild. 468 sheels. 475 wind. 477 find *fin'*. 478 grind. — hidmest *hinmest* [hindmost]. 479 wind. 480 theq thi'q. — raq [ring]. — bri'q [bring]. — shep [ship]. 483 his. 484 dās. 488 si't. 489 hit [only one instance found]. — kid [kid]. — sarty [sixty, common]. I'- 490 bi be. 491 sā'ikjh. 492 †side. 494 tā'im. 497 rā iz. 498 w'rit. I': 500 lek lekli [likely]. 502 fā'iv. 503 lā if. 505

wá'if. 506 wumén. 507 wímen. 508 má'il. 509 whá'il. — di [thy], dá'in [thine]. 510 má'in. — swá'in [swine]. 513 weer. — blide [blithe]. — sey [scythe]. — †tirty [thirty].

O- 519 óuer. 523 hoop hup. 524 wá'ld warl'. O: 527 báukht. 528 táukht tocht. 529 bráuklit. 530 w'ráut. 532 kol. 534 hol. 535 fok. 537 mald. 538 wi'd. 546 fír. 547 boord. 550 wá'rd. 551 storm. 553 horn. — †torns [thorns]. — fort [forth]. O'- 555 shám [pl. shoon]. 556 t. 558 luik liuk. 559 mider midder. 560 schúle. 562 mán mán. 564 sáam shám shúne. 566 idder ider. 568 brí'der. O': 569 bíuk. — huik [hook]. 570 tuk tíuk. 571 gy'd guid, †gú'd. 572 bly'd blú'd. 573 flad. 575 stá'd. 579 eníukh eníokh eneuch. 580 tiokh. 582 káel cúil. 583 tíul. 584 stáel. 586 dú dā dā dúins [doings], do'ne dā'ne [don't]. 587 dān dyn dūn'le. 588 eftérnoon [afternoon]. 589 spān. 590 flār. 591 mār. 592 swār. — hār [whore]. 594 beet. 596 rúit rēt.

U- 599 vān. — wí'd [wood]. 600 ly'v. 601 fuul, †fool. 602 suu. 603 kem. 604 sāmēr sīmmēr. 605 sēn. 606 door. 607 boeter. U: 609 fu. 610 uu. 612 sām. 613 drāk'n. 615 páund. 616 grand, †grund. 617 sund. 618 wuund. 619 fon. 621 wāend. 622 cēnder. — †hunder. 626 haqer. 627 sēnde. 629 sēn, †sun. 631 fā'zde. 632 āp, †up [āp], uppo upon]. 633 kēp. 634 tru tro. 635 wírt [(wārdi) worthy]. 636 fā'rdēr. 637 tōsk. 638 bōsk. 639 dōst. U'- 640 cōo. 641 fuu. 642 du. 643 nuu noo. 646 buu. 648 wír. 650 aboot. 651 vthuu't. 652 kud. 653 bí't bat bit †bit. U': 655 ful. 656 rum. — toom [thumb]. 657 brun. 658 duun dun doon. 659 tun. 662 wēz. 663 huus hus hoose. 664 lus. 667 ut oot. 668 prud.

Y- 673 māk'l †muckle. 674 di'd did. 675 drá'li. 679 kirk. Y: — felt [filled]. 693 sīnd [sinned]. 694 wārk. — wírm [worm]. 700 wārs wārs. 701 fārst. — lās'n [listen]. — kjest [kissed]. — kist [chest]. Y'- 705 skjā'li. 706 whā'li. Y': — wiss [wish].

II. ENGLISH.

A. 713 bad. 717 jaad. 736 las. 737 mī't. — shald [shawl]. I. and Y. — kel [kill]. O. 761 lod. 768 nōis. — bruk [broke pt.]. — pow [poll, the head]. — bigu'rd [begoud=began]. — lost [lost]. 781 bodēr. 783 puutri. 790 gun. — †scooder [scowder, skoldir=scorch]. U. 798 whiir. 803 jump. 808 pit pat, pæt, pitten [prt., pt., pp.].

III. ROMANCE.

A.. 810 fees. 811 †place. 815 faks. 816 faad. 824 sheer sheir. 826 igl. 827 eēger. — saunted [sainted]. — plase [please]. 835 reez'n. 838 treet [(entreted) untreated]. — fēmin [famine]. 841 shans. 844 truncher [trencher]. — graand grand. 850 dans. 852 cērun. — shapter chapter. — mairried [married]. 857 kes. 859 shees. — natur [nature]. 862 seef seef. 864 bikāz bika'z. 865 faut. 266 pār pūr. — ill faured [ill-looking].

E.. 867 tee tae. 869 veel. — rael [real]. 872 sheef. 875 faant. 876 feent. 885 veri. 888 sarten. — serv sair [serve]. 889 sees. 890 beest best. 891 feest. — oor [hour]. 893 fluur. 894 diseev. 895 riseev.

I.. and Y.. 897 delicht. 898 ná'is. — infeedel [infidel]. 901 fá'in. 908 advá'is. — meesery [misery]. — veesably [visibly]. 912 rá'is.

O.. 914 brootj. 920 póint. — fá'ir [a fair]. 925 vōis. 926 spóil. — soond [sound]. — muntens [mountains]. 935 kjantri. — †devoor [devour]. 938 kórner koorner. 940 kot. 941 fæl fúle. 944 aluu'. 945 vuu. 947 bóil. 948 bául. 950 sáper. 952 ii coorse. 953 kēz'n. 955 duuts. — poor [power]. 956 kiver.

U.. — subjek [subject]. 963 whá'iet. 965 óil. 968 óister. 969 shāer sür. — úse [use]. — excúse excuse. — mōzik.

A FEW RESULTS.

The long investigation which is now closed still leaves much to be desired, though the reader may deem that it already enters into too many unnecessary particulars. But as the points to be investigated were not only numerous, but transitional in their character, great minuteness was required in recording the discoveries made in the present phonetic examination of a large district. Our object was to discover the traces of the past in the present, and to account, if possible, for the great phonetic changes which strike the most cursory observer. An endeavour has been made in the great majority of cases to get information either directly from the mouths of dialect speakers, or indirectly from the mouths of those who were familiar with dialectal speech, and to record the result in a uniform notation with the utmost attainable accuracy, trusting as little as possible to written accounts, except from the pens of informants whose phonetic knowledge and manipulation of my written systems had been tested by myself in personal interviews, such as TH., JGG., CCR., Dr. Murray, Mr. Elworthy, and Mr. Darlington. In the Preliminary Matter, No. VIII., I have endeavoured to describe my palaeotype, but I am painfully conscious that without the living speech, all such expositions are only approximative, and that even with the advantage of actual audition, but few can imitate all the sounds with facility and correctness. I hope, however, perhaps too sanguinely, that the conclusions as to the sounds actually used and heard will be sufficiently well appreciated to make their study useful and effective towards the elaboration of a hitherto unwritten chapter in the great science of language. Dr. Sweet's enlarged and improved edition of his "*History of British Sounds*," p. 16*, under the title of "*A History of English Sounds from the Earliest Period*," did not reach me till May, 1888, when nearly 300 pages of this treatise were already in type, and the first draft of the first five Divisions, embracing all England, was already completed in MS. Moreover, his work required more study than the exigencies of passing this part through the press would allow. I regret therefore that I am compelled to leave Dr. Sweet's valuable work almost altogether unused.

The first result of the present examination of the *existing* phonology of English dialects is that there are really a large number of *local* varieties of speech, all related, while at the same time in many respects strangely different (compare the five Ruth versions, p. 698). But the relations are much more definite than we had any reason to expect, considering the rude shocks to which local habits have been subjected, and the present exterminating

influence of school boards and railways. We have then in England many local forms of speech, not merely 42, the number of districts here formed by neglecting minor differences, but many hundreds, (recognised by dialect speakers themselves, who will pick out the village that owns the speech,) and these, we have seen, can be further grouped again into six large divisions, which by joining the W. and E. to the S., and the L. to the N., can be further reduced to three, Northern, Midland, and Southern, which have been recognised from the earliest times. But these three parcels are not within the limits of each homophthongous, and to attempt their exact filiation to the oldest local speeches is probably beyond the reach of present investigation, and certainly beyond the limits of the task here undertaken.

By a *dialect* we here only mean, *first, a local difference of speech*, the existence of which has been here abundantly established, and, *secondly, an evident relation of all these forms of local speech to one another*. Now the earliest local speech with which we have complete literary acquaintance is the Wessex or that spoken by the West Saxons. We have many remains of the Northymbrian, but none, of any consequence, of the Midland. Hence Wessex is the one form of early speech with which we should compare all others. But even at the times when the Wessex speech was cultivated, and existing Ws. books were written, old Norse was inextricably mixed up with it, and in the cwl. words from that language have been frequently introduced as 18 cake, 25 mane, 54 want, etc. Hence we have to supplement Ws. with *x*. (Norse).

Now the large collection of cwl. already given, in which the mode of replacement of Ws. or *x*. sounds by local English is clearly shewn so far as the vowels are concerned, in a number of words, all or by far the most of which, allowing for such differences, are common to all speakers of English, to my mind establishes a local definite relation between the early form and the particular local form, with great diversities as to what that particular local form may be, and many differences in the effects produced on the vowels by adjacent consonants. The exact determination of these relations must be left to future scholars; I am myself too old even to attempt it. It has been my work to furnish the materials as faithfully as I could, without any preconceived theory, and I am only too happy to have been enabled to deliver them in an orderly form to future investigators, and must content myself with drawing only a very few conclusions.

It is pertinent to inquire to what extent do our oldest documents represent the sounds that their writers actually heard in speech? We cannot suppose that the oldest writers were supernaturally gifted with the power of perfectly appreciating sounds, and registering them by means of a very imperfect instrument,—the mediæval enlarged Latin alphabet, with two or three runes. Nor do we know the exact sounds which these scribes gave to their letters, or how many different sounds they attributed to each. I am not now perfectly satisfied with the key to Ws. given in Part II.

p. 534. I do not feel quite sure of *æ*, *ea*, *éa*, *eo*, *éó*, and even of the exact sounds of *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *y* (where Dr. Sweet recognises two sounds of *æ*, two of *e*, and two of *o*, and there may have been two of *i*, *a*, *u*). The *r* was possibly (R), entailing (T, D, N, L), while *þ*, *ð* cannot be fixed as (th, dh) with certainty. As to the shade of sound that *y* expressed we could not hope to determine it. At what time *g* *z* were really distinguished, or *z* *w* became simply used diphthongally, it would be difficult to say. This makes the starting-point very doubtful. But I think that for the purposes of the present comparison, it would be sufficient to assume the following values:

Ws. *a á æ æ'* *aw b c cg cw d ð e é ea éa*
 pal. *a aa æ ææ áu b, k kj, g kw d, dh th, E EE éa éaa*

Ws. *eo éó f g z h hl hn hr i í ie iu l m n ng o ó*
 pal. *éo éoo, v f, g J, hI kh, lh xh rh i ii ie iu L m N q o oo*

Ws. *p r s sc t þ u ú w wl vr y y'*.
 pal. *p R, z s, sk skj, T, th dh, u uu W Lw Rw Y₁ Y₁'*.

Here (v, z) initial and perhaps (f, s) final seem guaranteed by existing usage in D 4, and similarly the series (T D L N R) seems established first by the existing usages in D 4 (pp. 51 to 54), and the descent of the general English coronal (t d l n r) from them as opposed to the (t d l n r) of the continent, of which (t d r) are occasionally found in M. and N., and perhaps, but not with certainty, in NL and IL. The (éa éó) seem justified by the regular practice of dialectal fractures, and the occasional lengthening of the second element is a common feature of our diphthongs. I am still very doubtful as to 'æ,' but it is most probable that it was a simple vowel, as the medieval Latin 'æ,' from which the sign was borrowed, was, at that time at least, and for long before it, a simple vowel (EE), whence (ææ, æ) is a natural development.

If we merely examine dialectal vowels which replace the literary Ws., the confusion at first appears immense,—the maze is mighty, and the plan unseen. The first approach to orderliness is made by remembering that, except in a small part of the south-west of England, say about D 4 and 5, the sounds cannot be considered as engendered by the Ws.; they are relatives, not descendants.

Now the first thing that strikes us is, that although many of the short vowels are occasionally considerably different from the presumed Ws. in received speech,—an artificial product,—they are (omitting EA, EO) all to be found in some one or other of the dialect districts, in closed and stressed syllables, with what have here been assumed as their original sounds (*i*, E, æ, a, o, u).

The I is, very rarely, (i) or (i'), at least in the North, and sometimes falls to (i₁) or even (e). But |i| is its general sound. Indeed |i| is in closed syllables a difficult sound to most Englishmen, who are even apt to replace |ii| by |i₁i|, although in many districts a genuine short I becomes diphthongised, as in 444

stile, 446 nine, 458 night, 477 find; yet the short vowel, sometimes prolonged to (*ii*), but not diphthongised, is found in the first two words *stile*, *nine*, and with its proper quantity in 477 find, while 458 night, appears as (*nekjht* in L., the vowel being only lowered, but then the speakers think they say (*nĭkjht*) and write *nicht*.

The E in close syllables is almost invariably (ĕ), except among educated southrons, who do not count. Where it has been written (e), it was, I think, generally a confusion, easily explained.

The E final of Middle English, replacing the various Ws. final vowels which, as explained in I. 318-342, III. 646-648, certainly existed, at least in poetry, so late as the time of Chaucer and Gower, has entirely disappeared in the dialects as well as in received speech. No trace of it has been found. The High German final E remains even in common conversation, the Dutch final E exists in a few uses, the French final E has disappeared, except before two following consonants, in prose and in speech, and even in declaimed verse, but exists metrically and in verse set to music, being distinctly heard at the present day from French singers, and even often provided with a long note. The English final E has absolutely ceased to exist.

Generally E in an open syllable follows the fortune of E'.

The Æ in close syllables is very seldom (æ), and generally follows the fortunes of A.

The A in the south and east, when used in close syllables, is fine (a¹) approaching and in rec. sp. quite reaching (æ), but in the M. and N. and L. varies from (a) to (a). The A- in open syllables will be considered under A'.

The O is, I believe, normally (o), but it is very frequently confused with (a) by my authorities, and pronounced of course as (a) by rec. speakers, who have generally a difficulty in distinguishing (o a). But where it really occurs, (a) seems to be as much a modern invention as (AA).

The U remains (u) over only a very small zone, comprising Li., Yo., Cu., and We., and on the borders of this zone becomes (u₂) in the s., and (œ₁) in the north, sounds difficult to distinguish, and leading to the S. (æ), and the probably identical L. (æ). The S. form is raised in rec. sp. to (a), which seems to be also occasionally found dialectally, but this is liable to doubt. The difference between (a, æ), like that between (e, ĕ), seems to be unimportant, and is seldom recognised. Dialect writers also confuse the five sounds (a æ u u. œ) under one sign u.

The Y is never distinguished from I, the dialectal sounds approaching (y œ œ) having arisen in a different manner. The confusion of the sounds of I, U, is probably very old.

The long vowels I', E', Æ', A', O', U', Y' (the last confused with I' as Y is with I), are seldom given pure, but are generally *fractured*, that is, really form diphthongs of the old sort, or of a peculiar kind, arising from beginning to pronounce the vowel with a wrong position of the organs, and then gliding to the right position.

The I' and Y'=I' remain in very few words of Teutonic origin, but in many Romance words as pron. in L., see D 33, p. 720c. In Part I. pp. 284-297, tabulated on Part I. p. 291, a number of instances were collected for the purpose of shewing that "long ī" was originally (*ii*). The consequent dissertation (although it took the form of the older or dialectal pron. of words which are in rec. sp. diphthongised like the pronoun I) gave rise to the present investigation. As the words collected in I. 291 are rarely to the point of the pron. of I', it will be better to consider them separately, and for convenience they will be taken in the alphabetical order of I. 291, and when they occur in the cwl. the number will be prefixed, which will make reference to the various cwl. easy.

500 *alike*. Mr. Shelly gave me this as being (əlik) in Dv., but in his cwl. p. 165, I find “lə'ik, rarely (lek.” Now lek is heard in L., Part I. p. 288, note 3, and p. 782, No. 500. It is not a case of I' retained, but of I' being shortened to Ī, and then lowered to (e), a very different case.

briar, Ws. brér, and hence is only the common case of E' becoming (ii), and is not in point.

399 *bright*. If we take this for Ws. *borcht*, it is not a case in point, Dr. Sweet assumes a later form.—*brihht*. This was given me as ii from Cu., Kendal, La., South Shields, and We. It is generally so assumed to be, but that is only approximate, the usual form in Cu. and We. is br'it, see p. 588, second word, a delicacy seldom appreciated by writers, of which more presently. It is, however, at most, a short vowel lengthened, and hence not in point.

490 *by* L., Dr. Murray gives p. 718 (bái) of place, (bái) of agency, so that the form (bi) is not reached emphatically, (bì) unemphatic is common.

466 *child*, given as triel in Du., p. 163, but as the plural *children* shews this is not a case of I', but of I lengthened under the influence of a following l, hence it is not in point.

438 *die*, often called (dii), is from N. *deyja*, and hence not in point.

675 and 677 *dry*, in North Shields (drii), p. 674, No. 675, but this is only a short vowel y in *drygan*, lengthened, and hence is not in point.

dyke, Miss C. Day gave me (diik) from Nf., p. 276a. It is a genuine instance, but I did not get it elsewhere.

348. *eye* is very commonly ii, but as it is an EA' word it is not in point. In *eyesight*, the *sight* has a short I and hence is not to the point.

414. *fly*, sb. fleóga, vb. fleógan, is evidently not in point.

886. *friar*, Fr. frère, is also not in point.

fright, Ws. fyrhto, -u, with a short y, is also evidently not in point.

445. *to hie*, Ws. higian, has again a short vowel and hence is not in point, see I. 289, note 3.

305. *high*, Ws. héh héah, is in either case not in point.

hind, Ws. hindan, has a short vowel, prolonged.

Id (2 sw. Exeter), called (iid), I was told, but I do not know whether St. Ida had I or I'.

I'll, the pronoun is sometimes called (i' when unaccented and placed after the verb, but as the word was *ic* with a short vowel, it is not a case in point.

kindly kiinli' in s.Dv. p. 165, after No. 689, but this is from Ws. *cynde* with a short vowel, and hence is not in point.

kite, Ws. cytta, is said to be kiit in Yo. and would be a good case, and certainly *sky* (skii) was found near Bradford, p. 393, No. 705.

liar, we find 415 *to lie* mentiri regularly lii in L., but this is from Ws. *lōgan*, and hence not in point, and 676 *a lie*, Ws. lyge, had a short vowel.

425. *light*, Ws. leóht, is not in point, and *lightning* belongs to *light*.

712. *mice*, Ws. my's, like 711 *lice* ly's, is often called miis, liis in various districts, as in Danby Cleveland, p. 528, and Southwold St. p. 283, (miis) in Faversham Ke. p. 140, and it is a case in point.

457 *might*, Ws. miht, a short vowel.

510 *my* as a contraction of *mine*, Ws. mín, often becomes (mí) unemphatic, as (mí laad) my lord.

458 *night*, Ws. niht, a short vowel again.

311 *next*, called niest in sw.Dv., p. 164, is not a long I', but was taken to be *nighost*, and 307 *nigh* itself is in Ws. néh neáh, and hence not in point.

459 *right* and 462 *sight* had short vowels and are not in point.

shy N. skægr was given me as shii, from many places, but it is not a case in point.

444 *stile*, Ws. stigel, has a short vowel and hence is not in point. (stiil) is not unfrequent, but often assumes the forms (st'ail, st'ail), which would be taken as (stiil) and lead on to the usual (sta'il).

423 *thigh*, Ws. þeóh, is often (thii), but is not a case in point.

thy, a contraction of ðin, occurs only unaccented and shortened as (dhi) see *my*.

tie (ti) is said in Part I. p. 286a to be heard in Kendal, Cu., and La., but I

have no other record of it; Prof. Skeat refers it to Ws. *teág teáh ty'ge*, a rope, and the last form would be a case in point.

706 *why*, Ws. *hwy'*, was given me as (whii) from many places, but there seems to have been some mistake, it is so seldom used, thus on pp. 367, 502, 563, 684, it is generally replaced by *what for*, and is used for argumentative *well* on p. 580.

699 *wright*, Ws. *wyrhta*, has a short vowel, but becomes (riit), p. 393.

498 *write*, is given as (vréit vrit) in D 39, p. 782*d*, and is a genuine example.

Thus in the great majority of cases these were not instances of the retention of long I', but were sometimes the prolongation of short I, and at others the equivalents of E', EA', EO', none of which are to the point. They shew, however, the simultaneous occurrence of (ii, a'i) in many words as replacers of the same Ws. vowel.

Long vowels are treated in two ways. They are either shortened and then preserved in quality, or fractured and then greatly altered in quality. Sometimes, apparently through the action of a following consonant, the short vowel is lengthened, and sometimes both long and short vowels occur in different derivatives of the same word, thus in rec. sp. we find *child children*, *wild wilder wilder-ness*, *hinder hinder*. In names of places we find frequently a shortening, as *Wid-combe,-ford*, *Wick-ham,-ford*, *Whit-combe,-church,-by*, *Wig-more,-ton,-thorpe*, *Swin-burn,-dale,-combe,-don*. Similarly *tén*, *néct* are preserved with short vowels, as *tén*, *néxt*, and *rùm* *room* shortened to (rum) still very frequently heard, has been again lengthened to (ruum) without falling into (ra'um), as has happened in Germany, and so on. But fracturing is the principle almost universally in use.

There seems to have been an original tendency to fracture vowels among the Saxon speakers. EA, EO, IE (the last so rare that I have not considered it further) are called fractures (*Brechungen*) by J. Grimm, because they replace a short vowel by two short vowels which remain short, forming a group. He considers EA, EO to have been (éa, éo), and to have arisen from (ia, io), which are often written IA, IO in MSS. The EA arises from A chiefly before L and R. EO arises from I, and is used more freely. In our dialects these particular fractures do not occur, at least in this way, but (ié, ée) are constantly found replacing what was open short A, as (níem, néem) *name*, and even occasionally replacing A'. But there is nothing like EO. The fractures EA', EO' are considered by Grimm as diphthongs. They are not treated as diphthongs in the dialects, and they are very variously replaced. We will postpone the consideration of these fractures till later.

The passage of I' from (i) into (a'i) is given on p. 293 as being strongly developed in M. districts. The process consists of lowering the commencement of the vowel so that (ii) becomes (ïi, ïii), sounds which an unaccustomed ear hears as (ii, ii). I believe (ïi) is what Dr. Sweet means by his *ij* in living speech. The lowering of the commencing element then continues, and we get (éi, éi, e'i), but then the second element is often, or rather generally (i); it is however often lengthened as (éii éii), and then

the speaker is still not conscious of having departed from (ii). It is *his* form of (ii), and the pure vowel sounds to him erroneous. When the sound of (E'i) is reached, Southrons recognise a "thin" pron. of their own (a'i). Generally in the North a thin (e'i) and a thick (a'i) are distinguished, and are usually determined by the following consonant where there is one. The diphthongisation therefore proceeds to (æ'i, á'i, ái ái) and rarely (A'i). But there is another set of these diphthongs, of which the first element is (ə, ɶ), or even (œ). These are common, especially in D 4. Whether they were derived through a progression similar to the former, or came from an original (ə'ii) form of (ii) parallel to (éii), it is not easy to say. There is often great difficulty in determining what is the first element of these diphthongs, and to say whether we hear (a'i, ái) or (A'i), great attention and much practice is necessary. Ordinary hearers at most recognise two diphthongs (éi, ái), which they identify with the English school pron. of Greek *ei, ai*, generally (á'i ái). There is however a still further alteration of this diphthong, by taking the second element less close than (i), thus (áu), and then omitting it entirely and lengthening the first element to (aa), thus (laak) like, see pp. 525 and 528; this is very distinctive of D 30. Dr. Sweet also says (his p. 276) that "before (l) it [the second element] is almost completely absorbed in Vulgar English, *mile* being confused with *marle*," that is, both called (maal), which I have not observed.

Long U' is fractured, and then diphthongised after the same fashion as I'. The first element is depressed as (úu) slightly in the M. (which is possibly what Dr. Sweet means by his *uw* in living English), and more so in D 31, where it becomes (u₁u), which is difficult to separate from (óu, óu). The last form of the diphthong is common, and is not readily distinguishable from (ə'u), of which (ə'u, á'u) are finer forms used in rec. sp., and (áu), the German *au*, a coarser form. Now (áu) varies as (áɶ) as in D 27, and this, with the second element rendered less definite, becomes first (áu), and finally (aa), as in D 24, p. 399. So that we have the strange phenomenon of I' and U' at the two extremities of the vowel scale both sinking in different, but not far distant, places (York and Leeds, both in the same county, and only twenty miles apart), into the middle sound (aa). This (aa) for U' is still further degraded in sw.La., when it becomes (ææ), dialectally written *eaw*. And the degradation of (áu) is not yet complete. Instead of changing the second element into (v), and then omitting it, the (v) becomes (i), and we thus get (ái) to represent U' in D 25, as well as generally I', though in D 25 the form (ái) is used for I', and kept distinct from (ái). The form (á'u) has still finer varieties, as (æ'u, e'u), which are very common in different parts of England, as in D 10 and D 19, while in D 9 and in London it is still further refined to (éu).

The U' is heard as pure (uu) in D 30 and in L., but in D 31 it is usually (ú₁u), and even in some parts (éuu), p. 625, and (v'uu, ə'uu), p. 636-7, all of which are regarded by the speakers as pure

(uu), and indeed are generally written *oo* in all dialect books. All these sounds represent U'.

A' is seldom preserved unfractured, although the received (braad), which is occ. (braad) in dialects, may be so taken; but the custom is to fracture with a prefixed (u) or (o) in the south and (i) or (e) in the north. Thus Ws. *án*, one, which was (oon) unfractured even in Shakspeare's rec. sp. [Two Gent. ii. 1, 2, pun on *on* and *one*], became normally in the sw. (úan, úen), and from these came (wæn, wæn), the last of which has been adopted in rec. sp. But in the n. it became (ían íen jæn jæn jæn), the Scotch *ane*. This (ue) had often an alternative form (óv), whence probably came the rec. (*oo*), as (tóvd, *tood*) toad. But the (íe) led at once to (ii), and it is an old joke that an Ab. man falls on the (stiinz) stones and breaks his (biinz) bones, p. 780, Nos. 118 and 124. Thus as I', U' both become (aa) in some districts, A' may become (ii), and is, if not (uu), at least (*oo*) very generally. It is to be observed that short open A- falls into (év) or (íe) in the south, of which (év) occupies the s. portion as Do., and (íe) the n. portion as Wl., and that even in Wl. in the towns, and still more in Gl. and the town of Gloucester itself, the (v) falls away and (ii) alone remains (p. 54, No. 3, and p. 64 note). It would have been quite possible for the modern (*ee*) to have been derived from A- through (év) in the same way. In the east the A- having fallen in (év) is further altered to (éi) by the very common and in this case recent substitution of (i) for (v) (see p. 202, No. 852). This (éi) form growing to (E'i, á'i) has become very distinctive of Es. (p. 221) and n. London (p. 226), but it is a mere form of the very common (év), as (ái) for U' is a form of (áv), p. 826*d*.

The intermediate vowels E', O' seem to have passed at a comparatively early time into (ii, uu). The link for the first may have been either of the forms (ív, éii), both of which are still found. Of these the first becomes (ii) on dropping the (v), the second on swallowing the very short initial (e); but both are conjectural. The changes which occur are changes of (ii) into (íi, íi, éi, éii). The sound (*ee*) seems reserved for more frequent use for E-, see various cwl. under E-, Nos. 231 to 255.

The O' has a singular fate. The fracture (úv), which still exists for short O-, probably made it turn into (uu). As (uu) it was fractured both into (ú₁u) and (íu), each of which forms occurs in the same dialect (North Craven, p. 622, NW. Horn of Yo., p. 625). Then (íe) may arise for (íu), but it is evidently the northern form of fracture which replaces the southern (úv). In the M. counties, however, the (uu) sound at times reached its fractured form through speakers beginning it with the mouth too widely open, producing (a'u), p. 292, much resembling (ə'u). This is a very unstable compound, and would serve to generate (íu, ə'u), or (ə, y₁), and seems to be the source whence the latter forms, or the French *eu* in *peu* and nearly French *u*, arose in D 10, D 11, D 19, D 33, and other L. forms. The existence of a sound resembling French *u* or (y) in all these districts is generally acknowledged, yet TH. did

not find it in D 19 (p. 260c), but on the contrary found (æ'u'. In D 24 the short O seems to have developed into (ó'i), as (kóil óil) coal hole, while O'- becomes (ú'i), as (súin, múin) soon, moon, p. 393: but these are only forms of (óu, úu), the (v) becoming (i), as we have seen to be very common (pp. 827d, 828c).

As regards Æ' nothing very definite can be said. The replacing values are generally (ii, ee), and sometimes (E'i), but the rule for the distribution of the words among the signs has not been made apparent. My cwl. are here rather deficient, for although there were plenty of words in the original, my informants gave but few of them, possibly because they found nothing peculiar, that is, differing from rec. pron. in them. Perhaps an exhaustive examination of the words might lead to some general result, but I must leave this to others. The combination Æ'G will be considered presently.

As respects EA, EO, which are merely fractures, they must be referred first, if possible, to the vowels of which they are fractures. Now EA is clearly a fracture of A or A', and EO is possibly a fracture of E or E'.

EA is replaced very differently according to the following consonant, but it seems to act rather as A' than as A. Thus 322 hlcahlhan *laugh* has mostly (aa), but sometimes very short (ǎ); 323 feaht *fought* has usually some form of (a'u), and 324 eahta *eight* some form of (ái, E'i, EE). The words in EALD have sometimes (aa) or (oo), diphthongising into (óu, æ'u), but EAL, followed by F or L, has (AA). In all these there seems to be no trace of an original short A.

In the case of EO, we must separate GEO, CEO where GE, CE may probably be merely the palatalisation of G, C, so that geolca, geond, geong, *yolk* of eggs, *yon, young*, and sceolde *should*, do not belong to the series. Also beorht seems to be an alteration of briht, as Dr. Sweet assumes (*History of E. Sounds*, p. 308, No. 700). Omitting these my series of EO: words has chiefly EOR, which seems to fare as ER, becoming (aar) when (r) is pron. The word 388 meole *milk* has sometimes a singular pron. as (mollk), p. 154, but it has generally (i). Whoever listens to the peripatetic vendors of milk may however readily appreciate the original fracture.

Of EA' I have the same complaint to make as of Æ'. Its replacers vary as (ii, íu, ee, e, E'i). Much evidently depends on the following consonant, but I have not been able to formulate the rule.

EO' seems to follow the fortunes of E', and usually becomes (ii). This also requires additional work.

Ws. *diphthongs*, as distinct from fractures, are usually expressed by an added *g, w*, as ÆG, Æ'G, EG, AW, EOW, EO'W, IW. See Consonantal Index, p. 30*, under G and W. In the sw. of England, especially in D 4, the first three become some form of (a'i). This still exists very markedly, but is on the way to (ee, ee, EE), which also frequently occur in D 4, and the forms (éi, ée) are

likewise found. The change of (ái) into some form of (ee) is common to many languages (see Part I. p. 238), and we cannot be surprised at the prevalence of the (ee) forms at the present day. They render the descent from an original (a'i) form almost undoubted. But were ÆG, Æ'G, EG, really distinct from each other? Most probably, at the time this orthography came into use, but it seems to me that they were not distinguished in the time of Chaucer, Part III. p. 637 fl. The present degradation of A- and ÆG into (ee) confuses two distinct set of words, as *tale tail*, see Cooper, in Part I. p. 126. It is remarkable that in some parts of Ch. both should have further changed to (ii), see p. 409. That both *tale tail* should be changed would seem simple after they had reached the (ee) stage, the process being similar to that by which E' became (ii), but the remarkable point is that in other parts of Ch. (ee) remains in *tale*, but becomes (ii) in *tail*. In SL. the reverse takes place, for the vowel in *tale* becomes (íw, í'), and *tail* has (ee) (p. 710, No. 3, and DSS. p. 106).

The AW diphthong loses its W, that is, its (u), altogether. Even in D 4 it becomes (aa), in D 33 or SL (aa), and elsewhere it is mostly (AA), for which *aw* is the rec. spelling. Of course A'W follows the fortunes of A', and is occ. (aa), but more usually (oo, oo).

The EOW, EO'W, and IW forms are comparatively rare, but see the different cwl. under 386 cowe a *ewe*, 387 neowe niwe *new*, 408 cneow, he *knew*, 417 ceówan to *chew*, 418 breówan to *brew*, 419 eówer *your*, 420 feówer *four*, 421 feówertig *forty*, 435 eów *you*, 436 treów *true*, 437 treówð *truth*. The sound varies as (óu, æ'u, íæ'u), while the action of the (r) in the last two words sometimes produces curious but important changes, such as (uu, æ'u, yy₁).

The *Consonants* which have not been specially grouped in the cwl., but are distributed among the vowel groups, are collected and referred to the Ws. and Norse words containing them, with their numbers in the cwl. on p. 30*, so that any medial and final consonants with some of the initial may be studied throughout the cwl., while the ordinary initial consonants are given in the English index, p. 25*.

The letter R occasions the most trouble. In all the S. div. R is more or less reverted, that is, the tip of the tongue points to the throat and its underpart is turned to the hard palate; this is written (R). The hollow thus caused at the back of the tongue produces a very peculiar resonance, which makes the effect of (R), when once heard and understood, immediately recognisable. The effect is rendered milder by making only the outer margin of the tip instead of its underpart approach the middle of the hard palate, leaving a spoon-shaped hollow behind. This is JGG.'s retracted *r* written (R). It is rendered still milder by advancing the raised tip of the tongue nearer to, but not quite to reach, the gums. This is the buzzed (r_o) when not trilled or flapped, the tongue being still turned up, but the hollow at the back being

almost obliterated. The true (R) is however discernible right through the s. of England from Co. to Ke., and is conspicuous in Wl. Sm. Do. and Dv. This (R) is probably the original Ws. form of the consonant. Our language is derived from North or Low German and Danish, and in Germany and Denmark at the present day the *r* is very peculiar, the first commonly uvular (*r*) and the second glottal (ɾ).

The effect of this reversion upon a contiguous (t, d, l, n) is evidently to revert it also and produce (ɾ, ɖ, ɽ, ɳ), and it seems to me most probable that this reverted form is the original (see pp. 51, 53). It is known as the cerebral series in Sanscrit (Part IV. p. 1096). These consonants seem to me to be the progenitors of the common coronal English (t, d, l, n). These are quite distinct from the alveolar (t̪, d̪, l̪, n̪), where the tip of the tongue touches the gums, producing the continental and Sanscrit "dental" series. The natural flapped (ɾ) seems to be also coronal, so that (tr- dr-) are proper combinations. In the North Midland and N. districts, however, an alveolar (t̪, d̪) are heard, but only before *r*, which obliges the position of the tongue for it to be also alveolar, as (t̪r-, d̪r-), and this occurs even when an (ə) is interposed, as (-t̪ər, -d̪ər), indeed the (t̪, d̪) still remain when the (r) is lost, as (-t̪ə, -d̪ə). The Indian alphabet has two forms of *t*, *d*, namely (ɾ t̪, ɖ d̪), the English is perhaps the only language which has three forms of each letter (ɾ t̪ t̪, ɖ d̪ d̪).

But the forms of the English *r* are not exhausted. In the M. counties TH. recognises a very mild, but still in his opinion, trilled *r*, which I write (r̥). At the same time JGG. recognised a northern *r*, which I write (r^o), and he considers (ɾ r̥ r^o) to form a series, p. 294. Of course it is very difficult to recognise such fine distinctions, except after long hearing and careful analysis of native utterances. To a mere Southron's ear they sound like his own gentle *r*, or as completely vocalised.

The southern (R) after passing to (r_o) often becomes lost after (aa, AA), or considered as a mere symbol of the change of *a*, *o* into these sounds, and is identified in other cases with a vowel somewhat like (ə, ɐ, ə, əh), but probably different from all of them, as the tip of the tongue is certainly a little too much raised for any real vowel to be uttered, see p. 222. This "vowel *r*," or (ɐ) as it may be written, prevails all along the east coast of England from Ke. to Nb. as far as North Shields at any rate, when not before a vowel. When preceding a vowel it is possibly generally (r_o), but I think I say and hear generally (ɾ̥), a mild and real trill. All over the E. div. and D 20 in the M. div. and the e. coast of Yo. and Du. in the N. div. this vocalisation of *r* prevails. At North Shields in Nb. before a vowel it seems to become (ɾ̥), see top of p. 665, really a trill or trembling of the lips, often confused with (w).

The varieties of English *r* are, however, not even yet exhausted. In D 14, comprising m.Sh., the trill of the tongue tip is always distinct both before and after a vowel, almost like the Italian *r*,

but not so forcible. It seems to be a remnant of Welsh *r*, see p. 182. In several places in England, and especially in Sh., a difficulty is felt with (shr-) initial, for which the un-English (sr-) is used in better speech, the (r) being vulgarly entirely omitted, p. 183. In Scotland the *r* is also distinctly trilled with the tongue only, as I think, more conspicuously than in Italian, but I believe not so strongly as in Ireland, where, I am told, the whole of the tongue, and not merely the tip, participates in the flapping action (Part IV. p. 1232c). In Nb., on the contrary, the tongue does not flap at all, but only the uvula, and the result is often complicated by a partial closure of the lips, see p. 641c.

In my opinion *r* is essentially an intermittent interruption of the voice, imitated in Faber's speaking machine by rapidly revolving a disk with radiating perforations in the way of the vocalised current of air. These interruptions in natural speech are made most naturally by the flapping tongue in different positions, sometimes by the uvula or the lips, and each mode of interruption by modifying the resonant cavity of the mouth, produces different effects in passing from interruption to free passage of the voice. When, however, there is no intermittence, when the tongue or lips remain in one position, with no more trembling than the passage of the voice (that is, undulating breath) naturally produces as in prolonged (z, zh, w), there is, as I conceive, only a vocalisation, a buzz or rough voice, as all consonant positions, being unfavourable to a clear passage of sound, naturally produce. Mr. Melville Bell and Dr. Sweet, on the contrary, separate the flapping from the position of the tongue or lips, and it is necessary that this radical difference in our views should be borne in mind.

In the S. div., especially in D 4 and D 11, initial *s* and *f*, as a general rule, become in Ws. words (z, v), but are sounded as (s, f) in Romance words. See particulars on pp. 38 to 41. As the initial (z) at least is common to all German dialects, high as well as low, it must be considered the original, and (s) a generated sound. The (v) seems to be also original, compare Dutch, and compare the Welsh *f*, *ff*, for (v, f). We find also that even (sh, th) occasionally become (zh, dh) when initial in the sw. of England, p. 41. But here (sh, zh) were not original sounds, and hence this development must have been recent. On the contrary, (dh) was probably the original sound and (th) derived, as Dr. Sweet supposed, see Part II. p. 541, note 2. The use of (d) for (dh) in Ke. in *this*, *that*, *the*, *there*, *their*, *theirs*, *them*, *then*, *these*, *those*, *they* (p. 131), is sufficiently remarkable, and becomes more so when we remember that it is a temporary modern pron. introduced subsequent to the time of Dan Michel in the xivth century, and, though still known in the present day, is rapidly disappearing. That in Orkney and Shetland (d) is also found for (dh), although fast dying out, is attributable possibly to Norse influence. But this e.Ke. substitution is not.

In connection with (dh) we may observe the various forms of

the definite article, (dhu) in the S. div. and up to D 20 inclusive, (th) mainly in w.M. as D 21, 22, 25, and even in part of Yo. (p. 500, No. 6), but occasionally assimilated by a previous (n) to (t'). But this suspended form, independently of any assimilation, is prevalent over D 30 and D 31, though it again becomes (dhu) in D 32, and in Cs. D 40 drops to (e'), losing the initial consonant altogether, while in Holderness even the (t') vanishes and no definite article is left.

Ws. F seems to have been (v) and W to have been (w). There always has been a Teuton difficulty with these letters, which Germans as a rule cannot pron., using their own *w* or (bh) for both of them. Over a portion of the e. coast from Ke. to Nf. at least extends the "land of *W^{ee}*" or the territory of (w) to the exclusion of (v), see p. 132, and 221*d*. Although (v) for (w) is commonly attributed to cockneys and Folkestone fishermen, I have not been able to observe the first in serious use and the second is at least doubtful (p. 143). I have seen the use of *r* for *w* attributed to the advent of the Huguenots into England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but I know no authority for the statement, see pp. 229*a*, 230*d*. The true (wh) is rare; it is practically unknown in the S. W. E. and M. div., being replaced by (w), a proceeding analogous to the S. use of initial (v) for (f); thus to pron. *wheel* as *weal* is precisely similar phonetically to pronouncing *feel* as *real*. Those who strongly reprobate the latter, mostly commit the former sin with calmness, and find (whiil) uncouth. In D 39, or NL. on the contrary, the (wh) initial falls consistently into (f), at least it is so generally received, but quite possibly it may be (ph), without the action of the teeth, which much more closely resembles (wh). Mr. Melville Bell conjectures it to be (fh) or (f), with the back of the tongue raised as for (u). The doubt is whether the teeth are used at all.

In Ws. W occurs before L and R. Of WL I find no trace, unless a magnificent *flunkey* be a remnant of Ws. wlanc, wlanc, wlenc, wlone, *splendid*. But WR still exists in several places, see *wrong* on p. 578 and p. 688, also p. 726, par. 3, and elsewhere in L.

The Ws. CN initial generally becomes simple (n), but is occ. represented by (nh) or (tnh), see *know*, p. 566, and compare Cooper, Part I. p. 208, and Lediard, Part IV. p. 1046*a'*.

The Ws. H is generally very badly treated. In Ws it had presumably the value (nh) or strongly jerked out flatus (Part IV. p. 1130, col. 2), and when doubled or final, was probably a guttural. It is known to every one of education how very widely the absence of (h) extends. I got the most contradictory accounts from different regions. Glossary writers put in the *h* as a matter of habit, even where they know that no dialect speaker uses it. For my own part, I feel very uncertain of any (h) south of the Lowland line 10, north of it (h) is omitted only, but not always, in (it) it, for (h) remains there in D 39 to 41; and (h) is inserted only, but not always, in (haz) us, and (hulet) owlet (p. 734, v. 88). In the M. div. certainly (h) has no existence, and very little in the N. div.,

except in each case perhaps as a mark of emphasis even when unhistorical. Its present home is in the L. div., and there also the guttural prevails, in all the three forms (kh, kjh, kwh). The guttural is, however, occ. met with further south, and has been heard from old people even in La., p. 341, parts of Yo. (Part I. p. 289, note 4, and Part I. p. 311, note 1), Cu., and We. But in L. it is habitual. The general substitute for the guttural, when not entirely ignored, is (f), which in some words, as *laugh tough*, prevails in rec. sp., and in *dwarf* habitually, and *draft* recently, has crept into rec. spelling.

The 10 transverse lines (described pp. 15 to 22) divide the whole country into regions where certain pron. are prevalent. The six great divisions, S., W., E., M., N., L., give the largest groups that I have been able to form, and the distinctive characters are succinctly stated at the beginning of each. Next, I have made a number of minor groups, as Celtic Southern, p. 24; Mid Southern, p. 36; the Border of Southern against Midland and Eastern, p. 110; the East Southern, p. 130; the West Southern, p. 145; the South Western, p. 175; and North Western, p. 181; the West Eastern, p. 189; the Mid Eastern, p. 195; the South Eastern, p. 225; the North Eastern, p. 248; and the East Eastern, p. 259; the Border Midland, p. 296; the North Midland, p. 315; the Mid Midland, p. 408; the East Midland, p. 447; the South Midland, p. 451; the East Northern, p. 495; the West Northern, p. 537; the North Northern, p. 637; the South Lowland, p. 709; the Mid Lowland, p. 723; the North Lowland, p. 755; and the Insular Lowland, p. 788; to each of which is prefixed a brief account of its characters. The last portion of each name shows the division to which each group belongs, while the names of the groups themselves are placed as current headlines of the pages. Each of these groups is, when feasible, subdivided into smaller districts, and each is at the commencement properly characterised. The characters there assigned, which it is not necessary to repeat here, form the principal result, and were the most difficult part of this investigation, the difficulty being greatly increased by the necessity of completing it in all its details before a page of the book could be printed, or the maps drawn.

Among these characters a very few points of construction and vocabulary were noticed (see p. 25*), for it was my purpose not to enter upon matters which have occupied other investigators.

The most striking of these is the form of the verb substantive *I be* in the S., getting mixed with *I are* in Kent, and chiefly *I are* in the E., mixed with *I am* which prevails over the M. But in D 30 and 31 *I is* is the usual form, which may indeed sometimes be heard in Df., but is possibly imported; for in D 32 and L. generally *I am* is the form always heard. Of course the vowels are not heard after *I* except where there is much emphasis, as I heard an old woman say to me, *I are to wait* (âi 'aa tɹ wee'jt), meaning that she had been ordered to wait where I found her. Usually (âi)v, (âi)z, A)m), etc., are heard. In the S. also *we am*, *you am* may be found as *we-m*, *you-m*.

In D 4 and 10 the periphrastic form, as *I do love*, without any intention of emphasis, is used for *I love*, and the past participle has the augment, as *I have a-loved*. Also the nominative form is much used for the object, as *I saw she*.

In the west M. as in D 21, 22, 25, 26, the verbal plural in *-en* is regularly used in the present tense, as *we love-n*, *you ha(vē)n*. This dies out eastwards, and is nearly extinct in Le. and Nt.

In the E. the plural verb is often used for the singular, as *it do* (pp. 197*d*, 249*c*).

In High Furness La. and in parts of We. *at* is at least occasionally used instead of *to* before the infinitive (p. 550). In Ch. *to* is regularly omitted in such cases, and *for* is used for *for to* (p. 410*c*).

In the Black Country, D 29, V ii*b*, but not V ii*a*, p. 461, occurs regularly a peculiar form of the negative with auxiliary verbs, the *not* itself being omitted, as *I doh* for *I don't* (instances collected, p. 461). It is, I believe, sparingly found elsewhere.

Peculiar words, which have been the main objects of glossarists, I have not sought at all, but a few naturally occurred.

The use of *en* or *(en)* unaccented, representing the Ws. acc. *hine*, still exists in the S., though received speech has confused it with the dative *him* (p. 43), it must not be confounded with *'un* = *one*.

The first personal pron. occurs as *uteh* (ætʃ) in a small district near Yeovil (p. 84). It is the only remnant of the *ich 'ch* so common in writings of the xvi th century to represent clownishness.

The form of address to companions or fellow-workers varies much. As I have introduced it into my dt., I have had a curious set of words given me. (1) *Mates*, which was the word in the original (p. 8*), is found 43 times, but is always suspicious, as it was thus suggested. (2) *Lads* occurs 25 times, only once in S., the rest in M. and N. (3) *Chaps* runs it hard with 21 occurrences, of which 2 were in the S., 1 in the E., and the rest M. or N. Other varieties are very much more uncommon. (4) *Boys* occurs 5 times. (5) *Marrows* (the word properly means matches, equals, *pares*, 4 times (once p. 617*d'*, and three times p. 656), all in N. (6) *Butties* is found three times (pp. 117*d*, 255*c*, 472*c*): and the singular address, (7) *Together*, also occurs 3 times (pp. 250*d*, 263*c*, 272*c*, all in E.): the rest occur only once. (8) *Comrades*, p. 169*d*. (9) *Maties*, p. 250*b*. (10) *Bo's*, p. 278*c*. (11) *Old Fellows*, p. 285*c*. (12) *Neighbours*, p. 656. (13) *Callants*, p. 656, and I think in 4 cases the word was skipped altogether.

In connection with (10) *bo'* (bɑ), a Nf. word for young man, occurs *mauther* (maadhē), young woman or young girl, then usually abridged to *mau'er* (ma'v). The word for girl is *maid* (maid) in the south, *wench* in no bad sense in M., and *lass* generally in N.; *girl* is rather an educated word; *she* is *hoo* (w'u, æ'u) in w. M., as La., Ch., Db., and *shoo* (shu, shoo, shv) in D 24, but (shə) in D 41 and 42, and constantly (ʔə) assumed generally to be *her*, especially in M.

Here I stop. Time and space fail me, and my long task must come to an end.

PR
1901

Chaucer Society, London
[Publications]

A3

ser. 2

no. 25

CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
